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Articles which cross conventional borders between academic disciplines are particularly welcome, as are comparative studies of American and other cultures. The journal also publishes notes, comments, book and film reviews. Details about the submission of manuscripts are provided on the back (inside) cover of this issue.

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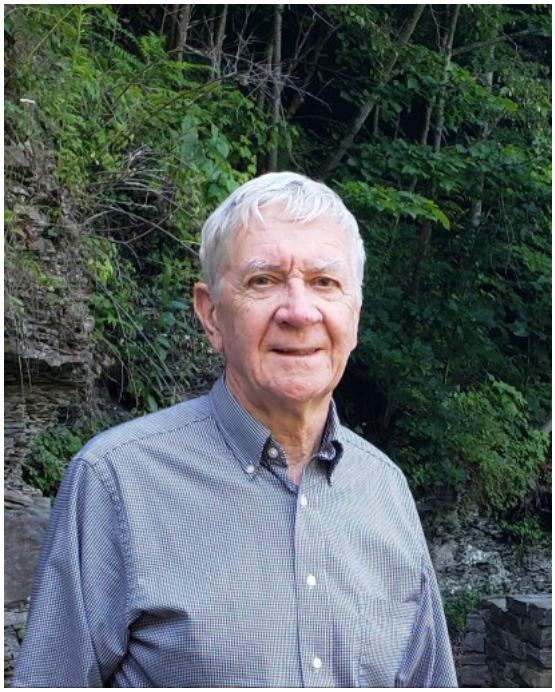

In Memory of Professor David Baldwin Espey (1940–2024)

David Baldwin Espey, aged 83, passed away on April 19, 2024, at home in Bala Cynwyd, Pennsylvania. He was born on November 20, 1940, in Elmira, New York, to Jack and Mary Espey.

David was a graduate of Hamilton College. He received his MA from Johns Hopkins University and his PhD in English from the University of Michigan.

David was a Peace Corps volunteer for two years in Morocco in the early 1960s. This was where his interest in other cultures and love for teaching began. The highlight of his career was as Director of the Writing Program at the University of Pennsylvania, where he taught for twenty-eight years.

David received Fulbright Senior Fellowships to teach in Morocco, Turkey, and Japan. David came to Hacettepe University's Department of American Culture as a Fulbright professor during the 1990–1991 academic year. A colleague and I went to meet him and his

family at the airport. Who would have thought that I would be writing his obituary thirty-four years later? No words can express my sadness, for David occupied a very special place in my life.

I was inspired to study Native Americans after hearing David speak about them to the students in our department. He guided me throughout my career and gave me ideas for articles and presentations. When I received a Fulbright scholarship and asked him where I should go to study Native Americans, he suggested Albuquerque. Sometime after I went there, he called me from Philadelphia and told me that people either love or hate Albuquerque and asked me whether I liked it there. I told him that I loved it there.

David and his dear wife Molly attended many ASAT conferences, including those in İzmir, Erzurum, and Çanakkale, always providing us with their full support. He was also the keynote speaker for our department's twenty-fifth anniversary conference during the time I was chair.

David was a gentleman from head to toe. He was extremely generous with his time, patiently guiding students with his vast knowledge. His amiable character and calm attitude made everyone feel at ease in his presence. He was loved and respected by all and will be missed by everyone who knew him.

I am happy and feel fortunate because our paths crossed. I am grateful to David for being my mentor and will always cherish his memory. May he rest in peace.

Prof. Dr. Meldan Tanrısal

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"Ecriture Féminine" and Ecoethics in Richard Powers' *The Overstory*

Noura El Aoun

Abstract

This paper explores the entanglement between the ecological issues and the feminist questions in Richard Powers' *The Overstory* (2018). The predominant focus of the novel is unquestionably ecology and the criticism of anthropocentrism; however, the systematic presence of the feminist ethos creates an adjacent field of inquiry worthy of consideration. Indeed, the issue of gender discrimination in the academy, female empowerment, and the foregrounding of ecofeminism and feminist care ethics collaborate to constitute a nested web of feminist concerns, spelling the script of "écriture féminine." The female characters feature as the discursive tools for several revisions, which is synchronous with the narrative's revision of the concept of the masculinist anthropocene as a damaging view of the world. Instead, the feminist undertones of the narrative reinforce the view of nature as a nonhuman 'other,' deserving full entitlement to moral consideration rather than simply being backstage for Man's actions in the world.

Keywords: American literature, ethics, anthropocene, ecofeminism, écriture féminine, Richard Powers

"Ecriture Féminine" and Ecoethics in Richard Powers' *The Overstory*

Öz

Bu makale, Richard Powers'ın *The Overstory* (2018) eserindeki çevresel konular ve feminist kaygılar arasındaki bağlantıları inceler. Romanın odak noktası, şüphesiz, ekoloji ve insan merkezcilik eleştirisidir, ancak feminist değer sisteminin varlığı da dikkate değer bir inceleme alanı sunar. Gerçekten de, akademideki cinsiyet ayrımcılığı, kadının güçlenmesi meselesi, ekofeminizm ve feminist etik, feminist kaygıların iç içe geçtiği bir ağ (écriture féminine) oluşturur. Romanın kadın karakterleri değişim için söylemsel araçlar olarak işlev görürler. Bu da, anlatının, maskülen insan merkezci anlayışı dünyaya zarar verici bir görüş olarak revize etmesiyle eşzamanlıdır. Anlatının feminist alt tonları, doğanın, sadece insan eylemleri için bir arka plan oluşturmadığını, aksine, dikkati hak eden insan dışı bir "öteki" olduğu görüşünü pekiştirir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Amerikan edebiyatı, etik, antroposen, ekofeminizm, écriture féminine, Richard Powers

> Deep within ourselves we know that our omnipotence is a sham, our knowledge and control of the future is weak and limited, our inventions and discoveries work . . . in ways we do not expect, our planning is meaningless, our systems are running amok—in short, that the humanistic assumptions upon which our societies are grounded lack validity
>
> —David Ehrenfeld, qtd. in Fromm 441.

Introduction

This paper seeks to study the feminist ethos in Richard Powers' eco-narrative *The Overstory* (2018), aiming to unveil the book's new propositions about human-nonhuman relationships. The accent lies on the centrality of empathy and care for a novel approach to nature. *The Overstory* features a large cast of characters who meet after strange coincidences, and their intentions and spatial movements are geared toward saving nature. Ecological activism ties the lives of these characters with trees, drawing its energy from the female actants. The action mostly unfolds in the American woods, which become the stage for female heroism. The novel counters the destructive potential of human activities through the rediscovery of the natural elements as non-human 'others,' primarily enlightened by the leading female characters.

Gender in the text does not feature as an a priori category besides ecology; rather, it is smoothly generated in the background in a way as to never override ecological concerns. The feminist dynamics do not qualify as an overarching theme, yet they collaborate to constitute a vein that is discernable. The shift of focus is encoded in the empowered female characters in *The Overstory*, and in the suggestion that they are inextricable from the natural environment. Notably, the non-realist moments in the narrative further project female characters as a category that is more kin with nature than with humans, regarding the improbabilities governing their fates and actions, all wired towards the ecological cause. In *The Overstory*, Patricia Westerford is already

depicted as a weird child even before the unnatural episode where nature sends signals through her body to prevent her from committing suicide. Olivia Vandergriff, a 'lost' soul, has visions and hears the voices of supernatural entities and spirits that are sent by nature to change the course of her life towards ecological activism.

The coupling of the unnatural with female voices and incentives fulfills two dimensions. First, there seems to be a clear engagement with the anthropocentric view of nature, criticizing its masculinist conception. Second, the weird occurrences address a traditional tendency in eco-narratives to rely on realism, as "much nature writing in the American and European traditions takes a more or less mimetic approach to the question of representation, often basing itself on the acts of looking at or walking through natural landscapes" (Heise 130). The implausible attributes and events, then, provide an alternative template for writing about ecology and engaging with the perceived threat to nature. Reflecting on this turn, Natalie Dederichs coined the term "Atmosfears" to qualify the "deeply unsettling imaginaries" (27) that inhabit weird eco-fiction texts. The estrangement in fiction, she argues, bridges the gap between human and non-human entities, "reaffirming ecological relationality and thus undoing this human self-estrangement" (38).

Undoubtedly, the earth is suffering, and "the increasing frequency of seismic trembles, hurricanes, freak temperatures, and toxic spills" (Ingwersen 74) echo Man's exploitation of the natural environment without regard to what would happen next. Damaging the environment threatens future generations and makes the prospect of a "sixth extinction" seem possible. Speaking of "the sixth great extinction" as an almost inevitable fact, Claire Colebrook states that "climate becomes an indispensable concept for thinking about the new modes of knowledge and feeling that mark the twenty-first century in terms of our growing sense of precarious attachment to a fragile planet" (11). This article proposes that these "new modes of knowledge" are advanced from a feminist point of view in *The Overstory*, illustrating the ongoing revision of anthropocentrism.

Drawing from the insights of posthumanism and feminist theories, the paper seeks to identify the feminist framing of the ecological question, advancing the idea that ecofeminism presents an approach to ecological salvation based on care ethics because they are divorced from the alleged masculinist self-centeredness and utilitarian thought.

The feminist framework mainly operates through the alliance between several narrative elements that collaborate to create the vein of Hélène Cixous' notion of "écriture féminine." First, the course of the revisionist thought that has gradually led to the reconsideration of Man's place in the universe will be reviewed, culminating in the feminist critique of anthropocentrism. The next section explores gender discrimination in relation to academia and how its staging and phrasing conform to "écriture féminine." Then, the ways feminism is enmeshed with a tale of nature as a nonhuman 'other' are further analyzed, to draw the contours of ecofeminist ethics. Ultimately, however, it is noted that Powers seems to discuss the limitations of the single view, particularly in *The Overstory*'s ambivalent ending which throws clear demarcations into doubt, calling for collaborative efforts rather than exclusionary thought.

Ecofeminism: The Roots

Broadly, the studies engaging with the status of Man as embedded in a larger environmental context beyond the premise of his uniqueness or supremacy in the "great chain of beings," mark the turn of the new millennium, and bear witness to an altered vision articulated along different theoretical axes. It is probably wise to trace the seeds of this shift back to the late 1940s with the advent of the theories that initiated the assault on supremacist views, exclusionary thought, and discriminatory practices. The teaming of these theories has come to be known as postmodern thought, embracing the rejection of the ossified assumptions that have primarily secured an illusory bounded Western subjectivity, which is accepted to be at the origin of the hierarchies of worth and justice that have shaped the existence of human beings. With a positively aggressive vigor, feminist voices seized the signifying backlash to remove male biases from language, social practices, and political and economic activities, social practices, and political and economic exercises from male biases. Indeed, the feminists' world is "a just world . . . where equality and freedom are premises, not aspirations" (Arruzza et al. 3). Although feminism as a consistent movement can be traced back to the late nineteenth century, rebellious thought regarding discrimination against women certainly predates the movement. Sarah Gamble locates the first seeds of feminist resistance as far back as the seventeenth century, explaining that the period between 1550 and 1700 was an era of "legitimate" oppression and abuse of women: no systematic right to education, to any sort of involvement in political life,

nor economic independence, together with the accepted fact that a girl was the property of her father until her marriage (4). In short, women were an inferior branch of humans, tainted by Eve's transgression in the Garden of Eden with fewer capabilities than men for moral behavior and rational thought. Contesting patriarchal rule operated through campaigns for education and the benefits of cultivating rational thought for women, deemed hysterical and affect-driven for so long.

Apart from a revision and, at times, a rejection of previous feminist assumptions, the new vein or Third Wave Feminism—also alternatively labeled Postfeminism (36)—crosses the boundary of gender and allows intersection with ethnicity, race, disability, queer, and ecology, excavating the different forms Man –dominated by masculine views- continues to operate in hegemonic ways. Prominent voices from the "margin" developed a distinctive area of investigation centering on race (Michelle Wallace, Angela Davis, and Bell Hooks), ethnicity (Gayatri Spivak), transgender issues (Kosofsky Sedgwick and Judith Butler), or class. These theoreticians discuss how the different categories "come together to create a system of privilege or disadvantage for any individual" (Galvan 332).

As the logical end of the feminist processing of reality, attacking capitalism seemed the obvious move to yield genuine change. Capitalism is "the system that generates the boss, produces national borders, and manufactures the drones that guard them" (Arruzza et al. 3). It is clear from the above quotation that the terrain of feminist investigation and theorization extends to issues of social justice, immigration, and refugees. More to the interest of the present study, and with direct relation to capitalism, ecology has come to occupy a prominent theoretical space as early as the 1970s with *The Lady of the Land* (1975) by Annette Kolodny, and *Rethinking Ecofeminist Politics* (1991) by Janet Biehl, inaugurating a new line of thought that tries to "de-anthropomorphize self-regarding humanity by focusing on an identifiable "Other"" (Fromm 441). Feminists from the 1980s have already theorized "humans, nonhumans, culture, and nature as inextricably entangled" (Grusin viii), demarcating themselves from an anthropocentric view of the universe, largely assessed as masculinist.

According to Bruno Latour, the anthropocene refers to "the Male Western Subject [who] dominated the wild and savage world nature through his courageous, violent, sometimes hubristic dream of control" (5). It is undeniable that the capitalist and liberal policies that

have governed the world since the Industrial Revolution are largely devised and led by male protagonists. The disastrous consequences on the environment point to the failure of the masculinist approach in creating the conditions for a smooth coexistence between the different living entities on Earth. Ecofeminism has particularly been insightful in identifying the "structural homologies between patriarchy, capitalism, racism, and technoscience, each of which depends on enforcing hierarchical dualisms between dominant and oppressed entities" (Grusin ix). Thus, the anthropocentric approach to the world has yielded a structure that marks as Adams and Gruen state, "those with power and those available to be exploited by those with power" (3).

As a conceptual and analytical field that roughly emerged in the 1970s, ecofeminism draws from multiple feminist discourses and perspectives to reflect on the devastation of the environment by human action. The main contention according to Ynestra King is that "there is no hierarchy in nature: among persons, between persons and the rest of the natural world, or among the many forms of nonhuman nature" (qtd. in Adams and Gruen, "Footings" 1). Ecofeminism sets the link between the oppression of women and the oppression of nature, which naturally makes both issues intersect. In fact, "[a]nalyzing mutually reinforcing logics of domination and drawing connections between practical implications of power relations has been a core project of ecofeminism" (1). One of the substantial claims of ecofeminism is that Man should be repositioned as one element alongside the other nonhuman elements in the universe, and his whims, aspirations, and well-being must not be advanced at the expense of the entities that cannot protest or protect themselves. Special endeavors go as far as proposing an "anthropocene feminism" (Grusin x) to signal the break with prior conceptions of the anthropocene, suggesting that a seriously damaged ecology is the product of centuries of male-anthropocene domination. In *The Overstory*, the reader is invited to contemplate the ecological concern, and a close reading of the text shows the unmistakable feminist tone.

Gender in the Academia and the Poetics of "Ecriture Féminine"

Reading *The Overstory*, one is overwhelmed by the thematic, semantic, and lexical presence of the trees. The novel is about a group of American people from different locations and backgrounds, whose

paths ultimately cross in the battle to save the American legendary trees from being destroyed. Becoming activists, they roam the American landscape, and narration becomes a vast canvas of descriptive passages about the splendid trees, naming every breed and every microorganism in the entire ecosystem. Following a magnifying lens, the reader's attention is barely diverted from the engulfing green aura. The characters' profiles, however, are no less important as indicative of ideological issues to reflect on. Indeed, one of the main storylines in *The Overstory* captures the experience of a female scholar caught within the net of male peers who judge her work and govern her academic fate. Staging the question of gender inequality and discrimination in academia within the broader scope of environmentalism testifies to the presumed link between women and nature as twins in oppression.

We encounter Patricia Westerford, "queen of chlorophyll" or "Plant-Patty" as labeled by her mates on campus. As a child, she is described as immersed in nature, "her woodlands world," to the degree that the other children mock her as part of the vegetation itself, a "thing only borderline human" (Powers 115). She studies botany at the university, earns a PhD, and makes breakthrough revelations about the trees possessing the faculty to communicate and notify each other in case of danger, through chemicals they spread in the air as a kind of warning. She experiments with "one of her bagged trees under-scale insect invasions" (126), only to find out that "trees a little way off, untouched by the invading swarms, ramp up their defenses when their neighbor is attacked. Something alerts them. They get wind of the disaster and prepare . . . The wounded trees send out alarms that other trees smell . . . These brainless, stationary trunks are protecting each other" (126). Message emission and recognition, she argues, are among the attributes that imply sentience and action, which imposes the revision of many scientific assumptions about the green world.

The reaction of the male professors, however, comes as no surprise. Putting into words in an official document their disdain for her findings, they state that "her methods are flawed and her statistics problematic," and that she "displays an almost embarrassing misunderstanding of the units of natural selection," to finally end up being stamped as "the woman who thinks that trees are intelligent" (127). Here, the text signals male authority in the academic context, the institutional power that preserves male privileges in scientific and scholarly circles. In their failure to recognize or respect women's research, they impose

psychological and practical constraints on the advancement of female careers over generations. This unjustified oppression creates a hierarchy of worth and dignity, along which women are devalued and restrained.

Although male-authored, the narrative enacts writing practices peculiar to "écriture féminine," a term developed by Hélène Cixous. In fact, "écriture féminine searches for a femininity marginalized within the symbolic order and tries to express it through female-body oriented writings that subvert the rules of Western logocentrism and phallocentrism" (Gutenberg 131). A clear hint that the symbolic order represents a site of gender tension is manifest in the board's report. The report "contains four uses of the word Patricia and no mention of Doctor" until the signature of the board of the three male scientists, mentioned as "doctors" (Powers 127). Thus, the professors even deny her the title of doctor, a linguistic signifier of excellence and worth.

The first move then is to unveil women's marginalization through this nested episode that exposes the abusive male prerogatives and interests in academia. Representing the major actants in higher education, the male board displays an unmistakable distrust of Patricia's scientific approach and rigor of method, too familiar for countless female scholars across nations. Academia as a site of hegemonic negotiations has long been governed by the "presumption of incompetence" of the non-white-western male (Harris and Gonzalez 2012). More specifically for the present study, "sexism" defined the terms of women's eligibility for academic positions and the "scientificity" of their works (Muhs et al.; Pereira; Crimmins 2019). Patricia's treatment stems from the view that women are inferior to men when it comes to "logic and rational reasoning"; a view that extends to their marginalization as "leaders in business, politics and academia" (Crimmins 4). With reverberations in the real world, these practices subject women to unfair criteria and downplay their competence. Based on studies conducted in developed countries among which the US, Canada, and the UK, Crimmins argues that even though "approximately half of the PhDs awarded go to women" in the new millennium, "the proportion of female tenures at the universities is lower than those of men, and it further decreases in positions as full professors" (5).

The poetics of "écriture féminine" extend beyond the linguistic domain. It is argued that "EF texts are never purely analytical but transform basic theoretical tenets into narratives containing strongly lyrical elements and inscriptions of corporeality" (Gutenberg 131).

Interestingly, Patricia's depiction puts the accent on her embodied dimension, especially manifest in the woods. Following the humiliation, Patricia retreats from academia and takes refuge in the woods, immersing herself in the green territory where she feels a sense of belonging. The night she resolves to commit suicide, nature contacts with her through her corporeality, and "something stops her. Signals flood her muscles, finer than words. Not this. Come with. Fear nothing" (Powers 128). This is where "the particle of her private self rejoins everything it has been split off from" (130). The discursive rendering of Patricia as a physical particle of the woods also rests on the methodical phrasing of her sentience. In the Northwestern forests she feels "underwater," which translates her impression of being flooded by the surrounding natural elements, to the extent that "if she holds still too long, vines will overrun her." Regarding the conflict between Man and the environment, Patricia "can hear, louder than the quaking leaves, which side will lose by winning" (144). Patricia's embodied immersion in nature sets a quasi-pre-symbolic order, in which the "Law of the Father" disappears, and the feminine 'jouissance' with nature prevails.

Ultimately, the female biologist is recast as part of vegetation, "a change in the weather … a clear wind rolling down from the hills" (121). The human/nature identification establishes the equation of both categories being under oppression. According to Ann E. Cudd, oppression "names a harm through which groups of persons are systematically and unfairly or unjustly constrained, burdened, or reduced by any of several social forces" (3721). The natural environment is being violated by human beings, and more essentially by practices stemming from an anthropocentric -masculinist- approach to the world. This particular node constitutes the intersection between gender discrimination and the ecological question, the female 'other' and the nonhuman 'other' are oppressed, hence a subtle fabrication of "écriture féminine" as the subtext of *The Overstory*.

The Interlaced Spheres of Compassion and Care Ethics

With Patricia Westerford, the narrative establishes environmental ethics as interlaced with the feminine. In fact, "she alone" can see "the oblique miracles that green can devise" (Powers 116). Powers' scheme in creating zones of contamination between the environmental question and the feminist struggle runs through the narrative, multiplying female

leaders in the ecological cause. Mother N, the chief activist in a forest camp of protesters, oversees guiding the newcomers in their rites of initiation. A very respectable figure, she stands for wise "mother nature," as the earth is commonly referred to; the pun on her name is unmistakable. A more complex character at the center of the epic journey for saving trees, Olivia Vandergrief, a failure as a student, becomes the leading figure of the protagonist's companions in the fight. In a narrative that borrows much from the fantasy tale, she drops her dull existence and follows invisible creatures as they direct her to the forest, where she is able to persuade the other protagonists to follow the voices and vibes of the woods. Together, they plan the sabotage of multiple shields for engines and bulldozers, owned by timber companies. The engineer who plans and designs the steps of these operations is another female character, Mimi Ma, a former successful engineer who quit the comfort of her job in a big corporation to answer the call of the trees.

Women are thus depicted as proactive, and inclined to self-denial and self-sacrifice, for the benefit of nature, and ultimately humanity. Pushing the similarity between women and trees to extremes, Powers draws on another characteristic of the female figure. The typical support networks that characterize feminist militancy and female bonding are found to prevail in nature as well. In fact, Patricia studies the bonding of the green elements, and she notes how "fungi . . . infuse into the roots of trees in partnerships so tight it's hard to say where one organism leaves off and the other begins" (Powers 142). This empathic sphere constitutes a portal for envisaging care ethics and moral responsibility toward a magnificent nonhuman 'other' that is entangled with the feminine.

Taking its power from a "lyrical" tone, typical of the mode of "écriture féminine," the narrative celebrates the American landscape and "America's perfect tree" (Powers 12), the "majestic" and "divine" redwood tree, with "health and power, size and beauty" (51). Descriptions of the green elements across the pages create an ethereal backstage for female protagonists while navigating their fates. The Ma tree is "too big. Too big to make sense of. Too big to credit as a living thing. It's a triple-wide door of darkness into the side of the night" with "an endless trunk. And up the trunk runs, straight up, beyond comprehension, an immortal, collective ecosystem" (193). Strategically, Powers then moves to paint the desolation of the land, as, across the continent, "hikers . . . want to know where the forests of their youth have gone" (91). Deforestation defines the newly constituted landscape. From the extensive use of

genetically modified organisms to pollution and the abuse of natural resources to twisted urban and coastal planning, Man is driving the earth to a state of irreversible damage, and no species will be spared. From a scientific perspective, humans meddle with "landscape patchiness," provoking change at the level of landscape and harming ecosystems (Armesto et al. 261).

Travelling through Idaho, Douglas, a veteran converted into an activist and the companion of Mimi Ma, is appalled by what he sees: "a stumpy desolation spreads in front of him. The ground bleeds reddish slag mixed with sawdust and slash . . . It's like the alien death rays have hit and the world is asking permission to end" (89). More poignantly, cleared of its trees, the land "looks like the shaved flank of a sick beast being readied for surgery" (90). This spectacle of disaster is a direct indictment of human activities and greed. Further still, in a systematic construction of Man as ignorant of the true essence of vegetation, his oblivion towards its diversity attracts mockery, as "the several hundred kinds of Hawthorn [trees] laugh at the single name they are forced to share" (1). Clearly expressed in the novel, the outrage at the human assault against biodiversity and ecosystems matches the current wave of scientific and scholarly voices that condemn the atrocity of human activities.

Lamenting the environmental degradation, Holmes Rolston (2013) writes that "[d]estroying species is like tearing pages out of an unread book, written in a language humans hardly know how to read, about the place where we live" (4973). Such is the comment on the inadequate or deficient political and legislative responses to the alarming loss of wildlife with its multiple species and diverse ecosystems. This diversity, deemed vital for human survival, is, according to experts, threatened as never before. The female gaze and cognition in the figure of Patricia are captivated by the biological diversity at the heart of the forest as an ecosystem. Beyond appearances, she senses, "it rains particles –spore clouds, broken webs, and mammal dander, skeletonized mites, bits of insect fuss and beard feather" (Powers 134). In agreement with Patricia's insight, voices from various disciplines surge to counter exclusive –yet limited- concern for the utterly visible, disregarding the fact that "[b]iology is multileveled, with processes at molecular, cellular, metabolic, organismic, species, ecosystems, and even global levels" (Rolston 4975). The invisible thus lies at the heart of the tree bark, where an unsuspected life-maintaining enterprise involves thousands of microscopic organisms, perhaps best described as such:

> the trunk turns into stacks of spreading metropolis, networks of conjoined cells pulsing with energy and liquid sun, water rising through long thin reeds, rings of them banded together into pipes that draw dissolved minerals up through the narrowing tunnels of transparent twigs and out through their waving tips while sun-made sustenance drops down in tubes just inside them. A colossal, rising, reaching, stretching space elevator of a billion independent parts, shuttling the air into the sky and storing the sky deep underground, sorting possibility out of nothing. (Powers 118)

The passage is a clear tribute by a contemplating gaze that stands in awe of the sublime spectacle of the life unfolding within a tree. However, "what humans are doing, or allowing to happen through carelessness, is shutting down the life stream, the most destructive event possible" (Rolston 4978). The fierce female activism in the novel is presented as a humanitarian intervention, in the same way, humans are supposed to respond to the genocides and atrocities some of their fellow helpless humans are subject to, in compliance with care ethics. Thus, the novel foregrounds the idea that "harm" as an ethically indictable concept equally applies to nonhumans, in line with feminist ethics. Diverging from the moral system devised by male authorities since the age of reason, ecofeminists attack the interest-driven consideration of nature that foregrounds its utilitarian dimension and its "failure" to apply to a moral status, that would entail duties towards its conservation. Humans as uniquely enjoying "sentience," "self-consciousness," "intentional states" and "rationality" are the ones entitled "to be part of a moral community, to understand and subscribe to agreed-upon norms, and to abide by these norms" (Bortolutti et al. 4803-4804).

For centuries then, trees and any living organism other than the human being were not considered "good in their own right," hence, no moral obligation whatsoever has been posited as an "imperative" in accordance with Kant's understanding of moral duty, the way it is the case towards humans, and to a lesser degree, animals. Proposing that Man and plants are embedded and interconnected in the conditions of their growth and survival, ecofeminists posit an ethic that extends moral agency to the green existents, central in the attempts to provoke measures to temper lethal human activities. Activities "that might cause pain or distress to the

living beings, human or nonhuman" (Bortolutti et al. 4803) are assessed with equal grids, even though nonhuman agents cannot report the harm occasioned. Consideration of being victims of "coercion" then, becomes a justly distributed state, allowing moral assessment for nonhuman entities. It is largely agreed that the green entities can accurately qualify for the position of victims and, instead of reparations for unjust harm, Man can prevent future damage and rescue the remaining endangered flora species. Ecofeminists adopt the view that "the ability to empathize and care is necessary for ethics, ethical reasoning, and ethical decision making" (Warren 232), for a new conceptualization of ecological ethics.

Borrowing the words of Patricia, the scientist, "the things people know for sure will change. There is no knowing *for a fact*" (Powers 118). Patricia's reasoning is in line with the ecofeminist critique of the "romantic and heroic narrative underlying masculinized environmental ethics" (Gaard 1539). It is with his pioneering article "The Historical Roots of our Ecologic Crisis" (1967) that Lynn White, Jr. initiated the anti-anthropocentric view. He claims that Man was given supremacy through the story of creation in the Judeo-Christian narratives, which center on "the divine sanction of human control and mastery over nature" (Minteer 59). The article was a starting point in what would become an academic wave backed by philosophers, especially Richard Routley, who called for a reconceptualization of environmental ethics in relation to anthropocentrism (Minteer 59). With the intensification of the debates, feminists had finally found the ground to frame what they long believed to be intertwined with their cause: an ethical consideration of nature. Feminists showed that understanding the way nature is coerced can contribute to understanding the ways women are subordinated. Indeed, "ecological feminism posits a variety of connections between the domination of women (and other Others) and the domination of "nature," all by the same entity: the "ratio-normative, hetero-normative, white male human being" (Warren 228), through "feminizing nature" and "naturalizing women" (Warren 230). It has thus been theorized that women and nature undergo the same conceptual oppressive attitudes and assumptions that "explain, maintain, and "justify" relationships of (unjustifiable) domination and subordination" (Warren 231), hence the revision of male anthropocentrism.

In agreement with the feminist lens, a careful painting of a community of oppressed or marginalized others informs the narrative trajectory of *The Overstory*. In addition to Patricia as a devalued female

scholar, we encounter diverse complex characters, each representing an infirmity, a specific ethnic background, or a social class. Mimi Ma, who is an engineer, is the daughter of a Chinese immigrant, who chose to deny his origins, language, and culture, to fit into an unforgiving job market. In fact, "[h]e's a small, cute, smiling, warm, Muslim Chinese guy who loves math, American cars, elections, and camping . . . But he never speaks Chinese, not even in Chinatown;" and he tells Mimi "of all the Stranded Scholars, changed into Americans by the Displaced Persons Act" (Powers 20). The pressure of assimilation and fear of discrimination thus, punctuate the lives of immigrants in the US, with differing degrees. Equally distressed, Neelay's father, an Indian immigrant, goes to great lengths to proceed unnoticed, adopting the American lifestyle and working extremely hard in his position to prove worthy of staying on American soil; a poor father, "who has made himself invisible for years, just for the right to live and work in this golden State" (Powers 118). Neelay is also disabled and his advancement in society is only made possible by his genius at coding and creating video games.

Another figure at the periphery of 'normality,' Adam Appiah, as his mother says, "is a little socially retarded" and "[t]he school nurse says to keep an eye" (63). It turns out that he is an autistic boy who grows suspicious of the educational system after numerous misfortunes in a school system that fails to understand him. Diversifying profiles, the author introduces Douglas, a veteran with a crashed leg following a mission in Vietnam. He is rejected by the system as "THE AIR FORCE has no use for gimps" (99). Douglas dedicates his life to replanting the American forest, attracting the reader's empathy and concern, given the complexity of the legacy of the Vietnam War. These characters are made to meet and become the "defenders" of the American trees, populating the narrative with sensibilities that interlace with the feminine, the trees, and the microorganisms of the woods, to ultimately constitute the fabric of a patch of human and nonhuman existence.

Providing this inclusive framework imports "moral duties" from the human sphere to be applicable for the inanimate beings. Along a valid analogy with the ethics addressing human harm and injustice, the question of ecology under ecofeminism enjoys the reconceptualization of such notions as "care," "justice," "moral imperative" and "worth," creating the conceptual triggers for concrete action and timely rescue measures. In *The Overstory*, Man and nature are proposed as mutually dependent and analogous. Addressing the human being, the woods in the

narrative whisper "if you would learn the secrets of Nature, you must practice more humanity" (Powers 5). This suggests the merging of the human with the natural in an irrevocably entangled state. The aspiration is to secure what is taken for granted as "an inalienable quality" for humans, that is, the "possession of an inherent, unearned form of worth or standing," as the basis of rights and "moral claims" on others (Fitzpatrick 5546). As noted by Patricia, the tree is "strong and wide but full of grace, flaring out nobly at the base, into its own plinth. Generous with nuts that feed all comers . . . Elegant with sturdy boughs so much like human arms, lifting upward at the tips like hands proffering?" (Powers 116), openly articulating the analogy.

Contrary to an approach that is collaborative with "the rationalist tradition" that de-emotionalizes ecological approaches and advances a disembodied view of the self which severs its conduct and cognition from its surroundings (Warren 234), *The Overstory* is a tale of interdependent selves deeply engrained in idiosyncratic social circumstances, each experiencing oppression, to constitute a community of 'others' assembled by empathy. As such, an eco-narrative fashioned along ecofeminist ethics emerges "from the 'voices' of entities located in different historical circumstances . . . a kind of narrative about humans, human-human relationships, and human-nonhuman animal or nature relationships" (Warren 232).

Ultimately, Patricia's research is confirmed by other scholars, and she is finally able to disclose to the world "how trees talk to one another, over the air and underground. How they care and feed each other, orchestrating shared behaviors through the networked soil. How they build immune systems as wide as a forest" (Powers 212). In the fight for trees, Olivia sadly dies at an explosion she has orchestrated with her companions, in an ultimate act of sacrifice for nature, giving her life for the survival of the nonhuman species. Uncannily similar, "before it dies, a Douglas-fir, half a million old, will send its storehouse of chemicals back down into its roots and out through its fungal partners, donating its riches to the community pool in a last will testament" (Powers 215). Powers consistently depicts trees and women as partners and kin in their fight, generosity, and sacrifice, allowing the feminist view of human-plant entanglement full articulation.

While the systematic framing of the ecological question advocates feminist ethics, the ending of *The Overstory* seems perplexing.

With Olivia's death, Mimi Ma and the other protagonists embark on an anonymous existence, hiding from the authorities. Patricia commits suicide, and Adam is caught to answer for "domestic terrorism." In a dream-like vision, he witnesses how the city is invaded by stretches of forests, greening the buildings and replacing concrete. Thwarting the readers' utopic expectations that the female characters will triumph in their fight tempers the promise of an easy resolution and suggests the long and painful struggle that will be needed to save the planet. The ending seems to issue a kind of warning against extreme attitudes and single-thread frameworks. Indeed, the risk is to replace male essentialism with female-centeredness, according to which the view of women as better carers for nature is advanced as another stereotype. Indeed, the figure of Patricia's father is an eloquent illustration of this view. He is the one who instructs her about nature, with full acceptance of her difference, as he "alone understands her woodlands world" (Powers 129). Endowed with affective sentiments towards nature, "[h]e tells her, on their drives, about all the oblique miracles that green can devise," criticizing how Man is "plant-blind" (130). Thus, ecofeminism is foregrounded in the novel, yet, with no naïve claims that it is exclusive. To their credit, ecofeminists believe "that, as a feminist ethic, it is gender biased, but claims that this is a better bias (more inclusive and therefore less partial) bias than a male-gendered bias or biases that exclude the voices of the dominated" (Warren 232). The narrative thus generates no illusions as to the complexity of the ecological question. It, however, knits together empathy, care, and ethical consideration to forge a new path for environmental studies, under the auspices of the feminine "sense and sensibility."

Conclusion

It has been demonstrated that the narrative of *The Overstory* spells the contours of an "écriture féminine" through gender discrimination in academia, female sentience and embodiment, the lyrical tone, and female heroism. Further consolidating the feminist framework, the narrative is preoccupied with multidimensional oppression, making the case for multiplicity and diversity through the different characters. Sketching the script of the adequate response to address the violations, "empathy, care, and connection figure strongly in ecofeminist discussions of animal defense and vegetarianism" (Gaard 1540), emphasizing the intrinsic value of plants and more broadly nonhuman entities; a value that is

independent of human ends. The nonhuman creature emerges as a "right-holder," implying duties of "care" and protection on the "second party," "whose conduct is normatively directed by that right" (Martin 4628), eschewing issues of autonomy and agency as prerequisites for eligibility for moral consideration. Empathy and science, as displayed by Patricia, constitute the spirit of ecofeminist ethics, contending that "tree and you still share a quarter of your genes," in the words of Patricia (Powers 133). As such, deviating from the accepted conception of nature as secondary to humans, feminist environmental ethics view nature not as the stage for human action and existence, providing location, landscape, and resources; the land, rather, with the diversity of its visible and invisible green components, along with animals, constitute a community to which the human being only belongs to in contrast to masters. By advocating "creative problem-solving in developing life-affirming, environmentally and socially sustainable, biologically and culturally diverse practices, policies, lifestyles, and communities of choice" (Warren 229), ecofeminist ethics, it seems, lay the ground to extend justice to our biological kin: the nonhuman 'other,' just the way the diverse cast of human and nonhuman beings are entangled in *The Overstory*. Yet, the narrative moves beyond the dualism and binarism that have long characterized Western thought. By including male characters as stubborn environmental activists, *The Overstory* shows how "the imagination can be used to create eco-friendly, humanistic norms, such as masculinities/femininities without hierarchies" (Rose 327).

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"Words on Fire:" Langston Hughes and the Black Hegelian Poetic in *The Panther and the Lash*

Bryan Banker

Abstract

Langston Hughes (1901-1967), the American poet, novelist, playwright, and social activist, is not only a central figure in American literature but also considered one of the pioneers of a distinct African American literary voice. From his integral part of the literary and intellectual scene of the Harlem Renaissance to the American Civil Rights era, Hughes' powerful and innovative work captured the struggles, joys, and complexities of Black life. While Hughes' catalog is exhaustive, this study focuses on his final collection, *The Panther and the Lash* (1967), which offers an exemplary depiction of Hughes' evolving philosophical thought.

His formulation of major racial, social, and political themes and subjects in the collection reveals the profound impact of Hughes' intellectual mentor, W. E. B. Du Bois, and his study of Hegelian dialectical philosophy. What emerges, I argue, a Black Hegelian poetic—the conceptualization of Hegelian philosophical principles to explore and articulate the complexities of Black experiences and identity, signifying a synthesis of philosophical thought, cultural consciousness, and poetic expression. The analysis of *The Panther and the Lash* showcases Hughes' ability to intensify differences, negate contraries, and engage in a continual process of formation and re-

formation. Thus, readers can interrogate his Black responses to the historical, socio-political movements and events that have taken place towards the end of his life.

Keywords: Langston Hughes, W. E. B. Du Bois, Hegel, dialectical philosophy, African American aesthetics, poetry

"Words on Fire:" Langston Hughes ve *The Panther and the Lash'*de Siyah Hegelci Şiir

Öz

Amerikalı şair, romancı, oyun yazarı ve aktivist Langston Hughes (1901-1967), Amerikan edebiyatının önemli isimleri arasında yer almasının yanı sıra, kendine özgü bir Afrikalı Amerikalı edebi sesinin yaratılmasının öncülerinden biri olarak da kabul edilir. Harlem Rönesansı'nın edebi ve entelektüel ortamının ayrılmaz bir parçası olmasından Amerikan Sivil Haklar dönemindeki etkinliğine kadar, Hughes'un güçlü ve yenilikçi çalışmaları, Afrikalı Amerikalıların yaşamındaki zorlukları, sevinçleri ve karmaşıklıkları incelikle yakalayabilmiştir. Hughes'un külliyatı hayli kapsamlıdır, ancak bu çalışma, sadece, yazarın felsefi düşüncesinin güzel bir örneğini sunan *The Panther and the Lash* (1967) adlı son derlemesine odaklanmaktadır.

Derlemedeki başlıca ırksal, toplumsal ve politik yaklaşımlarda, Hughes'un entelektüel akıl hocası W. E. B. Du Bois'in ve onun Hegelci diyalektik felsefesinin etkisi görülür. Burada Siyah Hegelci bir şiir ortaya çıkar. Bu şiir, özünde, felsefi düşünce, kültürel bilinç ve şiirsel ifadenin ilgi çekici bir sentezini sunarak, Siyah deneyimi ve kimliğinin karmaşıklığını ifade etmek için Hegelci ilkelerin kavramsallaştırılması anlamına gelir. *The Panther and the Lash*, Hughes'un farklılıkları yoğunlaştırma, karşıtlıkları olumsuzlama ve sürekli bir oluşum ve yeniden oluşum sürecine girme yeteneğini gözler önüne serer. Böylece okurlar, Hughes'un yaşamının sonlarına doğru gerçekleşen tarihsel, toplumsal ve politik olaylara verdiği tepkileri görebilirler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Langston Hughes, W. E. B. Du Bois, Hegel, diyalektik felsefe, Afrikalı Amerikan estetiği, şiir

Spirit is the "nature" of individuals, their immediate substance, and its movement and necessity; it is as much the personal consciousness in their existence as it is their pure consciousness, their life, their actuality.
G. W. F. Hegel, The Jena Lectures 1805-6

and this is my poem. Listen fluently now!
— Langston Hughes, "Dream Variations"

Introduction: The Social Poet's Multiple Identities[1]

Langston Hughes is a mosaic, a figure entangled within categorizations of race, color, class, and sexuality. According to most biographical accounts, including his autobiography, Hughes elusively hid his complex identity behind a smile (*The Big Sea* xvi)—a facadist move that permeates much of his biographical work. Hughes seemingly would rather focus on the present or point to a future where he can glide over concrete questions regarding his experiences and life.

Hughes' status as an "unknowable" subject, as Shane Vogel writes, is essential for much of the scholarship on the poet (*Scene of Harlem Cabaret* 107). While this ambiguity makes it challenging for Hughes scholars to grasp his identity, it also allows for multiple interpretations of both the person and the artist. It is a stimulating way to think about one of the United States' most famous poets. Author of poems, plays, essays, and short fiction, Hughes often reflected the historical events that he lived through. Hughes' work and life writing, while at times obstruse, captured complex themes and subjects that range from colorism to sexuality. While his contemporaries used different intellectual and artistic mediums to understand Black American consciousness and experience, Hughes sought a more multi-directional aesthetic. Through his poetry and poetic folk-philosophical writing, Hughes hoped to explain what it takes to be a non-conformist in the United States and what identity may represent throughout the world. Juda Bennett echoes what many have said about Hughes, namely, that Hughes is a figure in constant motion (685), a product of his time who experienced life, traveling around the world, at a time

of great transition in the early twentieth century. Likewise, Hughes' work traversed divisions of region, class, race, gender, and sexuality in styles that ranged from the lyrically beautiful to the radically political and social.

This study builds upon (auto-)biographical materials that implicate a kind of philosophical thinking by which Hughes internalizes what he learned from his youth. He amalgamated different aspects that he refined as an artist; from his father, who helped define the constrictions of race and class, to his mother and grandmother, who expanded Hughes' imaginative, poetic disposition (Hughes, *Collected Works* 6). Scholars need to acknowledge the interactions between Hughes' social identities and the impact of these identities upon his creative craft and his poetic voice, and how these developed out of his experiences as a closeted gay[2] Black political and artistic subject in the United States.

Throughout his career, Hughes showed a keen interest in destabilizing normative sexual, racial, and gender subjectivities (Ponce; Jarraway; Barrett). Vogel argues that Hughes' struggle for racial equality was inseparable from battles against class, sexual, and gender normativity (*Scene of Harlem Cabaret* 13). The interconnectedness of these social issues and social categories of identities made sense for Hughes, as he often had to negotiate his race, sexuality, and class positions to locate spaces where he felt free. One such "space" is through his poetic imagination. Poetry became a space where all desired forms of identities could be explored, understood, and practiced, and the results of these multiple interactions produced a symbolized freedom of being. This line of thinking showcases the poet as a dialectician, one who dialectically mediates differing influences and social categories of identification to seek the fulfillment of desire in a form of synthesis.

While Hughes wrote a great many poems, this study focuses on Hughes' dialectical negotiation of his racial, sexual, social, and political identity, and other major themes in his final collection, *The Panther and the Lash* (1967), published towards the end of his life. Here (and elsewhere) in Hughes' work, the influence of his intellectual mentor, W. E. B. Du Bois—the African American writer and thinker whose pioneering studies of race, identity, recognition, and experience are prisms through which countless Americans view the world—is especially visible. It is Du Bois' notions of dialectical philosophy, taken

from his study of the German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel, that inform how Hughes can "see" and "think" through the complex mediation of his social categories of identification, social and political ideologies, along with the major themes in his writing.

Thus, in *The Panther and the Lash*, readers can flesh out the complexities of Hughes' biography, to interrogate his Black responses to the historical, socio-political movements and events that have taken place throughout his lifetime. The collection, I contend, introduces two simultaneous dialectical formations. The first is thematic, where Hughes engages with a diverse array of historical, cultural, and political elements in the poetry, and the second is formally, through his vibrant poetic compositions distinguished by intricate imagery, rhythmic eloquence, and the integration of vernacular expressions. Through this dual dialectical articulation, Hughes showcases his intellectual formulation as well as presents his thinking on Black cultural expression and experiences. I argue that this exemplifies what I refer to as the Black Hegelian poetic—a conceptualization wherein Hughes applies Hegelian philosophical principles to explore and articulate the complexities of Black knowledge, experiences, and identities. It signifies a synthesis of philosophical thought, cultural consciousness, and poetic expression within the specific context of Hughes' work. Through the contemplation of Hughes' philosophical thought as Black Hegelian in *The Panther and the Lash*, his distinct illustration of dialectical thinking is underscored.

With the diverging poems in *The Panther and the Lash*, Hughes steps outward, demonstrating how these different poems are in relation to one another in dialectical ways. Consequently, the collection is Hughes' dialectic at work in the way he intensifies the differences in the collected poems while remaining elusive to whether some definitive whole or finality will emerge. Ultimately, I argue that in *The Panther and the Lash,* Hughes' evolving philosophical thought is made visible in the ways he pushes poetic contraries and negates them when a dialectical opposite is recognized. Hughes transforms words into a simultaneous process of forming, contradicting, and re-formation, towards a unification only to be dialectically turned over again.

Dialectics: Hegel, Du Bois, and Hughes

This study responds to Akiba Harper's call to scholars who have neglected Hughes' inventive philosophical and socio-political commentary within his work (15). Hughes followed Du Boisian inspiration, aiming to artistically synthesize the complex intersubjective relationships of literary, political, and social influences in his work.[3] Du Bois insisted that art functions as propagandistic agitation and protest, and as a racial, historical, socio-economic, and cultural instruction. Du Bois turned to the German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel and his dialectical logic for a theoretical framework that accommodates the multiple articulations of these ever-moving concepts.[4] Du Bois turned to Hegel to seek philosophical answers to the social concerns of Black Americans at the turn of the twentieth century, radically adapting aspects of Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807) in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). Although drawn to Hegel's historical analysis, it was his dialectical method or "speculative mode of cognition" (*Elements of the Philosophy of Right* §10) in *The Phenomenology of Spirit* that Du Bois took to diagnose the struggle of competing Black and American consciousnesses in the United States (Adell 15-16).

Now, dialectics is commonly interpreted as a logical framework wherein thinkers, among others, orchestrate contradictions, oppositions, and differentiations—akin to what Hegel elucidated as a dialectical presentation (Darstellung) of differentiation (Hegel PoS 20 § 33; 41 § 66; Cole 44)—among modes of existence, conceptions, and aesthetics, thereby elucidating emergent possibilities. According to Hegel, concepts dialectically reveal themselves in a manner that interweaves with the course of progressive history. The German philosopher Theodor Adorno, while famously critiquing Hegel's view of a "progressive" or positive dialectical result,[5] nonetheless usefully argues that dialectical strategies offer an inconstant form that directs one's thinking to a "constellation" (370), a space where the opposition of concepts, objects, and ideas, and along with their connection to the world, are conceptually expressed. One may conceive of an open dialectic, shaped by contingent events and the deepening of contradictions, rather than by any predetermined or desired endpoint, given Hegel's notorious ambiguity regarding what might emerge on the horizon.

Du Bois and Hughes' notions of dialectical philosophy resonate with these positions. Both see dialectical thinking as providing a method to grasp reality as a dynamic process marked by contradictions, conflicts, and constant change. Du Bois' adaptation of Hegel's dialectical treatment of consciousnesses is especially visible in the way Hughes navigates his multiple social categories of identification in his work. Du Bois offers Hughes different ways of "seeing" the self and non-self through the ways racial identity is formed via a dialectical process of becoming. In Hughes' poetry and writing, from the content and form of his early jazz and blues poetry to his later works like *The Panther and the Lash,* Hughes attempts in his art to dialectically form, contradict, transform, negate, and reconcile, only to start the process over again in search of a unification of multiplicities he saw and identified within his life.

Yet, how they employ their dialectical logic is a point of departure for Hughes, from his intellectual mentor. Du Bois morphs this theoretical structure into his own "dialectical formalism" to investigate Black American subjectivity and to attempt a reconciliation of the effects of slavery and subjugation within Black American consciousness (Zamir 136; Cooppan 308). In *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois' concept of "double consciousness"—the experience of viewing oneself through the eyes of others (*SBF* 8)—connects, according to Sandra Adell, "to Hegel's metaphysics of self" (13). Specifically, Du Bois responds to Hegel's discourse on the unsettled consciousness-as-self-consciousness in the "lordship and bondage"[6] relationship (Adell 15-16) and uses the struggle and recognition between competing consciousnesses to outline the evolution of Black American self-consciousness shaped by subjugation (Adell 15-16; Zamir 136).

Unlike Du Bois, who is dialectically searching for a more conclusive sense of self-certainty, Hughes is more elusive, understanding identity as a fluid dialectical development that is concretized only to be reinserted back into a dialectic. In fact, it is the formal aspects of Hughes' poetry the represent a point of departure from Du Bois. Hughes envisions a dialectic inherent in poetic form, as demonstrated by his dynamic verse, rich imagery, rhythmic language, and use of the vernacular, enabling deeper thematic oppositions and contradictions within the poetry. According to Hegel, poetry is the "most unrestricted of the arts" and expresses one's "own inner being" (*Aesthetics,* 2: 626).

For Hegel and Hughes, poetry is the articulation of ideas and inner representations and the concretized depth of expressed freedom. Thus, Hughes is able to capture the essence of dialectical struggle, echoing the constant motion and contentious interactions found in both the form and the content that define his philosophical worldview.

In Hughes' poetic imagination, similar to Hegel's conception of poetry, meaning and truth are never fixed but are always in process. Through his poetic thinking, Hughes contends that so much of his life and work responds to the constant state of flux of life. Through dialectical thinking, then, Hughes envisions a philosophical way of thinking that places elements in relation to one another in that constant motion. To identify what is self, for Hughes, is to place things in contentious interaction with one another dialectically and recognize what results may occur. Selfhood, for both Hegel and Hughes, is a social product developed out of a dialectical process of consciousness-as-self-consciousness interacting with elements of the immaterial (meaning concepts, ideas, thoughts) and the material world. As Hughes' identity is constructed out of the confrontations of limits, a contest of self and non-self, so too then is this dialectical struggle expressed in his poetry. In turning to my study here of Hughes' *The Panther and the Lash* will indicate, Hughes formally adds a dialectical poetic to manage and mediate on the multiplicity of influences that appear in the collection of poetry.

This study now turns to Hughes' *The Panther and the Lash* (1967) to showcase how Hughes places concepts of the self, philosophical ideas, historical events, and the things of life into a dialectical process, both in theory and in practice. I argue that the collection forms a sort of dialectical structure, and out of this philosophical formation, Hughes' Black Hegelian poetic emerges. In particular, the philosophical poetic materializes via the dialectical interaction of influences and elements within Hughes' poetry and the form in which that poetry can take. Hughes' broad philosophical perspectives and questions embedded throughout his work, and the relationship these perspectives and questions have with one another, point to a desire to understand both his place and that of the place of his subjects, in the world around them. In the collection, Hughes dialectically juxtaposes contrasting poems and interjects his social, political, and historical ideas contained within his poetry, both against and in conjunction with broader contemporary African American perspectives. It is precisely through the use of his

dialectical reasoning that Hughes expresses Black subjectivity—subjectivities of the complex interplay of historical, cultural, social, and political factors that shape the way Black Americans perceive themselves and their place in the world—by placing multiple ideas, influences, and concepts against and with one another in his poetry.

The Panther and the Lash: Hughes' Dialectical Collection

The Panther and the Lash subtitled "Poems for Our Times," is dedicated to Rosa Parks and features more "open protest" poems than any of Hughes' previous volumes (Tracy, *Langston Hughes and the Blues* 6). The title stems from two manifestations arising from racial dynamics in the United States. These include the Black Panthers, the revolutionary organization established by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale that demanded economic and social justice, better housing, and improved education for Black communities. Additionally, it encompasses the white backlash to the Civil Rights movement driven by cultural resentment towards the dismantling of segregationist structures, and anxieties surrounding the changing social and political landscape. The volume's poems are both old and new, but all "appropriate to the violent age" of the collection's publication in the late 1960s (Rampersad Introduction 10), in the time of the Black Power movement, urban riots, and increased activism challenging systemic racism and discrimination. The organization of material by Hughes highlights, as Rampersad writes, the tension between Hughes' "desire to be a poet and his desire to move society on the question of social justice" (Introduction 10). In fact, it is essential to understand Hughes' attempts at political work in his poetry when reading *The Panther and the Lash,* as Rampersad underscores in an unpublished note that Hughes himself wrote (in the third person) for the collection: "It is impossible for him to be 'above the struggle' or for his art to fail to reflect the vibrant circumstances of his life" (*Life of Langston Hughes Vol. II* 410).

In the collection, Hughes expresses his political and social ideologies of struggle and freedom embedded in his poetry, what Ron Baxter Miller described more broadly as an attempt to bring "the ideal to the real, and the universal to the particular" (*Art and Imagination* 2-3) He insinuates an oppositional division between the cultural expressions

of the social, political, and aesthetic and then puts forward the idea of dialogue to achieve a unified understanding. Thus, the collection presents a dialectical attempt to amalgamate those cultural expressions to produce some notion of freedom for Black Americans.

The Panther and the Lash is divided into seven sections, and all depict various aspects of Black life, structural violence, and the struggle against systemic and institutionalized racism in the United States. The language in *The Panther and the Lash* employs repetition, alliteration, rhetorical questions, and couplets, creating a register for engaging differing social, political, and aesthetic ideas through dialectic engagement. Philosophically, viewed in its totality *The Panther and the Lash* illustrates Hughes' dialectical form of how multiple elements come together and are placed against one another in many poems, to emerge as a unity.

The collection, through its subdivisions, forms a kind of dialectical relationship with itself. Each section can be read as a response to or progression with the other. The titles of the sections, therefore, reflect an antagonistic nature to the work: "Words on Fire," "American Heartbreak," "The Bible Belt," "The Face of War," "African Question Mark," "Dinner Guest: Me," "Daybreak in Alabama," each denoting larger themes of problematizing race, community, politics, and culture, which Hughes intends to tackle. Hughes' interjection in *The Panther and the Lash* therefore employs a dialectical rationale to reconcile these multiplicities through his poetic imagination--a resolution that similarly mirrors that of Hegel's "reconciliation" in art (*Aesthetics Vol. 2* 1173). Through the literary dexterity of placing interests against one another, a mediated after-effect is available and visible to those who read. Likewise, Hughes' collection starts from one position, discovers contradiction and negation, and ends at a "newly" opened theorized location. The ultimate unity is generated by and through the tension that Hughes sets up between the differing representative forces, the struggle of opposites, found within the poetry. A more unified positionality visible at the end of *The Panther and the Lash* arrives through the collection and conflict of heterogeneous elements and ideas.

Beginning with "Corner Meeting," where the "speaker catches fire, / looking at the listeners' faces," (12) Hughes signals his readers of the intent of the volume. These are "Words on Fire" (11), the dialectical velocity of thought attempting to understand itself. Hughes' poems in

the first few sections initiate Black perspectives of history, Harlem, the South, and the contemporary socio-political moment, signaling what Hegel called the point of fixity or the moment in the dialectical process where understanding (*Verstand*) reaches a temporary stability or closure by establishing a fixed opposition between concepts (*EL* § 80). Thus, Black histories, or specific locations like Harlem and the South, serve as starting positions for dialectical analysis but are ultimately negated as the dialectical process progresses. For *The Panther and the Lash*, this is the point where the subject comprehends the social, political, and cultural history of Black America, and borrowing from Du Bois, looks through the shimmering veil, which motivates the dialectical movement toward and engagement with that encompassing social, political, cultural, and historical subjectivity.

At the beginning of *The Panther and the Lash,* Hughes identifies positions of uncertainty that destabilize the Black subject in the themes and aspects of Black American history:

> So we stand here
>
> On the edge of hell
>
> In Harlem
>
> And look out on the world
>
> And wonder
>
> What we're gonna do
>
> In the face of what
>
> We remember. (13)

The "edge of hell" here is a metaphorical or symbolic state of anguish or turmoil experienced by Black Americans. "Harlem" corresponds with Hughes' famous rhetorical "what happens to a dream deferred?" ("Dream Deferred" 23), and thus in conjunction with the "edge of hell," the endpoint of the deferred dream, signifies the depths of despair that individuals and communities face when their hopes are repeatedly dashed. By juxtaposing the "edge of hell" and "a dream deferred" with "How many bullets does it take to kill me?"

at the beginning of the next poem "Death in Yorkville" (24), Hughes continues to underscore the existential and physical dangers that African Americans confronted in their daily lives. Moreover, Hughes asks further, in doubt, who will save or protect him, as a stand-in for Black America— "the Lord," (25) the "Black Panther[s]" (27), or himself in "Final Call," if "nobody comes, send for me" (30).

"Final Call" is the last poem in the first section, and it is where Hughes points to the reconciliatory power through direct action. He recalls the actions of figures such as John Brown (36) and Frederick Douglass (38) to achieve freedom. The action here, for Hughes, signals the negation stage of the dialectic. His image of freedom, "I do not need my freedom when I'm dead. / I cannot live on tomorrow's bread," ("Freedom" 86) must follow the negation that undermines Black subjectivity. The poems in "The Bible Belt" portion of *The Panther and the Lash* suggest a turning point for Hughes' dialectical collection. This is the moment where both negation and preservation happen simultaneously, what Hegel terms sublation or *aufheben* (Hegel *PoS* § 113; *Encyclopedia Logic* § 95) in the dialectical process of *The Panther and the Lash*. The subject contests the negative through struggle, and direct action to overcome the negation found in its way.

Additionally, the poems in "Face of War" (56-63) point to how direct action overcomes the negation to achieve some unity. Hughes recognizes as Black Hegelian, that action is necessary to transcend one's station. Action, a reoccurring theme throughout the collection, is most clearly articulated in "Militant" (44) and "Down Where I Am" (55). In "Militant," Hughes aggressively seeks to challenge white oppression:

> For honest work
>
> You proffer me poor pay,
>
> For honest dreams
>
> Your spit is in my face,
>
> And so my fist is clenched
>
> Today—
>
> To strike your face. (55)

Note the materialized nature of that oppression in work, "honest pay" and "honest dreams," are met with spit, to which Hughes strikes, with a clenched fist. This physical action denotes the negation of the negation (Hegel, *PoS* § 79) stage of the dialectic, where the subject confronts the other—not only in perceived violence but also in labor. For Hughes, as a Black Hegelian, "work" in the poem is key here as he determines that both directed action (in "Militant," work is also a form of violence) and work are formed in which interrelated subjects confront one another. Hughes describes outright violence in "War" with "Death is the broom / I take in my hands / To sweep the world / Clean" (63) and in "History," "The past has been a mint / Of blood and sorrow" (70). He also uses time and waiting as metaphors in depicting conflict, that time mediates when one can effectively begin to fight. This negation of the negation process of confrontation, however, is perhaps best illustrated in "Down Where I Am," which serves as a midpoint to *The Panther and the Lash*: 'Bout out of breath. / I got my fill. / I'm gonna plant my feet / On solid ground. / If you want to see me, / Come down" (55). Hughes' powerful invitation, "If you want to see me, come down" transitions the collection towards war and resolution through conflict, negating the negative.

While the process of confrontation, and negation shapes much of *The Panther and the Lash* to this point, the conflict and struggle Hughes describes, sets up his attempt at the unification of subjectivity in the final section, "Daybreak in Alabama" (91), and in particular in the final poem of the same name (104), which ends the collection. Hughes' previous symbolism of flowers and blossoming leads to his last image of the collection, of daybreak, marks a kind of determinate finality of the dialectical progress of his Black subjectivity. In this final section, Hughes is signifying the resolution of the conflict that is taking place throughout the collection. Daybreak also doubles as a metaphor for Hughes' concluding remarks on the state of race relations in the United States in the face of Black militancy, "Stokely / did I ever live / up your / way?" ("Stokely Malcolm Men" 90), and white hegemonic response to that militancy (Rampersad, *Life of Langston Hughes* 410). Daybreak proves to be a potent image suggesting a vision of synthesis of unity from the negating processes between contesting subjectivities. Likewise, daybreak is merely a stage of the day, and therefore, suggests the beginning of another process of transformation to come. While the dialectical process is never-ending, Hughes nonetheless searches for a

symbol of dialectical unity. In "Daybreak in Alabama" (104), the final of the collection, this unity appears as harmony; a harmony that is in music, nature, and people.

Music, always a key focus of Hughes' broader poetic imagination, here in "Daybreak in Alabama" likewise presents his "human and social dream" (Miller, *Art and Imagination* 49)—of people living and working together in harmony. Placing the "music" in Alabama, a place full of historical racial segregation and murder, Hughes turns from what Ron Baxter Miller calls "an Apocalyptic future" towards "romantic harmony in Nature" ("A Mere Poem" 30). The poem's musicality also showcases Hughes' dialectical thinking. Musical expressions of movement found throughout the poem, of crescendos and rifts, such as "rising out of the ground" and "falling out of heaven" (97), equally conveys dialectical action that mirrors those movements.

Consequently, Hughes begins the poem as a composer who places multi-racial subjects outdoors to perform a laborious task. It envisions an attempt at synthesized racial integration, and the poem reads dialectically like the ingredients of a song placed in some relation with one another:

> When I get to be a composer
>
> I'm gonna write me some music about
>
> Daybreak in Alabama
>
> And I'm gonna put the purtiest songs in it
>
> Rising out of the ground like a swamp mist
>
> And falling out of heaven like soft dew.
>
> I'm gonna put some tall tall trees in it
>
> And the scent of pine needles
>
> And the smell of red clay after rain
>
> And long red necks
>
> And poppy colored faces

And big brown arms

And the field daisy eyes

Of black and white black white black people

And I'm gonna put white hands

And black hands and brown and yellow hands

And red clay earth hands in it

Touching everybody with kind fingers

And touching each other natural as dew

In that dawn of music when I

Get to be a composer

And write about daybreak

In Alabama. (97)

The harmonious picture of arms and hands, "white hands / and black hands and brown and yellow hands," touching one another "with kind fingers," showcases a sensuous intensification of contradictions. Hughes displays racial and social barriers being negated in the sensual moment of multi-racial hands touching one another, "as natural as dew." This is akin to the intense corporeal interactions of his youth, where subjects became something new or different in the dark of the cabarets (Tracy *Langston Hughes and the Blues*; Vogel *Scene of Harlem Cabaret*).

Hughes' use of synecdoche in the poem is significant, allowing the poet to explore the tension between coherence and fragmentation, particularly in the context of Daybreak's gesture toward societal harmony. It emphasizes the interconnectedness of individuals within a community while acknowledging their distinctiveness. Each body part represents a unique person with their own experiences, struggles, and aspirations. Philosophically, the synecdoche of faces, arms, eyes, and hands transcends their literal meaning to symbolize broader themes of humanity, unity, and freedom. They represent more than just

their individual parts; collectively, they form a kind of whole while simultaneously resisting coherence. Although touching and seemingly "unified," these fragments remain incomplete, reflecting the enduring presence of fragmentation within unity.

The lack of coherence produces a sort of binding element, held together by difference, rendering them as a determinate structure. A determinate structure signifies a stable, coherent, and definite form that arises from the dynamic interplay of opposing forces. It signifies a moment of resolution and stability within the dialectical movement, only to be reinserted into the dialectic and give rise to new contradictions. The binding element in the poem is not synthetic unity, implying a forced or artificial cohesion, but rather a coherence dialectically forged through contradiction and difference. It's through embracing these differences and recognizing the value of each element's contribution that a determinate structure, symbolizing collective agency and freedom, emerges.

In terms of freedom, the synecdoche of interacting and interrelated subjectivities in "Daybreak in Alabama" produces a coalescing of parts that work towards something analogous to "Black American freedom" (Miller, Art and Imagination 81). For Hughes, one must hold this vision of difference with the vision of unity at the same time. So that the unity can be imagined only in negative relation to the fragments, and therefore the fragments make sense only in relation to a possible unity. This is the negating the negation process of the dialectic, symbolizing development, a unification found within the advancement of development, and then the arrival of something fresh or new, only to be subjected to dialectical reevaluation. This elevates Hughes' vision beyond a characterless harmony, as the idea of freedom is born from its negation. The fragments and differences detailed in the "Daybreak in Alabama" are more than just a celebration of difference for the sake of difference because it is pulled toward a future moment of unity.

Ultimately, the depiction of hands and arms, touching and working together in the soil, illustrates Hughes' closing call for an attempt at resolution. That, in both "Daybreak in Alabama" as well as in the entire *Panther and the Lash* collection, the struggle by active participants against racial strife presents a movement towards equality and harmony in the United States. What appears at the end of the poem here isn't a resolving of contradictions, though, but rather a "dawn of music," a turning of potentialities into something else in the future. The

fact that the poem presents a hypothetical future, to be read as "futuristic" (Miller "A Mere Poem" 30), also indicates that Hughes' vision of unity is still in the foreground, that the vision is incomplete, and therefore not an achieved unity. In Hughes' hopeful refrain, he uses "when" instead of "if," indicating the ongoing need to create and recreate the egalitarian dream. Perhaps after the "dawn of music" turns and is turned through the dialectic, that dream of freedom may be attained.

Conclusion:

"Sweet words that take / Their own sweet time to flower"

The collection proves to be a seminal text for study, as *The Panther and the Lash* produces the complexities of Hughes' interrogation of black subjectivity under the duress of historical, and socio-political pressures at the end of his life. The collection demonstrates the sweeping way in which Hughes develops his philosophical thought as a final poetic and philosophical response to the racial, cultural, historical, and socio-political moments that took place in Hughes' lifetime. The *Panther and the Lash*, with its dialectical formulation of historical, cultural, and political elements in poetry, is an example of his expression of a Black Hegelian poetic. It is a dialectical space where Hughes gives some conceptual articulation of the confrontation of concepts, objects, and ideas, and their relation to the world. In his logic, Hughes assembles a poetry that deals with itself, a collection of dialectical operations of contradiction. It is through this logic that Hughes traces the production of black subjectivity in its opposition to itself. It is an ongoing process that does not simply signify a subject opposed to something outside itself, but a black subjectivity that becomes other to achieve what Hughes conceives as a sense of freedom.

This is the essence of Hughes' Black Hegelian thought, the philosophical manner in which he pushes poetic contraries and negates them when a dialectical opposite is recognized; pressing words, poems, themes, and subjects, into a process of transformation, contradiction, and re-formation, pushing these elements towards a final association only to be dialectically transformed again. This logic stems from the self-being determined out of the dialectical arrangement of the intangible (notions, concepts, philosophies) with the material world. Hughes outlines, in his poetry, the dialectical process that first conceptualizes that social product

and then endeavors it towards a unified self from all the socio-political and philosophical influences it encounters. The result is a social product that is then transformed again (and again) when placed back into the dialectical system again.

In *The Panther and the Lash,* the Black Hegelian poetic showcases this system both in a single poem, such as "Daybreak in Alabama," and in the collection itself. In the poem, Hughes seeks a harmony engineered from its negation. The fragments and differences described in the poem are drawn toward a "daybreak," what Hughes conceives of a possible moment of unification, a "dawn" of freedom. More broadly, *The Panther and the Lash* is a collection of poetry that is in a concurrent process of forming, contradicting, and transformation, indicating a poetry that presses towards a union only to be returned to the dialectic again. Ultimately, Hughes becomes a Black Hegelian not merely through his philosophical perspectives and the representation of that philosophical understanding in his poetry, but within the formal aspects of his poetry as well. It is in the way Hughes internalizes a Hegelian (by way of Du Bois) dialectical logic in his thinking and his writing. In Hughes' poetic imagination, like Hegel's conception of poetry, meaning and truth are never fixed but are always in process.

The Panther and the Lash showcases Hughes' dialectical articulation in the manner of placing different poems (and themes, subjects, concepts) in relation to one another, intensifying the differences in those poems in the collection. The poetry is not just different in arbitrary ways and neither does it appear in a way where one poem is more powerful than the other. Instead, the poems appear as steps toward a conclusive finished form, a multidirectional path that coheres to difference. This is Hughes' determinate thinking; pressing and deepening those different forms, remaining open to which path the poetry may definitively take. Hughes was not simply a poet with a gift of words, but an artist with ideas. A philosophical artist who dialectically negotiated and mediated his social, political, and aesthetic ideas of Black consciousness in his creative writing. *The Panther and the Lash* is such a collection, producing a Black Hegelian poetic that allows for his philosophical interpretation of major subjects and themes to his readers. As Hughes dialectically reminds us in "Question and Answer," when confronted with a world full of struggle, we do so because "there is a world to gain" and crucially it is a world for us to "remake" as well (75).

Notes

[1] Hughes. *Phylon (1940-1956),* vol. 8, no. 3 (3rd Qtr., 1947).

[2] While not a major aspect of focus in this paper, questions of Hughes' sexuality stem from Arnold Rampersad's exhaustive two-volume biography, *The Life of Langston Hughes* (333-338). Despite Rampersad's hesitation, most scholars tend to view Hughes as queer or closeted (see Bagoo; Gates Jr, "Black Man's Burden;" Gates Jr and Appiah; Chauncey; Borden; Carbado; Somerville; Summers; Reimonenq; Schwarz; Tracy *A Historical Guide*; *Langston Hughes and the Blues*; Collins; Ponce; See; Vogel "Closing Time: Langston Hughes and the Queer Poetics of Harlem Nightlife" and *Scene of Harlem Cabaret*. Donnelly and Best suggest "read[ing] him through his closeting" since his writing and biography denies a stable sexual identity. Two recent biographies, W. Jason Miller's 2020 *Langston Hughes* and Shane Graham's 2020 *Cultural Entanglements: Langston Hughes and the Rise of African and Caribbean Literature* revisit and contextualize Hughes' sexuality as well.

[3] Du Bois and Hughes' relationship has been long studied by scholars and biographers. Suffice it to say that they were well acquainted with each other's work and were often in dialogue and discussion about historical, cultural, and aesthetic matters. Hughes, like many others of his and Du Bois' time, possessed a thorough familiarity with Du Bois' profound impact on African American history and culture, and formed, albeit unofficially, what Benedict Anderson might call a "deep, horizontal comradeship" (16).

[4] One major source of discussion and debate for many commentators and scholars of philosophy, literature, and cultural studies is over the intersections of Du Bois and Hegel (Williamson; Adell; Zamir; Reed Jr., Allen Jr; Gooding-Williams; F. Kirkland; Shaw, P. Kirkland; Basevich; Banker; Harris). Additionally, several scholars have long interrogated and criticized Hegel for racism (Neugebauer; Moellendorf; Bernasconi; Hoffheimer; Purtschert; de Laurentiis; Sanguinetti; McCarney; Bonetto). Most recently, Daniel James and Franz Knappik helpfully have done both, in their 2020 work "Exploring the Metaphysics of Hegel's Racism: The Teleology of the 'Concept' and the Taxonomy of Races." Ultimately, I argue that Du Bois moves beyond Hegel and his racism in the philosophical-aesthetic traditions he prepared that many Black American artists

relate to (Banker). This presents, I contend, what Jürgen Habermas would call a general interpretation as opposed to a general theory (Henry 101).

[5] Adorno, in contrast to Hegel, envisions a dialectical logic of unfolding to challenge history. In his work *Negative Dialectics* (1966), Adorno examines what he sees as the positive aspects of Hegelian dialectics, arguing that the outcomes of dialectical processes do not inevitably lead to the emergence of a revelatory or transcendent new idea. He contends that 'dialectics unfolds the difference between the particular and the universal' and 'serves the end of reconciliation' (6). Here, reconciliation perhaps implies resolution, but it does not necessarily emerge from the contradictions themselves.

[6] Also known as the Master/Slave dialectic, which describes the development of self-consciousness through the encounter between two distinct self-consciousnesses. In this process, each must recognize the other to achieve self-recognition, a recognition that must be earned rather than freely given (Hegel *PS* § 187).

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The Construction of Asian American Identity in A Grain of Sand's *Music for the Struggle by Asians in America* (1973)

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Abstract

This article argues that the album *Music for the Struggle by Asians in America* (1973) by the band A Grain of Sand constructed Asian American identity as an inclusive term. Selected songs will be shown to draw from the genres of blues and folk that are associated with liberation in the United States to protest racism and imperialism through their lyrics as well as performances. As the first musical record to employ the designation "Asian American," the singers envision coalitions with other minorities in global struggles against inequality when they criticize international warfare and American popular culture. Thus, A Grain of Sand lastingly produced an image of Asian Americans as committed to revolution that stands in opposition to the stereotypical white Christian face of America that had marginalized first-generation Asian immigrants.

Keywords: Asian Americans, protest music, anti-imperialism, migration experiences, minority coalitions

Grain of Sand'in *Struggle by Asians in America* (1973) Albümünde Asyalı Amerikalı Kimliğinin İnşası

Öz

Bu makale, A Grain of Sand grubunun 1973 yılında piyasaya çıkardığı *Struggle by Asians in America* albümünün, Asyalı Amerikalı kimliğini inşa etmesini inceler. Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde özgürlük mücadelesiyle ilişkilendirilen blues ve folk müzik türlerinden ilham alan şarkılar, sözleri ve performanslarıyla ırkçılık ve emperyalizmin karşısındadır. "Asyalı Amerikalı" tanımını ilk defa kullanan grup üyeleri, uluslararası savaş halini ve Amerikan popüler kültürünü eleştirirken, eşitsizliğe karşı küresel mücadelede diğer azınlıklarla koalisyonlar kurmayı hedeflemişlerdir. Böylece, A Grain of Sand, Amerika'nın birinci nesil Asyalı göçmenleri ötekileştiren beyaz Hıristiyan yüzüne karşı duran devrimci Asyalı göçmen imajını ortaya koymuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Asyalı Amerikalı, protest müzik, anti-emperyalizm, göç, azınlık koalisyonları

This article analyzes the four songs "Wandering Chinaman," "We Are the Children," "Yellow Pearl," and "War of the Flea" from A Grain of Sand's album *Music for the Struggle by Asians in America* (1973) that constructed an inclusive Asian American identity. It will show how A Grain of Sand simultaneously emphasizes the collective and the individual through relatable images in "Yellow Pearl" and "War of the Flea" as well as in "Wandering Chinaman" and "We Are the Children" through Asian American experiences. The titles of their other songs are "Imperialism Is Another Word for Hunger," "Something about Me Today," "Jonathan Jackson," "Warrior of the Rainbow," "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountain," "Somos Asiaticos," "Divide and Conquer," and "Free the Land." Besides the Spanish-language song "Somos Asiaticos," however, none of the other titles explicitly refer to the Asian American identity. The

lyrics of the selected songs employ the first person plural or singular in opposition to an "other," which they equate with mainstream white America. In the context of the Asian American movement for collective inclusion and recognition, this self-positioning at the societal margins had revolutionary implications.

The Asian American movement coincided with the black Civil Rights and Black Power movements, the American Indian movement, the Chicano movement, the Women's Liberation movement, and the Gay Liberation movement. Nevertheless, while Janine Young Kim cites Harold Koh's observation that in the absence of continuity, Asian American efforts for communal rights have aligned themselves with struggles beyond the 1950s and 1960s (2385, 2401). As an example for the similarities between Asian and other racialized experiences in the United States, until the verdict of People v. Hall in 1854, Chinese, like African American and Native American testimonies in court were invalid (Young Kim 2394). As Kim theorized, the roots of the proximity between the Asian and the black status lay in the circumstance that Chinese labor partially filled the gap left by slave labor after the Civil War, giving birth to the persisting myth of the model minority (Young Kim 2400-1). Yet, the number of Asians in the United States increased after immigration opportunities were equalized in 1965, leading to backlash from whites (Young Kim 2409). On the one hand, the Japanese were accused of taking over American industries, and Koreans were targeted during the Rodney King riots in Los Angeles in 1992 (Young Kim 2398, 2405-6). On the other hand, Asian Americans have more recently been mobilized to oppose firstly, affirmative action for black and Latino college applicants and secondly, social services for undocumented immigrants (Young Kim 2408-9, 2411).

Against this historical backdrop of intergroup differences, A Grain of Sand's album has been termed "the first record to employ the term 'Asian American' to refer to its artists and audience" (Phillips). Its songs communicate minority protest through entertainment that forged a new "imagined community," to use Benedict Anderson's wording (30). On the note of genre, A Grain of Sand's songs borrow from Southwestern folk and black soul, gospel, and blues traditions from the United States, while featuring vocal solos and choruses ("Historical Background"). While A Grain of Sand acoustically performs intercommunal connectedness, it rejects the atomistic "I" of Western autobiographical narratives that Frank Chin criticizes (139-

40). Because different singers always sing the choruses of the songs, the music anticipates a key aspect of Asian American studies. This field has expanded its focus to "larger and shifting coalitions, rather than the simpler Asian American coalition of old" to interrogate patterns of "American colonialism, Orientalism, and racism" worldwide (Spickard 604). To emphasize this contingency of national and international crises and white racism that A Grain of Sand's songs address, this article's two sections on identity loss and recuperation will establish that subversive power lies in their enactments of alliances.

On the one hand, "Wandering Chinaman" and "We Are the Children" follow the principle of the *mok-yu* (Wang 443) to attribute a communal crisis to a metonymic character. According to Oliver Wang, "*mok-yu*" refers to a Chinese musical tradition of more than 150 years that documents crises and suffering (Wang 443). Against the backdrop of A Grain of Sand's revolutionary anti-racist politics (Iijima and Miyamoto "Statement" 2), "Wandering Chinaman" particularly matches their album's project of criticizing the alienation of Asian immigrants whose disenfranchisement contradicts the mythic American dream.

On the other hand, "Yellow Pearl" and "War of the Flea" overlap singing and speaking voices and include instrumental dissonances in the style of jazz to envision global uprisings. As Susan Miyo Asai explained, Asian American musicians in the 1970s did not coincidentally draw from jazz pioneered by black nationalists (2005, 87). Both groups used jazz aesthetics to mobilize collective identification (Asai 2005, 87). The genre's possibilities for improvisation appealed to minority artists who sought liberation from Eurocentric notions of harmony (Asai 2005, 94). The Black Power and the Asian American movement also advocated cultural pride beyond the West (Asai 2005, 91). Thus, Asai traced how black nationalism inspired Asian Americans to stop internalizing a Euro-American definition of themselves as Orientals (2005, 91). For example, the jazz saxophonist Fred Ho described how he grew up admiring the black nationalism of Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam and deriving his label as a "yellow revolutionary nationalist" (45).

All four songs discussed in this article participate in the Asian American movement to counter stereotypes, for example, from World War II-era (1939-45) music. At that time, songwriters stoked

fear of immigration among white American audiences in the face of a savage and ungodly "Yellow Peril" and fantasized about the occupation (Moon 338-9). In this attempt to depict the Japanese as racially inferior, songwriters lumped all Asians, whether of Indian, Filipino, or Chinese origin together with the effect of severing alliances (Moon 350-1). In contrast, A Grain of Sand's Chris Kando Iijima and Joanna Nobuko Miyamoto called for "revolutionary culture" to resist hegemonic values (Iijima and Miyamoto "Statement" 2). In their "Statement," they importantly distinguished "Asian culture in America" through the spatial preposition "in" (Iijima and Miyamoto "Statement" 2) but summarized different origins of immigrants. Despite the risk of affirming the hegemonic myth of a melting pot for all Asians in America, A Grain of Sand aimed to generate revolutionary propaganda (Iijima and Miyamoto "Statement" 2). To this end, Iijima and Miyamoto highlighted that music "can move people collectively while striking some emotion deep within an individual" (Iijima and Miyamoto "Statement" 2). Thus, they listed their goals of producing "Asian 'identity' or racial pride, Third World Unity, and unity with world struggles against U.S. imperialism" (Iijima and Miyamoto "Statement" 2).

As an inspiration, Iijima and Miyamoto cited the "Experimental Sound Collective of I.C.A.I.C. (Cuban Institute of Cinemagraphic [sic] Arts and Industries)" amid tensions between the United States and communist Cuba (Iijima and Miyamoto "Statement" 2). Thus, they announced that their current album expressed "a more aggressively anti-U.S. imperialist outlook in our songs and music" than ever before (Iijima and Miyamoto "Statement" 2). Possibly, the seemingly universalizing lyrics of "Yellow Pearl" and "War of the Flea" extend their counter-propagandistic power by reaching out to diverse dissenters of the American status quo.

To materially protest capitalism, A Grain of Sand preferred traditional acoustic rather than electric guitars, since the latter might enable qualitatively superior recordings, but restrict their mobility as performers (Iijima and Miyamoto "Statement" 3). Especially the everyday sounds that introduce the "Wandering Chinaman" stage how A Grain of Sand might have walked through the urban park mentioned in the song. Here, their chosen means of production underline their understanding of "revolutionary culture" as centering marginalized voices (Iijima and Miyamoto "Statement" 2). Fittingly, Iijima and

Miyamoto define form in their "Statement," "As the means through which politics is conveyed" rather than as their primary artistic interest (Iijima and Miyamoto "Statement" 3). Yet, they justify their formal experimentation, "Whether a bottle contains urine or wine depends primarily on who is doing the filling" (Iijima and Miyamoto "Statement" 3). With this comparison between "urine" and "wine," they establish a dichotomy based on cultural value. Since A Grain of Sand valued revolutionary messaging more than ideological conformity, their implication that form equals an empty bottle could explain the band's turn to folk and blues. Although these genres had already been commercialized during A Grain of Sand's musical production, they subversively appropriated them for their communication.

Still, A Grain of Sand rejected marketability as a motive. They even warned of artists "keeping this system alive" through greed (Iijima and Miyamoto "Statement" 3). They summarized their questions to art, "Who is creating it, who is performing it, is money being made, who is making money, in essence, who or what is the work serving are all very political factors which directly affect the politics of the work itself" (Iijima and Miyamoto "Statement" 3). To emphasize their socialist position, "Charlie" Chin, Miyamoto, and Iijima did not stylize themselves as artists in their biographies or specify their different origins. Instead, Iijima is described as having "worked in various organizations in New York, including Asians in the Spirit of the Indo-Chinese (ASI), and United Asians Communities Center," while Miyamoto, among other things, "Made a living in different forms of entertainment media and also news media," and Chin is a "Partime [sic] musician, bartender, composer" ("Biographies" 5). Instead of curating Asian heritages for their own sake, A Grain of Sand thus prioritized uniting in protest, as the four selected songs will be shown to exemplify.

"Wandering Chinaman" and "We Are the Children" - Identity Loss and Transcultural Solidarity

This section analyzes the songs "Wandering Chinaman" sung by "Charlie" Chin and "We Are the Children" by Chin, Iijima, and Miyamoto. At first glance, both express suffering due to the "unattainability of white status which prevents full inclusion" in the

United States (Shiu 6). The lyrics of "Wandering Chinaman" juxtapose a first-generation remembering migration, "I arrived in this country / In 1925" (Chin 1973, line 9) at the climax of the anti-Asian Immigration Act ("Asian American History Timeline") with a second generation who solidarizes with fellow minorities during the Civil Rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s and 1970s, "We are the cousins of the freedom fighter, / Brothers and sisters all around the world. /We are a part of the Third World people" in "We Are the Children" (Iijima and Miyamoto "We Are the Children" 25-9).

"Wandering Chinaman" is the second track on A Grain of Sand's 1973 album. The introductory and concluding lyrics, "Oh who will mourn the passing / Of this wandering Chinaman?" frame the narrative of an unnamed Chinese man relating his immigration experience in a lively city park to "traditional" music (Chin 1973, lines 7-8, 55-6). His narrative represents the failure to achieve the American dream as a father since he finds himself lonely and invisible. He is mourning the death of his wife (Chin 1973, lines 35-6), after America took all his three children: his oldest son became a drug addict, his daughter left home for her white lover, and his youngest son was killed in the Vietnam War (1955-75) (Chin 1973, lines 38, 42, 45-8). On the one hand, the song acts as a politicizing "song of persuasion" (Denisoff 6) which does not address any person, addressee in the second person, or solution to the narrated crisis although its tone cannot be considered "conservative and escapist" as in the case of Southwestern folk (Denisoff 18). The singer explains, "Little choice was left to me / But to go to a foreign land," where he would have to work "A sixteen-hour day / Just to try and stay alive" only to lose "everything I had / In the crash of '29" and eventually give up "my dreams / Of ever reaching home" (Chin 1973, lines 5-6, 11-2, 15-6, 31-2). Since the 1840s, China had been devastated by the British Opium Wars (1839-42,1856-60) and natural catastrophes with ensuing famines which forced many to flee. Yet, after the Wall Street Crash in 1929, the United States severed all diplomacy with the People's Republic of China that had been formed in 1949, making transnational (re)migration near impossible ("Asian American History Timeline").

Besides home, the "Wandering Chinaman's" losses extend to his inner life. Thus, he does not know how to live after his wife's death (Chin 1973, lines 35-6), or why his youngest son was killed "To protect democracy" in Vietnam and he sees "no hope" for

his oldest, drug-addicted son (Chin 1973, lines 42, 46). He implies having lost touch with his daughter, who is still alive, since he does not refer to her boyfriend by name, but only as "a red-haired man" (Chin 1973, line 38). In short, he has become isolated in a land that works for the white man alone. The vulnerability of the metonymic "Wandering Chinaman" also shapes his view of global events like the Wall Street Crash of 1929, World War II, and the Vietnam War, as he denounces patriotic narratives of the United States. Donald Pease traced the opposite, American exceptionalism to the widespread belief of American citizens in their country's superiority due to the absence of any major socialist uprisings (108). Since the Cold War, however, the popularity of exceptionalist myths such as the American dream has helped silence criticism of disenfranchised communities of color (Pease 108). Considering the narrator's helplessness in "Wandering Chinaman," interludes of silence contribute to constructing him as a passive witness, allowing connections between his suffering and the historical settings that enabled it.

To understand the lamentations of the individual "Wandering Chinaman" as criticism of the United States' inequality and interventionism, however, the listener must resist attributing his suffering to a stereotypical loss of male sexual privileges in China (Chin 2005, 134-35). Thus, the literary critic Chin criticized the canonized Chinese American authors, such as Maxine Hong Kingston, for circulating stereotypes of misogyny as intrinsic to Chinese culture (Chin 2005, 134). On the one hand, Kingston, in her seminal novel *The Woman Warrior: Memories of a Girlhood among Ghosts* (1975) relates her childhood fear of China to her family's stories where "my parents would sell my sisters and me" (93). Yet, she also problematizes her marginalized status in the United States when she contrasts, "Normal Chinese women's voices are strong and bossy" but "We American Chinese girls had to whisper to make ourselves American-feminine" (Kingston 155). So, the novel invokes "otherness" to mirror it back to white Americans, either by the usage of the slur "ghosts" (Kingston 97) or the narrator's positive reevaluation of Chinese parents' mythical engraving of their lists of grievances upon the back of their warrior-daughter (Kingston 38) or her own parents' lingual frenectomy enabling her to speak English (Kingston 147-9).

In contrast to the transnational positionality of *The Woman Warrior,* the pain of the "Wandering Chinaman" is exclusively situated

within the United States. The song layers "Charlie" Chin's vocals over rhythmic guitar sounds resembling a heartbeat that blends into the noise of a city park (Iijima et al. "01-02-Wandering Chinaman" 03:09-03:40, 03:40-03:49). The juxtaposed lines, "So I sit here in this park / Until the night-time comes" (Iijima et al. "01-02-Wandering Chinaman" 03:08-03:13) to the guitar, chatter, and meowing sounds (Iijima et al. "01-02-Wandering Chinaman" 03:34-03:40) support the criticism of the singer that his death will go ignored (Chin 1973, lines 55-6). Mirroring this criticism of Asian immigrants' invisibility in the United States, the melody finally fades into an upbeat rhythm typical for pop music which acoustically stages erasure by the melting pot as a threat (Iijima et al. "01-02-Wandering Chinaman" 03:36-03:45). In other words: the Chinese immigrant who is not remembered because he does not affirm the American dream is an unsuccessful "other" who will be forgotten even by his children. In Asian American studies, immigrants' integration into American society has indeed been associated with racial self-hate among children (Eng and Han 683), which would risk the erasure of the legacy of a non-assimilated immigrant such as the "Wandering Chinaman." Accordingly, he depicts his three children as permanently lost: while his daughter actively left him to live with her boyfriend, his youngest son was denied agency to refuse his military draft, and his oldest son is a slave to addiction (Chin 1973, lines 38, 42, 47-8).

To understand how A Grain of Sand imagines the continuity of the immigrant experience for United States-born Asian Americans, I will next analyze the song "We Are the Children" by Iijima, Miyamoto, and "Charlie" Chin. Reflecting how Asians were not yet defined as their race in the United States at the time (Zia 71), the singers imply their Asian origins in the opening lines by referencing working-class jobs that were typically held by their parents and grandparents. However, the line, "Who leave their stamp on Amerika" expresses pride in having working-class ancestors who did not achieve the American dream and thus represents resistance (Iijima and Miyamoto "We Are the Children" lines 31-2). In turn, by referring to the United States in the foreign spelling, "Amerika," the singers "other" America from within. Such opposition could follow the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki that the United States carried out on August 6 and 9, 1945 against Japan to end World War II. In their introductory "Statement" to their album, Iijima and Miyamoto invoke this example

of American imperialism with their usage of "bombarded" to describe "the most sophisticated propaganda mechanism the world has ever known" through radio and television ("Statement" 2). As examples of this propaganda, they later named "war movies" (Iijima and Miyamoto "We Are the Children" line 22), albeit subversively in the style of counterpropaganda which they aimed to produce (Iijimia and Miyamoto "Statement" 2).

The mentioned jobs establish the singers as descendants of Central Pacific's transcontinental railroad builders from China in the 1860s ("Asian American History Timeline;" Iijima and Miyamoto "We Are the Children" lines 5-6), Chinese waiters, or Japanese gardeners as of the Japanese-founded California Flower Growers' Association of 1906 ("Asian American History Timeline;" Iijima and Miyamoto "We Are the Children" lines 12-3, 15-6). In addition, they identify with the Japanese internment in Department of Justice camps since Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941 until the end of World War II as the most explicit reference to oppression ("Asian American History Timeline;" Iijima and Miyamoto "We Are the Children" lines 3-4). The lines, "We are the children of the migrant worker / We are the offspring of the concentration camp / Sons and daughters of the railroad builder" connect economic with legal disenfranchisement across generations (Iijima and Miyamoto "We Are the Children" lines 1-6). In "We Are the Children," references to the past shaping Asian American identity function similarly to how references to slavery unite black Americans around a shared history in black spirituals (Gilroy 73). Still, the singers invoke American mainstream culture, symbolized by Pepsi Cola or Wild West cinema, which omitted Asians, since historically, the Chinese had been banned from, for example, Seattle in 1886 ("Asian American History Timeline"; Iijima and Miyamoto "We Are the Children" lines 18-9, 20-4). With its intergenerational references, the song thus criticizes both, the exploitation and oppression of Asian immigrant (grand) parents as well as the risk of identity loss for their children that the psychologists David L. Eng and Shinhee Han analyzed to conclude that frequent reports of melancholia may result from limited success at assimilation (680). The expectation that Asian immigrants should conform to the stereotype of the upwardly mobile model minority but accept exclusion from cultural and political representation leads to a feeling of rejection among young Asian Americans, according to Eng and Han (677-8). This emotional conflict of being equally defined by

the past and present that "We Are the Children" expresses, aligns the song with A Grain of Sand's project of raising awareness for American imperialism, even its cultural form, through a contemporary musical record. The singers' concern could have been directed toward the future as well, since the recent military invasions of Korea (1950-3) and Vietnam led to an influx of new Asian immigrants to be "othered," exploited, and marginalized in the United States.

Meanwhile, "We Are the Children" poetically connects past suffering to the present self-identification as Asians who were born in America by exclusively employing the first-person plural as a community united by history. The singers' choice to echo stereotypes such as the "Chinese waiter" or "Japanese gardener" (Iijima and Miyamoto "We Are the Children" lines 12-3, 15-6) could represent their embrace of a racialized mask to position themselves against exploitation (Young 44). Kevin Young identified the blues genre as requiring such masks for singers to express ambivalence (44). For example, blackness became associated with jungle imagery to symbolize both, racist fantasies of primitiveness and empowering myths of lost origins (Young 50-1). Diverse artists of color similarly assumed stereotypes to implode them. Further, A Grain of Sand not only integrates their ancestors' experiences of being "othered" into their self-images but also recalls "secretly rooting for the other side" in Western films, indicating transcultural solidarity with Native Americans (Iijima and Miyamoto "We Are the Children" lines 20-4). Here, the singers distinguish their solidarity from identification by cheering, "ride, red-man, ride" to Native warriors on screen in a color-based register rather than in the first-person plural that would point to shared experiences of occupation (Iijima and Miyamoto "We Are the Children" lines 20-1). Nevertheless, the line anticipates a coalition of racialized "others" united in protest of American histories of imperialism, exploitation, and racism.

Accordingly, the singers identify as "cousins of the freedom fighter" and "Brothers and sisters all around the world" (Iijima and Miyamoto "We Are the Children" lines 25-8) when communist revolutions proliferated in Vietnam (1954, 1975), Cambodia, and Laos (1975) and mass immigration to the United States ensued ("Asian American History Timeline"). Since their familial identification is based on protest and not lineage, their association of Asian dissenters with their immigrant ancestors attributes revolutionary politics to the Asian American experience. Claiming Asian American identity thus

appears as a political statement. Since siblings and cousins are typically close in age, however, their identification with them neither matches the traditional Chinese five-generational clan nor the Western nuclear family norm (Buchanan 29). Yet, both, the multigenerational clan and the nuclear family revolve around continuity rather than the present to form identities. Instead, the singers establish their own identities in connection with their relatives. Seeking ancestral guidance, though, contradicts American atomistic individualism. So, Asian heritage is firstly, subversively ennobled in "We Are the Children" and secondly, (re) uniting with siblings and cousins comes to signify revolutionary coalition-building. The refrain further attributes revolutionary potential to the seemingly mundane act of singing by referring to the singers' communal disenfranchisement: "Sing a song for ourselves / What have we got to lose? / Sing a song for ourselves / We got the right to choose" (Iijima and Miyamoto "We Are the Children" lines 8-11). These lines in the first-person plural could imply a dichotomy between active resistance and passive loss that the (Asian American) listener can choose from. For example, the first generation in "Wandering Chinaman" faced isolation and disillusionment with the American dream but the second generation in "We Are the Children" pursues interethnic and -national coalitions. Beyond the song, protests by students of color in San Francisco and Berkeley in 1968 and 1969 led to the establishment of ethnic studies programs for which "a song for ourselves" could also serve as a metaphor ("Asian American History Timeline").

"Yellow Pearl" and "War of the Flea" - Identity Recuperation and Cultural Pride

The first song on A Grain of Sand's album is "Yellow Pearl," performed by Iijima and Miyamoto. At first glance, "Yellow Pearl" asserts ethnic pride through its wordplay on the racist slur "yellow peril." The song's beginning sets the album's tone when Iijima of A Grain of Sand speaks about an eponymous "grain, A tiny grain of sand / Landing in the belly of the monster" as a metaphor for maritime immigration (Iijima and Miyamoto "Yellow Pearl" lines 1-3). In addition, the metaphorical grain of sand might reflect the unified identity of the band members, since mirror glass is composed of many grains of sand. Individually, each ancestral origin could be overlooked

but together, they express a collective Asian identity. Meanwhile, falling into "the belly of the monster" represents arrival in the United States and an immediate loss of status for labor exploitation. However, the singer predicts that one day, the grain of sand will grow to put "In peril" first, "its" captor, and then, "our captor" by the end of the song (Iijima and Miyamoto "Yellow Pearl" lines 8, 37-40). In the preceding text, A Grain of Sand names "this corrupt, dying monster called America" (Iijima and Miyamoto "Statement" 3). Indeed, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, and Koreans had first been imported to work on the transcontinental railroad, farms, and plantations but were denied citizenship with rights ("Asian American History Timeline"). Participation in American society may hence translate into resistance against such histories from repeating themselves.

At present, A Grain of Sand's introductory "Statement" still depicts the United States in exclusively negative terms as isolating and demanding that immigrants assimilate into "a hostile environment" (Iijima and Miyamoto "Statement" 2). In contrast, the lyrics of "Yellow Pearl" and "War of the Flea" do not only encourage cultural pride without assimilation but respond to "inhumane acts" perpetrated by Americans at home and abroad with a militant rhetoric (Iijima and Miyamoto "Statement" 2). As Iijima and Miyamoto explain, they must engage with politics, since "Silence sometimes is the strongest statement of all" (Iijima and Miyamoto "Statement" 2). Although the lyrics of "Yellow Pearl" do not explicate politics, however, the allegorical pearl could allude to the Chinese fairy tale of the Jade Dragon and the Golden Phoenix who shape a "bright pearl" out of crystal which is stolen by the Queen Mother of the Western Paradise in reference to the song's American context of production (Chin 2005, 138-9).

In "Yellow Pearl," the grain of sand's growth could be a metaphor for the growth of Asians as one community, as time will tell "Only how long it takes / Layer after lauer [sic] / As our beauty unfolds (Iijima and Miyamoto "Yellow Pearl" lines 34-7). Further, the singers imagine (re) discovering each other, "In the ocean oyster beds / Repose beneath the sea / Open one and you might find / Deep in one of a different mind" (Iijima and Miyamoto "Yellow Pearl" lines 12-4). This vision of finding fellow resistors addresses the spatial distance of the Pacific Ocean ("the sea") as well as the current political passivity of Asian Americans ("Repose"). However, mobilization can occur by

metaphorically "opening" minds despite their "differences." While Asian immigrants as recently as the "boat people" from Vietnam had to cross the Pacific to reach the United States ("Asian American History Timeline"), the American Army (siding with the British Empire) also arrived in China via the ocean during the Opium Wars (Bailey 306). The singers could refer to this imperial war when they juxtapose "invaders from the north" with the "yellow pearl," which comprises "half the world" like the population of Asia does (Iijima and Miyamoto "Yellow Pearl" lines 19, 21-5). By associating Asians with nature as the "yellow pearl" and the invaders with "the north" in geographical register, the singers "other" imperialism while uniting all people of Asian descent. To stage dialogues between them, the song distinguishes its solo from its chorus sections using antiphonies in the style of black call-and-response spirituals under slavery (Gilroy 73, 79).

Beyond "Yellow Pearl," such combinations of Japanese and Western musical traditions like folk and classics have already connected three generations of Japanese immigrants in the United States (Asai 1995, 429-30). As Asai speculates, traditional Japanese styles were taught in familial settings (1995, 431). Thus, the first generation called *issei* improvised work songs on Hawaiian sugar plantations and pursued integration by singing Christian hymns (Asai 1995, 431). Meanwhile, the second generation of *nisei* blended their influences until World War II made them feel ashamed of their Japanese origins and retreat into their segregated communities (Asai 1995, 432-3, 435). Nevertheless, the third generation of *sansei* successfully interwove traditional with contemporary genres, as exemplified by A Grain of Sand from New York during the Asian American movement of the 1970s (1995, 437-8). For example, Asai traces their political messaging to their study of anti-capitalist and -imperialist Marxist theory and their multicultural aesthetics to the preferred folk music of their college-age audiences (Asai 1995, 438-9). As Asai illustrates, three generations of Japanese American musicians more or less faithfully perpetuated their ancestors' musical traditions for identity (re) negotiation and empowerment (1995, 439). In "Yellow Pearl," such resistance means subverting stereotypes from the early twentieth century to pursue liberation for all people of color in the 1970s.

At the same time, "Yellow Pearl" could anticipate further imperialism and revenge by addressing "Roman senate chambers" or seeing "signs of myself. Come drifting in from the East" (Iijima and

Miyamoto "Yellow Pearl" lines 17-8, 32-3). The verb "drifting" refers to natural, maritime imagery and thus represents the arrival of immigrants as a natural occurrence. Since the last verse is drawn out, it could carry particular significance for the future. Indeed, every incoming "othered" Asian could represent "signs of myself" whose "hurt" is ended by their company. Here, the singers' emotional identification reflects the inclusivity of the Asian American movement (Wang 451, 457). A Grain of Sand, in particular, envisions unification through a global socialist revolution (Miyamoto and Iijima "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains" introductory paragraph 6). Such a move toward socialist collectivism is syntactically indicated when a singular "myself" precedes the arrival of the plural "signs of myself."

While "Yellow Pearl" could have subtly referenced recent communist revolutions across Asia, the song "War of the Flea" by Iijima, Miyamoto, and "Charlie" Chin explicitly subverts the historical bombardment of Japan with its line, "the strongest bomb is human / Who is bursting to be free" (Iijima and Miyamoto "War of the Flea" lines 7-8). In addition, A Grain of Sand could point to war crimes during the contemporary Vietnam War or the previous Korean War "Deep inside the jungle" (Iijima and Miyamoto "War of the Flea" line 3) which conjures stereotyped obscure, exotic "otherness." Similarly, the "Great House" of slave songs draws attention to the racial hierarchy separating the white master from the captive singers (Michie 2-3). By situating himself in a jungle, the Asian American singer implies a collective impact of wars on Asians worldwide. In response, the lyrics suggest that Asian Americans can (re)claim their own space when "my heart will find a way / To sow the seeds of courage / That will blossom into day" (Iijima and Miyamoto "War of the Flea" lines 10-2). Thus, the "War of the Flea" is the modest effort of a displaced individual to transform "this cave" into a "shelter" and "the earth" into a "bed" without military occupation (Iijima and Miyamoto "War of the Flea" lines 18-9). Such a creative return to nature does not only oppose imperial expansion but challenges the dichotomy between East and West as primitive and progressive in Western popular culture ignoring legacies of exploitation (Ma 102-3). In contrast, the song represents a seemingly uncivilized lifestyle as a rational choice to survive. In this sense, the titular "Flea" could symbolize the subordinate status of Asians following wars in their ancestral countries whose landscapes they still recognize as riches not to be exploited. With its duet of a male

and a female voice, "War of the Flea" could conceive of a new world without imperialism as a home for refugees.

By announcing a "Song of the Night" containing a utopic dream, "War of the Flea" envisions an alternative to the American way of life (Iijima and Miyamoto "War of the Flea" line 1). Here, the singers embrace the mysterious "otherness" of the night in Christian cultures while their image of the earth as a bed could be an ambivalent metaphor for burial as well as resurrection (Iijima and Miyamoto "War of the Flea" line 19). Indeed, some of the first associations on American soil that Japanese (1877), Chinese (1881), Korean (1917), and Filipino (1928) immigrants founded were Christian organizations testifying to the importance of their faith for them ("Asian American History Timeline"). Furthermore, the singers' association of waking with rising from the earth posits that territorial return is a condition for identity recuperation and attributes spiritual power to their Asian ancestral lands. The singers ennoble distant spaces stereotyped as exotic when they repeatedly draw out, "Deep inside the jungle you will find me" (Iijima et al. "01-10 War of the Flea" 00:32-00:39, 01:38-01:44, 02:41-02:47). Finally, the oscillation between local and global contexts in the songs "Wandering Chinaman," "We Are the Children," "Yellow Pearl," and "War of the Flea" reveals that A Grain of Sand conceived of Asian American identity as defined against American politics towards Asians and Asian countries beyond their ancestral lands. The singers thereby derive empowerment and their political agenda from their stereotyped "otherness."

Legacies of A Grain of Sand: Asian American Identity as Diversity United in Resistance

In this article, I analyzed how A Grain of Sand represented the two themes of Asian American identity of loss and recuperation in selected songs from their album *Music for the Struggle by Asians in America* (1973). On the one hand, any notion of Asian American identity as a "split personality" is a pseudo-scientific stereotype that silences articulations (Ma 41, 55). On the other hand, the Asian American movement to advocate a communal identity has benefitted from the notion of a shared self that immigrants have suppressed by assimilating into American culture (Ma 42). Because of such

activism, individual expression without fear of being "othered" can improve the collective well-being of minorities. To this end, the Asian American movement promoted the decolonization of the self-image by rejecting internalized racist stereotypes (Ma 102-3). However, A Grain of Sand stood at the beginning of a movement to forge a collective identity. Accordingly, Miyamoto introduced the band as "griots" who are "spreading the news" of having lost and recuperated their Asian American identity in the singular form (qtd. in Kim 3). Paradoxically, only by identifying as "griots" who reject Western standards of art, they can claim the authority to inform "others" about the need and possibility of resistance. Meanwhile, "Charlie" Chin attributed a "young innocence" to their music (qtd. in Kim 4). In the 1970s, A Grain of Sand's music possessed revolutionary potential because it reevaluated Asian heritages, which had been denigrated in American culture in the wake of imperialism and wars (Ma 102-3). Significantly, American military violence against Asian countries during World War II, the Korean, and the Vietnam Wars is not placed at the center of their songs, but it provides the historical backdrop of their resistance. For Asian immigrants of the first and second generation, the struggle to integrate into American society often resulted in a negative perception of their Asian heritage, as expressed by the songs "Wandering Chinaman" and "We Are the Children." At the same time, the process of reclaiming their roots and solidarizing across borders enables protest racism and imperialism worldwide, as performed by the songs "Yellow Pearl" and "War of the Flea."

To conclude, despite "Charlie" Chin's summary that no revolution followed the Asian American movement (qtd. in Kim 4), he still associated pride in Asian roots with protest in contemporary Asian American music. Accordingly, this article identified that parallel to various Civil Rights movements for inclusion into the American dream, the selected songs "Wandering Chinaman" and "We Are the Children" dismantled its glamour for first- and second-generation immigrants. Meanwhile, "Yellow Pearl" and "War of the Flea" openly embraced stigmatized "otherness" to creatively subvert its disempowering intention. In other words, all songs discussed in this article have been shown to base constructions of Asian American identity in narratives with the power to challenge American cultural foundations from below.

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The Crisis of American Masculinity in James Herne's *Margaret Fleming* (1890)

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Abstract

Hailed as the first modern American play, James A. Herne's *Margaret Fleming* reflected the theatrical realism depicting the serious and realistic conditions of the modern individual toward the end of the nineteenth century. Touching on core issues such as sexual infidelity in Victorian familial settings, morality, and devotion, Herne's play was initially praised by scholars for featuring a subversive feminist ending. The critical literature around the play focused thus on the appeal of the New Woman while disregarding Herne's naturalism in depicting a masculinity in crisis. This article argues that the theme of emasculation targeting the white American men in the Gilded Age is a theme that is implicitly interwoven through the portrayal of immigrant characters, emasculating concerns in relation to the feminization of American culture, failure to live up to the ideals of self-made man, and protestant work ethic that is considered to trap the male in an iron cage.

Keywords: Modern American drama, *Margaret Fleming*, James Herne, masculinity and the Gilded Age, New Woman.

James Herne'in *Margaret Fleming* (1890) Oyununda Amerikan Erkekliğinin Krizi

Öz

James A. Herne'in, ilk modern Amerikan oyunu olarak kabul edilen *Margaret Fleming* adlı eseri, modern bireyin ondokuzuncu yüzyılın sonlarındaki ağır koşullarını betimleyen dramatik gerçekçiliği yansıtır. Viktoryen dönem ailesindeki cinsel sadakatsizlik, ahlak ve bağlılık gibi temel konulara değinen oyun, başlangıçta, dönemin normlarına aykırı bir feminist sona sahip olduğu için övgü toplamıştır. Oyun hakkındaki eleştirel literatürse Yeni Kadın'ın cazibesine odaklanmış ve Herne'in kriz içindeki erkekliği betimlerken başvurduğu natüralizm unsurlarını pek dikkate almamıştır. Bu makale, "Yaldızlı Çağ" döneminde beyaz Amerikalı erkekleri hedef alan emaskülasyon temasını, oyundaki göçmen karakterlerin tasviri, Amerikan kültürünün kadınlaştırılmasına ilişkin emaskülen endişelerin ortadan kaldırılması, Amerikan ideallerini yaşayamama ve erkeği demir bir kafese hapsettiği düşünülen Protestan iş ahlakı gibi konularla bağlantılı olarak inceler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Modern Amerikan tiyatrosu, *Margaret Fleming*, James Herne, Yaldızlı Çağ ve erkeklik, Yeni Kadın.

Introduction

Before Eugene O'Neill popularized American theatre in the early twentieth century by employing themes of familial disintegration, dissolution, and failure to find a self that compensates for loss, American drama was subjected to melodramatic suspense, spectacle, stereotypes, and intrigue. Eugene O'Neill's *Long Days' Journey into Night* (1956) employed, for example, naturalistic elements that depicted characters suffering from drinking, addiction, and illness to give insight into their troubled psyches. O'Neill's autobiographical recount of events revealed how heredity, environment, and alienation in familial settings caused overbearing grief to the point of no return.

Before such a turn, melodrama pulled the middle-class audience to the American stage. Spectacular displays, for instance, attempted to bridge the growing gap between weakening Puritanism and a highly materialistic profit-oriented way of life in William Vaughn Moody's *The Great Divide* (1906), while also dealing with the stereotypical tragic mulatto archetype embodied through a romantic entanglement between George and Zoe in Dion Boucicault's *The Octoroon* (1859). Juxtaposed against such dramatic concerns, European playwrights such as August Strindberg and Henrik Ibsen were attempting to create a type of drama based on the serious, realistic conditions reflecting the modern individual's problems**.** Hailed as the first modern American play that was inspired by such theatrical realism in Europe, James Herne's *Margaret Fleming* deals with modern themes such as adultery, morality, personal sacrifice, and devotion. Having been criticized for being an "expensive artistic luxury" (Murphy 94) as well as for being "thin and commonplace, dull beyond description, and badly acted" (Perry 156), Herne's play received much backlash, public vilification, and critique. However, its earlier success within Boston's elite educated circles was later taken to Chicago's New Theater for a brief revival run in which Herne's daughter and widow's performances brought commercial success. The play's revival six years after James Herne's death at Chickering Hall in Chicago with a limited audience is regarded to be a precursor performance to the experimental "little theater" of American Modern Theatre (Foertsch 75). Even though the play was ahead of its time and was not exactly the first non-commercial little theatre on the American stage, it functioned as the necessary step towards a theatre stripped from concerns of box office success by pioneering off-Broadway and Off-Off Broadway productions in the later years (Hewitt 171). Herne earned a posthumous recognition for reflecting an ongoing and yet underrepresented radical transformation of cultural representations during the Gilded Age. As Wilmeth and Bigsby observe, while theatre was becoming a capitalistic enterprise, old virtues of white American idealism and manhood were attacked by individualism, mechanization of the workspace, and immigrants who were employed in low-cost jobs (6). Out of the clash between the Jeffersonian yeoman, the heroic artisan, and the genteel patriarch, there emerged the capitalist as victorious instigating the archetype of the self-made man whose masculine anxieties are reflected in Herne's realist play.

That Mrs. Herne reconfigured Margaret at the end as a character exerting a superior moral authority over Philip makes the play rather problematic in terms of its scholarly evaluation with progressive feminist identification. Such discrepancy invites a deeper analysis of the gender dynamics of the Gilded Age to exemplify and understand how not only domestic ideology, but also masculine codes and archetypes as prescribed norms were reflected on the American stage during a period of cultural transition. Indeed, the dramatic deviation from the sentimental and romantic melodrama to psychological realism that relied on detail, local color, and complex characters exemplified through the play holds a mirror to the shift of class and gender dynamics of the period. However, the literature around *Margaret Fleming* tends to focus on the appeal of the New Woman and the feminist premise of the play for the American audience while disregarding Herne's realism in depicting a masculinity in crisis that plagues the male characters in the play. Therefore, this article argues that emasculation targeting the male in the Gilded Age is a theme that is implicitly interwoven in Herne's play.

Americans' definition of manhood in the post-Revolutionary period changed drastically, as American masculinity was juxtaposed and defined by the rapidly growing industrialization, which ideally fostered a space for self-made men to prosper. This era saw the clash between the gentile patriarch who was effeminate, aristocratic, patriarchal, and peculiarly a corrupted "Anglophilic, mannered rogue who traveled to England and returned a dandy" (Kimmel, *Manhood* 11) and the heroic artisan who was "independent, vitreous and honest . . . formal in his manners with women, stalwart, and loyal to his male comrades" (Kimmel, *Manhood* 12). The two archetypes failed to dominate, and American masculinity was then closely associated with energetic, muscular, mobile, and highly active involvement in the workspace. The self-made man was poised to continually push boundaries by becoming highly mobile and aggressive in a workspace that is both volatile and demanding high degrees of masculine energy. Success in business and working endlessly to become a self-made man have become the aspiration of the American men towards the mid-nineteenth century. In this highly competitive workspace, American men felt that their manhood was under constant surveillance. Such manhood "had to be proved in the eyes of other men" (Kimmel, *Manhood* 20) since the eagerness to find success in the workplace driven by market-oriented

masculinity and the rapid currents of change in urban living caused anxiety (Kimmel, *Essays* 47).

Embedded in the play are emasculative factors such as immigrants, the feminization of American culture, failure to live up to the ideals of a self-made man, and a protestant work ethic that is considered to trap the male in an iron cage. This symbolic form of emasculation targeted native-born white men as it was equated with the loss of previously enjoyed privileges, positions, and entitlements that were challenged by immigrants, the freed African Americans, and collective feminist movements. Rapid industrialization, technological advancements, construction of urban cities, increasing immigration from the South to the North as well as immigration from all over the world into the United States instigated a manhood that was linked to economic success in the volatile market sphere. This need to adjust one's masculine identity according to the increasingly mobile and highly competitive nature of the capitalist business market created the mythology of the self-made man who was prescribed to be independent, manly, and responsible for his family as the breadwinner. A failure has therefore meant anxiety, loneliness, isolation, and sometimes addiction, and this sense of emasculation of not living up to established masculine ideals was further juxtaposed with effeminacy, womanish softness, timidity, and self-indulgence. Analyzing what lies underneath the male anxiety in the play prompts first a genealogy of masculinity in the Gilded Age.

The Gilded Age and American Manhood

As the Gilded Age was marked by massive industrial growth and prosperity, the American man's social mobility to upward ranks was granted by the premise of adhering to the tenets of the self-made man who would rise the ladder through hard work, perseverance, and an iron will. As Tjeder formulated, the ladder of success or the basic tenets of the idealized American self-made man in the nineteenth century comprised of following virtues: industrious, temperate, prudent, integral, economical, punctual, courageous, and persevering while morality and honesty are presented as the backbone of success, riches, honor, and happiness (217). However, the increasingly competitive nature of the market added a layer of disillusionment and anxiety to the

already anxious self-made man: the working-class men pursuing the ideals of the self-made men slowly lost control of the waning economic freedom, for which capitalists were blamed as they were accused of imposing a form of slavery on the working men. However, as the workforce was monopolized and competition for work increased, there appeared a "new sense of an oppressively crowded, depersonalized and often emasculated life" (Kimmel, *Manhood* 62). In the late nineteenth century, growing marketplaces established in industrial cities because of the urban transformation changed the consumer behavior of working-class families, forcing them to pay for manufactured goods. The urban spaces that were created for the housing, entertainment, and educational needs of working-class families fostered a culture of sustenance that was marketed in the structures of the marketplace (Trachtenberg 121). As self-provisioning has gradually transitioned to canned and manufactured sustenance, not being able to adjust to this new market structure where the American man had to sell his labor to feed his family exacerbated the masculine anxiety when failed. Furthermore, the postbellum migration of African American men to the northern cities paved the way for them to benefit from participating in the marketplace and the industry. Even though discrimination and segregation still existed in businesses such as the cattle industry in the nineteenth century, African American men "worked, ate, slept, played, and on occasion fought, side by side with their white comrades, and they were often paid the same wages as white cowboys and, in the case of certain horse breakers, ropers, and cooks, they occupied positions of considerable prestige" (Porter 124).

If one is to claim that there was a crisis of masculinity at the turn of the century in the United States, that American men were confused about what is meant by being a real man, one should first identify "the rigid role prescriptions that constrain male behavior and that prevent men from more fully expressing intimacy and vulnerability" (Kimmel, "The Crisis" 89). New waves of migration from Europe and the South added to the anxiety of the self-made man as the masculinity of the self-made man was threatened by these groups seeking the fulfillment of the American dream. To ease such distress, the exclusion of African Americans, Native Americans, non-binary people, and women from the definition of American masculinity was enforced. This was closely tied to Social Darwinism as such groups were not only considered effeminate and unreal men, but their inferiority had to be scientifically

proven to categorize them as groups carrying "society downwards and favor[ing] all its worst members" (Kimmel, *Manhood* 67). Social Darwinism during the Gilded Age could be considered as a direct attack on early feminist movements in terms of deeming any effeminate form of behavior as damaging to the collective supremacy of white society as the eugenic ideals of the social Darwinists "concluded that, although they should be educated, women cannot compete successfully with men, and are, by nature, best suited to domestic life" (Paul 223). Women were deemed frail and weak, completely dependent on men by proponents of Social Darwinism in America who painted an image of the subservient female in the familial space of the American family: the man would "cease to love his wife when she becomes masculine and rebellious" (Kimmel, *Manhood* 72).

However, the nineteenth century workplace saw the labor participation of African American women freed from slavery and immigrant women who sought not only jobs such as household production and domestic service but also clerical and factory employment. As Daphne Spain observes, there were many opportunities towards the end of the nineteenth century for women to change their jobs and apply for employment traditionally held by men (202). The textile mills employed women who excelled at their jobs after being introduced to the knowledge of the machinery and being employed in government services helped women learn the technological know-how that was exclusively controlled by men (Spain 172). The reflection of such drastic change in the marketplace exacerbated critiques about the feminization of American culture, which had to be avoided. The New Woman fed on the feminist movement that attempted to subvert a traditional and sexist association of women with a "natural sphere in which … she is more conversant with objects than with their necessary connections and relations" (Dew 688) which were attributed to men. Indeed, there grew an overemphasis on American men's return to the homely space where American women would provide comfort, which was already being challenged by the notion of the New Woman. However, sentimentalism as a feminizing force had to be excluded from the definition of American manhood to ensure patriarchal hegemony. As Douglas indicates, many American men in the early nineteenth century behaved as if following the codes of the self-made man represented the greatest good whilst also recognizing that "the pursuit of these "masculine" goals meant damaging" (12), even though

"they had agreed to put on a convincing show and to lose as the fakery involved was finally crippling for all concerned" (12).

In the highly competitive workspace where retaining a job became a defining characteristic of manhood, how one showcased one's masculinity complemented the image. The effeminate clothing that was associated with the gentile patriarch gave way to plain clothing to instill men with the necessary trust and self-confidence needed for business. The American masculine body also underwent a re-construction by the standards of this new capitalistic workspace where a masculine prototype comprised of facial features (long, pale, and thin), long slender legs, and a thickset chest was promoted for success (Kimmel, *Manhood* 21). As American men were shaped to meet the corporeal demands of the newly industrialized market, disillusionment and anger plagued the American men, which stemmed from either failing such demands or the addition of the new labor force of immigrants and African Americans in the already volatile and competitive market. However, as Rotundo points out, the image of the self-made men standing isolated and alone at the workspace was also a product of the established belief in the separation of spheres and many middle-class working men enjoyed the camaraderie, partnerships, clients, and rivalries at work (195). The myth of the self-made man climbing the ladders alone did not always present the whole picture: the socio-economic sphere along with its subcultures demanded close contact but it was this prescribed norm as part of the mythology of manhood in the Gilded Age that necessitated constant "reimagining of manliness creating cultural stress and personal strain for middle-class men as the end of the century approached" (Rotundo 221).

Being an American man meant and relied on the exclusion of those deemed as unmanly boys such as the African American men who were considered lacking the qualities that defined manhood. As the political power of the white men was challenged by the naturalization of immigrants and freed African American people who gained the right to vote, there grew anti-immigrant and racist sentiments that equated black individuals with immigrants in calling them an ignorant mass that burdened American democracy (White 329). The anti-immigrant juxtaposition of the ignorant Irish with the illiterate African Americans to satirize their alleged political deficiency was stereotypically displayed inside magazines. For example, The Bavarian-born political cartoonist Thomas Nast who was known for his support for

the abolishment of slavery took an anti-Reconstruction and an anti-Catholic turn and depicted both stereotypes in his famously quoted cartoon "The Ignorant Vote- Honors Are Easy," pointing out to the cynical Republican politics during the disputed 1876 election between Samuel J. Tilden and Rutherford B. Hayes (985).

The archetype of the self-made man instigated the image of the free and mobile individuals pushing hard for gain as opposed to the emancipated African American men whose economic dependence was still hindered by chattel slavery. Indeed, the emasculation of the American men from the capitalistic workspace, which stemmed from the introduction of the capitalistic hierarchy that removed any work-related self-autonomy, added more to that anxiety. The gap between the urban class elites and the working class widened while America was undergoing rapid industrialization. The class distinction was also used as an attack on the masculinity of the American man. The working class was deemed "nothing but a gutter rabble" (Kimmel, *Manhood* 30) whereas the members of the working class attacked the urban elite, accusing them of being sissified European dandies, which connoted the idea of shielding the real American masculinity from effeminate European and Anglophilic influence.

The minstrel shows that attempted to instigate an established archetype of the ridiculed black individuals were also reflective of such masculine unease as they worked towards a "symbolic appropriation of the black man's sexual potency" (Kimmel, *Manhood* 25). Women audiences were regarded as the corruptors of culture, art, and theater for having a civilizing effect on men as managers sought to satisfy female theatergoers. As Butsch observes, the feminization of American theater resulted allegedly from the market's influence on mass culture, which was voiced by theater critics who saw theater as art and therefore masculine whilst refusing to call it entertainment and effeminate (398). Towards the end of the nineteenth century, American manhood had to be defined by marketplace success. However, the entitlements belonging historically to the self-made white men were endangered by immigrants flooding the country and the market. Just as minstrel shows projected white men's sexual and economic anxiety, Harry Grimes' racial drama *The Chinese Must Go* (1879), for example, revealed how the Chinese immigrants were seen as a threatening form of masculinity that shifted the market dynamics by offering cheaper labor (Ou 80). Furthermore, this sense of exclusion played a significant part in the

definition of American manhood in a post-revolutionary era as women and immigrants were also regarded outside of the realm of American manhood as the workplace had to be an exclusively white-male space to retain privileges. Additionally, riots targeting the immigrants who agreed to work for less fostered further racism and division. To illustrate, Irish immigrants were deemed inferior, drunkard, and sub-human counterparts to the whites.

As R. W. Connell formulated in *The Men & The Boys*, masculinities only exist in their social engagements with others, and they are actively culturally constructed with the available resources and conditions in their respective historical periods (218). As the self-made man became the dominant archetype of American manhood in the nineteenth century, the post-revolutionary era marked an increasing racism towards those who were cast outside of American manhood. Such hostility played a key role in the construction of whiteness during the Gilded Age that embodied controversies, challenges, responses, and anxieties of American men by being counterposed against the racist evaluations of non-white archetypes.

Emasculation in *Margaret Fleming*

Employing themes of adultery, rejection of maternal duties, and disease, Herne sought to incorporate the realistic drama's anti-melodramatic techniques of not including musical intermissions, suspense, and happy endings, which bode well for reflecting the emerging New Woman on the American stage (Wegner 19). The critical conversation surrounding the play revolved around the question of how the play reflected the gender inequality between men and women and the reason for such established double standards was attributed to a patriarchal structure favoring men to uphold economic superiority, power, and privilege (Thifault 52). However, the scholarly criticism is centered around placing the New Woman in *Margaret Fleming* within the American context by focusing merely on the question of how domestic cultural ideology that fostered a female-centered morality hindered female empowerment. This critical tendency sprung from the fact that the initial premise of the play was neglected because the play had a different ending.

The play's ending was subjected to alteration many times. Apart from its original ending where Philip becomes an alcoholic like Joe and Margaret leaves Philip for good, the revival at Chicago in 1892 featured a Chekhovian ending where Margaret provided a return to work as an antidote to redemption for Philip and herself, contrasting with the earlier feminist premise of the play. Indeed, the 1890 version of the play featured Margaret leaving Philip and refusing to forgive him as she stood alone on stage while the curtain fell. After the revision and reconstruction of the play by Mrs. Herne on account of a fire that destroyed the original text (Nagel 423), *Margaret Fleming*'s ending which echoes Nora's defiance was appropriated into one that pointed to a hopeful reunion. Margaret's renunciation of wifehood exemplified through the lines "The wife-heart has gone out of me" (Herne 262), was interpreted in the 1940s as an Ibsenesque influence revealing "deep concern with the problems of women and women's rights and position in modern society" (Bucks and Nethercot 323). Additionally, Mullenix focused on how abortion was implicitly suggested by Philip to cover up adultery, which, acting as a patriarchal tool, renders the female body as a passive site at the behest of medical authority (63). Pizer's critique in 1955 marked again how the play functioned as an American version of realistic drama that dominated Europe as Herne "has taken a bolder flight, with intent to enforce a great social lesson by means of a story of powerful interest, somewhat in the manner of Ibsen" (265). On the other hand, Shepherd-Barr claimed that the play cannot easily be categorized as belonging to the oeuvre of the New Woman but "the seemingly conventional Margaret may represent the epitome of maternal instinct . . . her final ambivalence about the need for a husband once his reproductive duties are done suggests a far more plausible New Woman than . . . the angel in the house" (233).

The play's first act opens in Philip Fleming's textile factory where mundane work is interrupted by his old Irish immigrant friend Joe Fletcher. Joe's lamentation of his familial disintegration and the fact that he was kicked out of his own house by his immigrant German wife provides an early comic relief with implicit undertones of emasculation. Philip's textile business is also threatened by his neglect of management. Dr. Larkin's entrance, which echoes Dr. Rank's naturalistic cynicism in Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, as well as his scolding comments on Philip's betrayal of his wife Margaret's trust as a member of the cultured elite in Massachusetts for having an illegitimate affair with an immigrant also

serves as a commentary on waning masculine authority. Juxtaposed against Margaret's glorified wifehood and motherhood, Philip's fatal mistake of impregnating his young German mistress Lena Schmidt, and his thoughtless behavior to ignore a patriarch's moral concerns signal further masculine tensions. In Act II, Lena's sister Mary, who is later revealed to be Joe's wife, is employed in Fleming household while Margaret's post-natal distress is diagnosed as glaucoma, which would cause blindness if Margaret were continuously upset. Margaret's decision to visit Lena on her dying bed after giving birth to Philip's son in Act III and the melodramatic exposition of the illicit affair with a letter cause Margaret to go into shock but the audience is struck by Margaret's maternal display of love for the illegitimate child by taking the child to her breast. In the last act, Margaret rejects wifehood but displays maternal strength as a sacrifice for the sake of the children. A partial reconciliation with the now disheveled Philip is hinted at on the condition that he will go back to work and play his role as a father to both of his children.

The end of the Civil War marked an era of unprecedented economic growth in the United States. Technology was the driving force for change as it forced the steel industry, road infrastructures, and railroads to be created for the war. Large textile and steel factories dominated the American workforce. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, New England textile mills employed more than a thousand workers, which changed dramatically in ten years after the northern businesses continued to benefit from huge economic growth through the establishment of electric factories. James Herne's play in this respect makes a social commentary on American manhood by juxtaposing the enervating office space that was considered to be causing emasculation with a Victorian house that symbolized the feminization of American culture. Indeed, new technological advancements such as "the main supply belt in the finishing room [which] was repaired a few times" (Herne 239) as well as the new purchases by Boston posed a threat to the working-class American man as they replaced men at factories, culminating towards the idea that the advancement of machinery necessitated the decline of apprenticeship. Joe Fletcher who embodies the unmaking of the self-made man worked together with Philip in the mill but lost the job because of heavy drinking as Dr. Larkin diagnoses the malady:

> Doctor: (shaking his head) He is a sad example of what liquor and immorality will bring a man to. He has indulged his appetites until he has no real moral nature left. (Herne 242)

The fact that Philip's father fired Joe could have been the result of the advancement in the machinery that required fewer men at the mill. Joe's immigrant Irish background, his marriage to a German immigrant, and his stereotypically displayed drinking problems are also factors that contributed to his unemployment given that the Fleming family as one of the established New England families embodied a nativist, patriarchal, and domineering manhood that subjugated non-natives. As non-natives, immigrants and freed African American people from the South poured into the northern parts, nativist manhood had to be exercised by the established white American exercise of ruling over the market. However, such emerging competition was seen as a threat to the nativist privilege enjoyed by families like the Flemings. Furthermore, industrialization and a rapidly growing yet highly competitive marketplace created an emasculated life where manhood's initial promise of autonomy and self-control was no longer possible. Immigrants such as Joe Fletcher were not able to establish their shops, control their fate, and own agricultural lands but they were forced to work at factories and obey the commands of their bosses, which they deemed as institutionalized slavery. Joe's inability to perform as a self-made man, which was the prescribed modal of manhood at the time, caused him to become a drunk bum and disheveled man.[1] Herne's character description also gives one hint on how Joe clings to the salesman archetype as a panacea to the ills and dissolution brought by having been an unmade self-man:

> Several lengths of chamois are dangling with the sponges across his breast and back, draping his right hip and leg. In one hand he has a weather-beaten satchel. He carries by a leather thong a heavy stone hanging from a cracked plate. There are two holes in the rim of the plate through one of which runs the thong by which it is carried. The other, the big stone, is fastened to it with a piece of chain. He carries it unconscious of its weight. There is a pervading sense of intimacy between

> the man and his equipment, and from his battered hat to his spreading shoes the stains of the road, like a varnish, bind them together in a mellow fellowship. (Herne 239)

Joe tries to survive by selling tonics and wares as a miserable salesman. Philip's pity on Joe prompts him to buy a sponge from him and he is later sent to the Fleming estate so that he can sell Ms. Fleming's dog "a bottle of cough mixture" (Herne 241). This humiliation stems from the fact that upward mobility was barred from him as he failed to adjust himself to the norms set by the self-made man. Joe also sells remedies including "Inventor of Dr. Fletcher's famous cough mixture, warranted to cure coughs-colds, hoarseness and loss o' voice. An infallible remedy for all chronic conditions of the *pull-mon-ary* organs" (Herne 240), which reflects his search for a remedy for his masculine wound given that deficiencies in pulmonary organs connote sexual impotence. Herne's description which shows how intimate Joe is with his equipment reveals that Joe is a character who attempts to heal the emasculation brought on not only by unemployment but also by marriage. Joe's relationship with his immigrant German wife Maria offers more than comic relief. Maria's physical tomboyish strength, a show of physical violence, superiority over Joe, and her employment at the Fleming house are all emasculating factors that trouble Joe's masculinity: Maria "swoops upon him, digs her hands into the loose folds of his coat between the shoulders and drags him to his feet" (Herne 252) while Philip laughs behind Joe. As Michael Kimmel notes, many men in this era refused to adhere to the rules of self-made masculine codes as they accepted their failures at work, social life, and marriage, resorting to alcoholism as well as creating a communal legacy of failed self-made men who "were not only escaping economic dislocation but running away from self-made manhood, away from the settled responsibility of a boring, unpleasant job that such a gender ideal seemed to require" (*Manhood* 75). However, Herne's depiction of such failure is unique in the sense that Joe continues to believe in the need to fulfill masculine codes to become a self-made man, which was ideally available to all types of manhood.

Through the juxtaposition of Philip with Joe, Herne reflected on the class difference shown not only in the way they dressed but also in attitude and language. Philip, who is depicted as the domineering

patriarch that "carries an umbrella and a raincoat… is a well-dressed, prosperous, happy-looking man about thirty-five" (Herne 238), speaks a sophisticated language whereas Joe's dialogues are given in an Irish accent and Maria is depicted as a character with broken English. Furthermore, Philip and Margaret's well-established high middle-class American family is juxtaposed against the immigrant family of Joe and Maria, a marriage in ruins. This is a realistic juxtaposition on stage by portraying immigrants without embellishment or idealization but with having to deal with real societal problems. Additionally, exposing the unpleasant and sordid problematization of a Victorian marriage was not a pattern one would observe in the mainstream melodrama of the 1890s. Herne's critique of the masculine codes that entrapped and suffocated American men in the Gilded Age was explicit in the original version of the play, which had an interval of four or five years that depicted Joe and Maria being back together and running a shop. The couple kidnaps the Fleming family's baby Lucy and has her working for them in a shop, but Maria's conscientious heart gives in and she helps Margaret and Lucy have a happy ending. This subversive version of the play depicts Joe having a superior masculinity that triumphed over the nativist as Philip becomes a wandering bum. The final scene is at a police station where Margaret leaves Philip, never to return. However, another version of the original text of the play sheds light on the details of this naturalistic take where Margaret partly loses her memory and is forced to spend time in an asylum while Philip loses the mill and resorts to drinking. The end of the play is marked by a high sense of naturalism in revealing how environment, disillusionment, and individual failure bring ruin for all: Joe and Maria are arrested for snatching baby Lucy who as a five-year-old grows a fondness for beer, whereas Philip violently attacks Joe for forcing him to confront his own demise once again (Bucks and Nethercot 319). This version depicts Joe healing from his masculine wounds where he opens a shop with Maria after getting back together. It not only reveals how environment determines personality and character, but it also partly subverts a pro-nativist narration visible in Katherine Herne's reconstruction of the play after her husband's death in terms of providing a provocative feminist ending that emasculates Philip and empowers Margaret. The rejection of wifehood amplified by the premise of the Ibsenesque New Woman finds an American resonance in Margaret's rejection of familial bond and motherhood when confronted with a choice between wifehood and motherhood. This feminist premise reflects the period's growing

concern among men who felt emasculated by feminism, which they deemed as the ultimate cause for the sissification of American manhood.

Men felt uneasy since the bureaucratization of the marketplace, industrial growth, and technological advancement that limited the dependency on physical labor allowed a post-civil war surge of women into public spheres. American women campaigned for more rights, entered universities, claimed improvements in their voting rights, and challenged men's dominance at work. Men claimed that participation of women in the workforce would cause female workers to imitate men. Underneath this fear, as was exemplified by Maria's masculinized attitudes that emasculated Joe and caused a masculine worry for Philip as his patriarchal authority waned, lies a concern for losing the male privilege. This male privilege is a hereditary one that is passed through inheritance. Herne's stage directions of Philip's office include "pictures on the wall, including one of the mills and one of Philip's father as a young man" (238), which is a reminder for Philip that the nativist privilege earned through hard work by his father as a self-made man brings many responsibilities. It is visible in the play that Philip suffers not only from difficulties at work but also from anxiety over possibly making wrong decisions as he compares himself constantly to his father who as an authority watches over him. This results precisely from the belief that masculinity which necessitates success at work, family, and marriage had to be proved in the eyes of other men, which is exemplified in the play by the portrait of the father. This trope echoes the absent authority embodied through the count's boots in Strindberg's *Miss Julie*, which threatens Jean's masculine energy as he finds himself in a liminal state stuck giving into his desires in the absence of authority and the patriarchal authority of his master that he must always subdue even in the physical absence of authority. The absent authority in Herne's play manifests itself through the concern that wealth emasculates manhood, causing enervation, passivity, and effeminacy. Philip's background as a womanizer and that he "had so many girls" (Herne 241) as well as his failure to believe in his lie that he now has "got through with all that foolishness . . . sowed [his] wild oats" (Herne 240) shows his masculine failure to live up to the ideals of the self-made patriarchy inherited from his father. Herne's portrayal of the New Woman through Margaret triggers an emasculative anxiety for Philip since the established idea that women are weak, helpless, and subservient is subverted.

Confronting True Womanhood and Further Masculine Anxieties

After Philip is confronted by Dr. Larkin about his indecency with Lena, the audience is introduced to Margaret who is depicted as the epitome of the Victorian woman. Her portrayal by Herne paints the perfect image of the angel in the house: her existence as a Victorian woman in "a dainty house dress" (249) is connected to "the luxurious garden in brilliant sunshine" (249) where she spends most of her time with Lucy. The French windows, piano, and fireplace along with the image of a well-bred woman feeding her baby showcase the idealized subservient American woman. Historically, the separation of spheres based on gender envisioned a domestic role for women against the backdrop of a rapidly industrialized America, culminating in the formation of the ideology of the cult of true womanhood. As Welter points out, women in the nineteenth century were to be chaste, pious, homely, and yielding to male authority as the female was conceptualized as a caregiver, nurturer, and a wife who sought after no earthly pleasures (152). However, this ideology heavily rested on the insistence by this new capitalistic marketplace that women should provide solace and comfort for the men who were subjected to hard work in a highly volatile and competitive marketplace. The ideology of true womanhood was embedded in the firm belief in the maternal role of women, which had political as well as spiritual connotations as to "preserving the memory of the American Revolution and to securing its legacy within a stable, peaceful, and permanent American nation" (DuBois and Dumenil 202). True womanhood instigated a subservient, stoic, and homely female imagery that sacrificed her life for the betterment of the American nation as republican motherhood dictated by not only attending to the homely sphere but also teaching, lecturing, and writing, all of which contributed to the installment of the cult in the psyches of both women and men alike. Margaret's sacrifice and the fact that she chooses to feed Philip's illegitimate child are partly indicative of true womanhood. Her defiance of wifehood is overshadowed by her sacrificial motherhood which fits with the ideals of the cult of domesticity. As a realistic play heightened with melodramatic elements, *Margaret Fleming* was praised for challenging the status quo by having a female character almost defy male authority but "the context of a female facing a moral decision served the processes of compensation and recuperation and thereby reinforced dominant gender ideology" (Stephens 49). Herne's

feminism was criticized for reinforcing dominant gender codes and ideology of the progressive era. That Margaret saves Philip in the end by being morally superior to him was regarded as a reinforcement of gender lines.

Maria Bindley as an immigrant character posed a stark contrast to Margaret: Margaret was a woman on which the spotlight was turned, she was happy with her baby whereas Maria was in the shadow and weeping. Furthermore, Margaret's femininity is juxtaposed against Maria's masculine energy which displays raw crude power when dealing with Joe Fletcher. Maria's broken English, the use of colloquial language, realistic dialogue, and her immigrant accent are employed to add realism to the immigrant experience by the playwright as opposed to the melodramatic language and words surrounding Margaret's character that are exaggerated and overtly emotional. While Maria's German accent points to the alienation and bafflement created by having to learn a foreign language, Joe's indecent language symbolizes the lack of morality and pseudo-honesty (Griffiths 50). Maria is also depicted as a supporting character who facilitates the dramatic climax: her sister Lena is Philip's supposed lover, and she dies in childbirth and writes a letter, which triggers events leading to the death of the marriage between Philip and Margaret. One can argue that she was the epitome of female rejection of subservient womanhood in Ms. Herne's version as she renounced the duties of a devoted wife and she was not subservient to Joe Fletcher, which emasculated Joe.

The culture of domesticity was intrinsically an answer to the question of where to place women in a middle-class familial setting. Originally a middle-class phenomenon, the ideology of the cult was morphed into an encompassing characteristic of defining who the true woman was in the nineteenth century. Such womanhood was embedded in American culture by "ministers in sermons and physicians in popular health books [containing] women [who] did much of the work in spreading these ideas" (DuBois and Dumenil 161) by partaking in religious activism and organizations. However, this ideology has also eliminated the possibility of unitary women's activism as "adherence to the ideology of true womanhood helped people of the middle class to distinguish themselves from what they regarded as their social and economic inferiors" (DuBois and Dumenil 160), fostering the moral association of the domestic sphere as the rightly noble space for women juxtaposed against men's powerful roles in the marketplace.

This association harkens back to the devaluation of women's economic role before the imposition of true womanhood. As men failed to meet the demands of the increasingly competitive marketplace after repeated economic turmoil one after the other, women's sphere "became a matter of economic survival" (DuBois and Dumenil 163), pushing women to acquire new ways of economic participation that would challenge the ideals of true womanhood. This in turn has caused men to feel anxiety as their entitlement to certain positions in the economic sphere was challenged by women who have broken out of the ideals of true womanhood by challenging men.

As the middle class began to exert influence in political and social areas, the adjustments of womanhood were ideologized by the codes of true womanhood, which confined middle-class women to the domestic sphere. However, the accounts of women conflicting with such framing present clear opposition. The infamous characterization of the female as a "fine creature of emotion rather than of philosophy" (Dew 688) was challenged by women who pushed for change. The first female factory workers in the first half of the nineteenth century not only helped in "opening up new vistas of personal independence and economic contribution for their sex" (DuBois and Dumenil 165) but they also created female societies and acted unitarily against ill-treatment in the workspace. Even though the manufacturers of Lowell factories attempted to adjust to this new exclusively female labor force by moral corrections such as the creation of boarding houses for them and Lowell's female workers enjoyed a rather short-lived experience, their example was an "indicator that women were beginning to imagine themselves as part of the political process" (DuBois and Dumenil 169). Another reality that stood outside of true womanhood was women who faced extreme poverty in cities. Lena and Maria both stood outside of the ideals of true womanhood as they faced discrimination, subjugation, and injustice by men. The fact that Lena had previously worked in the mill run by Philip Fleming is indicative of how immigrant women challenged societal impositions. Her unemployment was the result of her affair with Philip who perversely legitimized the affair in his eye and disregarded the child that was born since injustice against immigrants was enforced by nativists who cast them as non-citizens preying on entitlement that was justifiably theirs.

Philip's extramarital affair with Lena Schmidt reflects the dwindling patriarchal authority of the nativist privilege. Philip does not marry "out'n the mill" (Herne 241), he chooses to marry Margaret Thorp of Niagara instead of following in the footsteps of his father to form a respectful marriage. However, committing adultery with a German immigrant woman whom he met in the mill and Margaret's insistence that "people will soon forget" (Herne 262) that he is a man are signs of waning male privilege. Philip's immorality is depicted as a forgivable action because of a male privilege as was internalized by Margaret, Dr. Larkin, and others, but the only person who rejects such a notion is Maria whose hypermasculinity exemplified through her fantasy of vengeance by a pistol supersedes Philip's masculinity. Indeed, Philip's masculine control of the incidents befalling him is feeble and weak-willed. He is often depicted as effeminate and passive, spending an entire evening only thinking about his affair without any proper action. His physical frailty, need for medicine and phials, attempted suicide, and having a female child that does not guarantee the continuation of his father's legacy are all emasculative factors.

Philip's escape from his native home and his inability to face the consequences of his affair, for him, stems from the need to escape from the emasculation from which he suffers at home, civilization, and enervating workspace. Escape as a cure to heal masculine wounds is often depicted as a remedy for the aggrieved American man. Emasculation at work for Philip also derives from the stringent Protestant work ethic, a Puritan legacy that puts masculine impositions on his manhood, that entraps him in a cage whereby accumulating wealth is determined as a crucial condition for manhood. The play's ending where Margaret breastfeeds an infant has also religious overtones. Philip's masculine anxiety is linked to Margaret's "godlike prominence," which is a reference to the nineteenth century cult of Christian motherhood "encouraged to breast-feed, oversee, and educate her child" (Douglas 75) regardless of the child's status. Herne here subtly touches on the established view of the feminization of American manhood as one of the main reasons for men's emasculation at the turn of the century. As an antidote to the feminization of the Victorian household, Philip leaves civilization only to find that his masculinity and his identity necessitate having a proper family even though he blemishes his nativist legacy and family. The reconciliation of Philip and Margaret offers a remedy, but the rejection of wifehood is a further wound in

the prescribed notions of nativist American masculinity. Herne's original ending where Philip is denied any form of reconciliation with Margaret foresees that Philip might turn into a bum like Joe, resorting to alcoholism to have a temporary "relief" to heal emasculation, which was perceived as a threat that has always hung above the American men's head like Damocles' Sword in an increasingly competitive and challenging economic sphere.

Conclusion

Margaret Fleming's premise as the first modern American play questioning how industrialization alienated men who were not able to fulfill masculine codes determined by the ideals of self-made upward mobility was overlooked by the existent scholarship surrounding the play. Joe's transformation from a laborer to a bum represented the unmaking of the self-made man. The injustice that derives from privileging one class or race over another was also criticized by Herne's display of masculinity that is in crisis. The white nativist privilege that is propelled by a patriarchal authority embodied through the Puritanical legacy of the self-made man causes masculine anxiety for Philip, exposing that such exercise and preservation of white male privilege during the Gilded Age cast marginalized groups such as immigrants and African American people aside as they challenged the enjoyed privilege. Dr. Larkin's comment on how Lena is a product of her environment as she is an immigrant living under terrible conditions, reveals that the way she is forced to live dictates her fate, which prompts a societal criticism here by Herne in that the increasingly anti-immigrant sentiments castigates the immigrants as others and it is the white nativist privilege losing its grip on changing cultural dynamics that must be blamed for what happens to Lena. In a way, there is a reason why Philip seeks pleasure in an immigrant woman with no family and background so that nobody asks about her should something terrible happen to her. Philip took advantage of her because she was a German immigrant trying to survive. Herne hints that it was this nativist privilege that caused injustice. Philip's surprise attempt to transfer the family bonds, guardianship, and money as a gift to Margaret implicitly reveals his guilt and adultery. Secretly buying forgiveness for his infidelity also shows that Philip is a man who feels alienated in his marriage. He is a businessman of transactions as

even when he seeks pleasure, he sees it as a transaction, which is best exemplified by the revelation that he does not owe anything to Lena whom he never loved. Philip is therefore unable to realize a self of his own as his manhood is always overshadowed by that of his father.

Herne's detailed realistic setting enhanced through colloquial language and accents provided the American audience with a slice of life that staged the shifting class, gender, and cultural values towards the end of the nineteenth century. One can interpret that each character knows the other since the mill in the play as a setting provides work for immigrants and others. Herne's description of Philip as a well-dressed, prosperous, happy-looking man in her thirties connotes a perfectly conventional gentleman, painting a peaceful, prosperous, tragedy-free space, which makes the fall of Philip all the more tragic and realistic. The play was also hailed as a realistic study of character and environment. It is so shocking for the audience that Margaret, upon learning about her husband's indecency that shatters the very core of her identity as a devoted wife in the bond of marriage that is considered sacred by Victorian morality, does not simply shut the door behind her and leave but feeds a baby not her own, which was quite controversial at the time when it was staged. As Meserve observes, Margaret's sensitivity to societal ills such as parentless children, illnesses, and ill-treatment of lower classes along with her sense of morality surpasses a fading masculine authority (158). The fact that Margaret goes blind at the end of the play and the idea of presenting illness, with scientific discourse and facts are elements of naturalistic drama since illnesses, diseases, and sickness are hard truths and parts of life. Herne felt that the depiction of these realities had to be included in the dramatic slice of life. Since the Social Darwinist ideology about the origins of species instilled the belief that human character is shaped by environment and heredity and people cannot be responsible for what had befallen them, Herne's critique takes such limited naturalism further in exposing that the injustices and wrongdoings starkly depicted on realistic drama stemmed from masculine anxieties of the age. In this vein, what happens to Margaret, her blindness to the truth, both figuratively and physically, originates from the waning nativist privilege categorizing women as passive angels in houses, whereas the public space was allocated to men to exercise pleasure, financial success, and political power. This was Herne's contribution to the growing feminist concerns at the time which was also part of the concern felt by the playwright in terms of understanding the place of the New Woman in the American context.

Herne's greatest contribution to modern American drama was his portrayal of female characters with a strong desire for independence. Like *Margaret Fleming*, his subversive female heroines such as Dorothy Foxglove in *The Minute Men* (1886) presented a contrast to the established Victorian norms as Herne's female characters were attractive, confident, self-reliant, and resourceful when they rejected male authority by not tending to the house, caring for the children, and slaving for their husbands (Perry 73). Herne also criticized prescribed masculine codes that caused anxiety among American men as they struggled to live up to the ideals of such coding. Joe Fletcher is miserable because he gave into alcohol, which stemmed from emasculation caused by unemployment, immigrant background, and a hypermasculine wife. Joe suffers as he is not able to live up to the ideals of both the self-made man and salesman archetype which he desperately tries to cling on to ease his masculine wound. Philip's emasculation originated from the fact that the white male privilege that the nativists enjoyed was being challenged by immigrants and African American people who made the market unstable and competitive, coupled with the fact that the impositions on manhood by an entrapping hereditary protestant work ethic and the established notion that wealth causes feminization brought masculine anxiety. Herne's fusion of realism with social commentary on gender and class exposes that it was this privileged white superior attitude and class structure exemplified by Philip and Margaret's union that killed Lena as she was unable to have a proper, clean, and caring environment unlike the nativist privilege embodied through the Flemings.

Notes

[1] The drinker both as an archetype and a countertype appears frequently in nineteenth century literature. He is either depicted as indifferent to his wife and children or as a working-class man judged by the middle class. His manhood is often questioned when he no longer possesses one, which stems from the fact that he is often treated as an animal, despised, and publicly shamed. See illustrations by Reinhold Callmander and the Swedish Temperance Society in David Tjeder's *The Power of Character: Middle-Class Masculinities, 1800–1900.*

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