



MEMORY AND THE POETICS OF REMEMBERING

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Abbes Maazaoui, Editor

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**Memory and the Poetics of
Remembering**

Editor

ABBES MAAZAOU
The Lincoln University

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The Poetics of Memory: Editor's Introduction

ABBES MAAZAOU

Editor

Memory touches all aspects of our lives and makes us who we are. As Peter Vishton affirms, it is "one of the most important things that we have. Without it, we can exist perfectly well in the moment; but we cease to exist in a temporally extended fashion when the past and the future are ripped away."¹ It is no surprise that research on memory is vast and continues to expand in a variety of fields and directions. Undoubtedly, the evolution of mass media, the advances in technology and information sharing, the post-colonial desire of minorities to promote their own memories, the traumatic events of World War I and II, the struggle for decolonization and independence, the mass killings of civilians in neo-imperialistic wars, the advance in neurology and the widespread attention gained by diseases like Alzheimer's, all this has concurred to make memory a topic of predilection for scholars of all stripes.

The purpose of this introduction is not to review this vast scholarship. Rather, using Pierre Nora's definition of memory as a guide - "Memory is more a frame than a content, a process always in action, a set of strategies" (*Les Lieux de Mémoire* 16)² - it intends to point out a few categories and strategies that highlight both the unity of memory as a concept and the variety of its interventions at the human level (i.e., its mental, social, and political dimensions).

Interconnecting

The first characteristic of memory is its ability to establish connections. Nowadays scientists like to talk about the elasticity of the brain. This attribute can be extended to memory. Far from static or immutable, memory is porous and in constant flux, as it is actively engaged in a network of continuous negotiations, connections and interactions between the past, the present and the future. Vital deductive and inductive reasoning, which helps make sense of the world in our daily life, is impossible without such memory connections. In that regard,

¹ DVD. Cf. the real example of Demetri Kofinas who lost his memory due a brain tumor, then recovered it. Kofinas writes: "I would be on a train, in a cab, or even on a plane and forget where I was going. I would show up to appointments on the wrong day, or just not show up at all... Unable to remember, I was also unable to keep track of time. Minutes passed like seconds, and hours spent alone produced gaps unnoticed by me, that grew like chasms in a slow motion earthquake... I was no longer just forgetful, unfocused, and depressed; I was living moment to moment with no grounding in the past, no understanding of the future, and no temporal awareness whatsoever."

² My translation. "La mémoire ...est un cadre plus qu'un contenu, un enjeu toujours disponible, un ensemble de stratégies".

memory is not just about the past; it is equally, if not more so, about the present and the future and how they all interconnect with each other. As Sigmund Freud explains, memories work retrospectively, anticipatorily or simultaneously as the remembered event (*Psychopathology* 45-46). This fluid omnipresence is easy to recognize in everyday life. For instance, present actions, images or sensations can trigger the memory of past events by association, contrast or even for no reason at all. By establishing a connection with the past, the present is bound to alter it and subject it to the influence of the senses, emotions, and suggestions of the present moment.³ Similarly, euphoric memories of the past can positively brighten the present. So too, past lies, obsessions, subconscious thoughts and traumatic experiences have the power to haunt and disrupt the present and the future. This elasticity is what makes memory a powerful force in our life.

It is also what makes it unpredictable. Applying the law of conservation of mass, which states that nothing is lost, to mental and psychological life, Freud believes that "nothing which has once been formed can perish—that everything is somehow preserved and that in suitable circumstances . . . it can once more be brought to light." (*Civilization and Its Discontents* 17-19). Theorizing Freud's idea of "the suitable circumstances," Marcel Proust establishes a distinction between "voluntary memory" and "involuntary memory." While the first is rational and controllable but limited and unreliable, the second is all-encompassing but unpredictable. In *Remembrance of Things Past*, the narrator tells of few instances of such "suitable circumstances" or "involuntary memory". For example, his childhood was fully and unexpectedly resurrected by the simple taste of a madeleine, which allowed him to remember the whole village of his childhood, with its people, sounds, lights and buildings:

So in that moment [after tasting the madeleine] all the flowers in our garden and in M. Swann's park, and the water-lilies on the Vivonne and the good folk of the village and their little dwellings and the parish church and the whole of Combray and its surroundings, taking shape and solidity, sprang into being, town and gardens alike, from my cup of tea (51).

Thanks to the miraculous taste⁴, it all sounds as if "the past is never dead. It's not even past", to borrow the words of Faulkner (*Requiem for a Nun*, 73). The past is fully made present, alive, and all is happening in the present.⁵ For Pierre Nora, memory is indeed "a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present ... [an] affective and magical [link]" in contrast to "history", which

³ Think about interrogations techniques used by law enforcement to obtain false and/or coerced confessions.

⁴ It is in similar terms that Demetri Kofinas who lost his memory due a brain tumor, writes about his recovery: "Memories felt more like revelations. They began to pour onto the neural highways of my brain like a torrential summer rain... A memory would announce itself, in an almost mystical resurrection of forgotten history." (ibid)

⁵ Cf. Michael Rothberg: "Memory is a contemporary phenomenon, something that, while concerned with the past, happens in the present" (3-4).

he defines as “a representation of the past” (“Between Memory and History” 8-9).⁶

Editing

Notwithstanding this optimistic view, and even if we stumble into a magic experience like the madeleine of Proust’s narrator, it is important to keep in mind that remembering is far more complex than a simple act of playback or replay. Unlike a recorder that stores and deploys at will a stable and identical content, our remembering of the past and the present is an act of re-presentation and re-framing that requires hard work. Remembering always entails reconstructing a story that unfolds in the form of a narrative, for without a narrative, there can be no remembrance. It did not take Proust’s narrator long to realize anxiously that, like the *Memoirs* of Saint-Simon and *The Arabian Nights*, his memoirs of things past would need thousands of nights to complete (*Recherche, Volume III* 1043).

Furthermore, for the past to be narrated, i.e. re-created, it has to be re-imagined. Without imagination, there can be no narration. This is all the more true that unlike Proust’s narrator, our remembering is most often fragmentary, unreliable and selective.⁷ The more fragmented our memory is, the more dependent on our imagination we become. For all our remembering needs, it is our imagination that is bound to come to the rescue, fill in the gaps, infer the missing parts, and even manufacture an entire new story. “We all do this... all the time,” says Vishton (Chap 6).⁸ The unsettling truth about memory is that it is perceived as a recorder while it actually functions like a never-ending editing machine that is constantly subject to “the flexible, creative, powerful, inferential engine of our mind” and imagination (Chap 6).

Substituting

This elasticity has another side effect so to speak. It makes memory susceptible to deceptive strategies, such as displacement, substitution and superposition. According to Freud, in some instances, memory uses an event from the past as a substitute for or a distraction from another unacceptable and painful emotion that is pushed out of the mind by the mechanism of psychological repression (*The Uncanny*, 5-6). This is true for individuals as well as for communities and

⁶ It must be noted that Nora’s “memory” corresponds to Proust’s “involuntary memory” while Nora’s “history” is similar to Proust’s “voluntary memory”: “because it is an intellectual and secular production, [history] calls for analysis and criticism” (“Between Memory and History” 8-9).

⁷ Except for the rare few who possess the *eidetic* memory of someone like Sheldon Cooper, the hero of the popular TV comedy, *The Big Bang Theory*.

⁸ I am not referring here to fraudulent memories by reporters such as those of Brian Williams of NBC News, Bill O’Reilly of Fox News, Jayson Blair, Judith Miller, Stephen Randall Glass; or by writers such as Misha Defonseca, Herman Rosenblat, Margaret Seltzer, Norma Khouri, etc. Recall that most of these reporters and writers managed to publish fake stories in the most established publishing houses; they invented people that didn’t exist and created events that never happened; but more importantly, they got away with it for years and years.

nations. Miriam Hansen states for instance that “the popular American fascination with the Holocaust may function as a screen memory (Deckerinnerung) in the Freudian sense, covering up a traumatic event - another traumatic event - that cannot be approached directly,” such as slavery, the genocide of Indian Americans, and the Vietnam War (311). Similar examples of memory substitution are found elsewhere. In France, the history of colonization and genocide particularly in Africa is often obscured and ignored in favor of a more upbeat interpretation of the past, with a focus on the expansion of French culture and civilization. It is quite revealing that, in an attempt to formalize denial and impose a form of superposition⁹, the French National Assembly even passed a law on colonialism in 2005, requiring high-schools to teach the “positive values” of colonialism to students. As Nancy Ali writes in this volume, the example of postwar France shows us that “collective memory can be subject to willed amnesia for the sake of present and future political objectives.”

Such misreadings of the past can perpetuate stereotypes, prejudices and racism, which often are the product of deeper and long lasting biases consciously or subconsciously articulated for political, social, cultural and mass media interests. They also underscore how national and international forces play a major role in promoting certain social and political versions of the past in lieu of others, or at their expense.¹⁰ Because of the inherent re-framing of the past, it is not uncommon that every social group feels the need to “redefine its identity through the revitalization of its own history” and its own account of the past (“Between Memory and History” 15). For Michael Rothberg, if misused, this commendable proliferation can be the leading cause for perpetuating conflicts: “There can be no doubt that many manifestations of contemporary violence, including war and genocide, are in part the product of resentful memories and conflicting views of the past” (3).¹¹

Deleting

A corollary strategy to replacing is deleting, which subsumes many forms such as removing, forgetting, and marginalizing. In his novel *La Pharaone*, Hédi Bouraoui uses the mystery of the missing (lost) nose of Hatshepsut’s statue as a metaphor for modern Egypt and its commitment to censure and deny its own pharaonic and Christian pasts.¹² Similarly, in *Cap Nord*, Bouraoui denounces government policies in the Maghreb as they “spend their time” trying to

⁹ Re-writing history can go the other way: “the Algerian war of independence (1954–62), characterized at the time by the French government as a “public order operation,” was only recognized as a “war” in 1999 by the French National Assembly.”
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_law_on_colonialism.

¹⁰ Cf. *On Media Memory*, p. 10.

¹¹ Think about India and Pakistan: 1947 partition; Israel and Palestine: 1948; Japan and China and atrocities in World War II.

¹² For more details, see Abbes Maazaoui. “Archéogéographie et espaces palimpsestes chez Bouraoui.” *HédiBouraoui et l’écriture pluriculturelle*, Ed. A. Beggar. Special issue of *Revue du Centre d’Etudes des Littératures et des Arts d’Afrique du Nord (CELAAN)*, Volume XI, Number 1& 2, Spring 2013: 40-48.

deny the native culture, Amazigh, a crucible in which were happily commingled for twenty-three centuries Arab inputs, Greek, Roman, Phoenician ... in short, a language and culture that are the basis of our identity and our leaders are striving to let it die.¹³ (116; my translation)

Far from being the product of a memory defect, forgetfulness is here the result of a sustained effort to exclude the unwanted chapters of the past. As Charles Bonn writes, whenever dominant ideologies invoke history, they are bent on ignoring the part they cannot confiscate (33).

This prefatory poetics of memory in action¹⁴ is by no means comprehensive. Some of the memory strategies discussed above, along with other processes, will be explored in more details in the essays of this volume. Nevertheless, this introduction should suffice to raise questions about some of the processes by which memory is represented, transmitted and circulated, as well as about the role of cultural and collective memory in shaping meanings, values, attitudes and identities.

The Structure of the Volume

The articles of this collection are grouped into four sections that represent different perspectives on the poetics of memory.

The first group deals with the issue of interpreting individual testimonies, thus giving credence to what Nora says: "The task of remembering makes everyone his own historian" ("Between Memory and History" 15). In his essay, **Argha Banerjee** examines the development, evolution and role of women's elegiac poetry in WWI in relation to a number of important themes: the move from public to private expression of grief and mourning, the experience of melancholy and depression, the sentiment of ambivalence toward a repressive patriarchy, and the "angst against the dominant patriarchal rhetoric of the war." **Alejandro Santaflorientina** analyzes Amin Maalouf's *Origines* and his strategy in writing a family memoir. Adopting a genealogical approach to memory and identity, the author of *Origines* reconstructs his own identity and establishes a timeless dialogue between the past and the present through the use of family archives, oral testimonies and visual sources. **Bryan Mead** examines the work of Flannery O'Connor whose fiction, unlike Maalouf's cultural memory, seeks a memory of divine origin. Mead contrasts the conception of memory in

¹³ "Nous passons notre temps à nier la culture originelle, l'amazighité, creuset dans lequel se sont amalgamés pendant vingt-trois siècles et avec bonheur les apports arabe, grec, romain, phénicien... en un mot une langue et une culture qui sont à la base de notre identité et que nos dirigeants s'acharnent à laisser mourir" (*Cap Nord* 116).

¹⁴ An international conference, titled "Memory in Action: Remembering the Past, Negotiating the Present, and Imagining the Future" was held at Lincoln University on March 28, 2015. The conference was organized by The College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania.

O'Connor's *Wise Blood* and the filmic version of the same novel by John Huston. He attributes their differing interpretations to their aesthetic construction of memory: while the text favors a metaphysical reading of memory, the film emphasizes the physical characteristics of the past.

The second section deals with the issue of formation and transmission of institutional and collective memory. **Nancy Ali** shows how collective memory has gained its place as a strong mobilizing force in society, and how, inspired by the example of the Shoah, many survivors of different collective atrocities around the world (colonization, genocide, racism, etc.) decided to revisit dominant History and tell their own stories. The formation of memory is shown to be a process where the task of remembering becomes everyone's business. This revitalization should allow cultures on opposite sides of memorial narratives such as the Israelis and Palestinians to learn about each other's perspective, reach mutual understanding and "advance towards a common future". **Cheryl Renée Gooch** reaffirms the role of the archivist in re-shaping the past and the present, as she examines archives about Lincoln University's founding. While emphasizing the importance of historical record itself, she revisits certain forgotten and/or marginalized historical facts that challenge the dominant narrative and the existing knowledge structure. She concludes that in order to assess accurately the present and the future of Lincoln University, one must reconsider its legacy and negotiate the "contradictory ideals" of its founding vision. **Peter Schulman** analyzes the sudden re-emergence of the Brooklyn Dodgers as literary and historical icons and how "fictional reminiscences keep the vanished physical Ebbets Field alive intellectually and spiritually." This collective longing, as expressed in fiction and in reality, is not however without ambivalence, for it stems as much, if not more, from the desire to perpetuate and re-live one's own past as from selfless nostalgia for the Dodgers.

The third section is devoted to the representation of trauma, in reality and in fiction. **Netty Mattar** examines the ambivalence of photography and its relation to the notion of trauma, as experience, as historical fact and as representation. Using works from two different genres, W.G. Sebald's *The Emigrants* (1993) and Alain Resnais' *Muriel, or, The Time of Return* (1963), she shows how archival images (historical photograph or film) function as sites of tension where contradictory meanings co-exist. Photographing the pain of others is also the subject of **Lynn Hilditch's** article on Lee Miller, an American-born war photographer, who has incorporated her artistic skills to effectively frame the horrors of war. Using the Surrealist practice of fragmentation, Miller was able to make her photographs preserve a moment-in-time (the photograph as evidence and document) but also evoke its horrors (the photograph as an object of art that moves people to action). **Ariane Santerre** explores the lessons to be learned by reading survivors Nazi camp testimonies, particularly that "verbal violence can easily ... pave the way to physical violence." **Erkin Kırıyaman** demonstrates how Virginia Woolf incorporates the traumatic model into the structure of *Mrs Dalloway* by establishing parallelisms between the traumatic mind of the survivor and the fragmented narrative strategies of the novel: disconnection

between the past and the present, flashbacks, interruptions, remembering as repetition and acting out, death drive and distorted memory. Woolf's "narrative of trauma becomes the trauma of the narrative."

The concluding section of the volume deals with the pedagogy of memory, articulating a distinction made by Nora that "memory attaches itself to sites, whereas history attached itself to events" ("Between Memory and History" 22). Using the Broadside Press special collection in the Lincoln University library, **Pia Deas** demonstrates how the books of poetry in the collection can be used to engage and empower current generations of undergraduate students as well as enhance their learning experience. She presents step by step the course design, which allows students to re-discover significant aspects of Black Nationalism, Cultural Revolution, Black Aesthetic, and Black Arts Movement, as well as gain a sophisticated perspective on Black identity. It is hoped that this learning in turn shapes student's own "evolving sense of [...] identity and its relationship to [the] larger community." **William Donohue** emphasizes the need for Lincoln University to be true to itself and to its founding principles, which are incarnated in "two stories of rocks—one that was a prayer stone which became part of the foundations of the first building and the other has a biblical inscription that speaks to creation." Applying the gateway theme of those stories to the current composition program, Donohue defends a writing assessment that is free of any gatekeeping tendencies, and that is rather focused on enhancing the learning opportunities of students by developing transferable skills that best position them for a wide variety of writing situations.

Let this volume on memory be a gateway to even more research and an inspiration for more investigation across the different disciplines of humanities and social sciences.

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INTERPRETATIONS OF MEMORY

**Memory and Remembrance
Women's Elegies of the First World War (1914-18)**

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During the four year span of the First World War, British women wrote and published hundreds of slim volumes of compilations of elegies commemorating their personal grief. These svelte volumes of elegies have been by and large neglected by scholars and critics. In tune with Judith Kazantis's observation in *Scars Upon My Heart*, we as readers of trench poetry are deeply acquainted with images of male trauma, shell shock, death and putrefaction in verse but we are oblivious "of what that agony and its millions of deaths meant to the millions of English women who had to endure them — to learn to survive survival." (*Scars Upon My Heart* xv). These elegies are not only cathartic but also serve as significant signposts of contemporary socio-cultural politics. Most of these elegiac lyrics explore a wide gamut of associated poetic strategies, exploring religion, pastoral or chivalric motifs while pursuing the primary task of negotiating grief, remembering and commemorating the deceased combatants. As these elegies testify, women's poetry during the years of the Great War served as a significant cultural space for mourning, remembrance and commemoration of the deceased near ones. In *Culture and Society*, Raymond Williams asserts that "an essential hypothesis in the development of the idea of culture is that the art of a period is closely and necessarily related to the generally prevalent 'way of life', and further that, in consequence, aesthetic, moral and social judgements are closely interrelated." (Williams 130). Women's elegies too are rooted in the larger culture of the early twentieth century. Various socio-political circumstances paved the way for the emergence of poetry as one of the alternative cultural expressions of grief, memory and commemoration during the First World War.

In an interesting article written in 1899, on the brink of the new century, Joseph Jacobs observed that "perhaps the most distinctive note of the modern spirit is the practical disappearance of the thought of death ...Death is disappearing from our thoughts" (Jacobs 264). A decade or so later, the onset of the Great War suddenly intensified the general public awareness of death, as Sigmund Freud noted: "It is evident that war is bound to sweep away this conventional treatment of death. Death will no longer be denied, we are forced to believe in it. People really die, and no longer one by one, but many, often tens of thousands in a single day" (Freud xiv 291). In spite of this heightened awareness of death during the war years, the colossal range of violence, lack of dignity in

death and endless casualties built a sort of resistance to the mourning process. In May 1915, the *New Statesman* observed: "One of the most noticeable results of the war has been the general diminution of the fear of death... we are sure that in hundreds of thousands of cases men and women regard death with less fear to-day than they regarded some little fleeting pain in tooth or chest or stomach only ten months ago" (*New Statesman* 126). Along with the large-scale casualties, neglect of corpses and lack of funeral rites were evinced in innumerable cases of death during the war.¹⁵ Grieving women lamented in verse the dearth of funeral rites following the demise of their near ones at the Front. Alexandra Grantham articulated her anguish following her son Hugo's death in the war in 1915:

Thy broken eyes, dearest one, I could not close,
Away too far, irresponsive to strange skies,
Gaze upwards fixed in motionless repose,
Thy broken eyes.

I could not tend thy body as it lies
Dead, not fold thy stricken hands, nor wipe from those
Sweet lips the blood, which for God's pity cries. (38)

In many cases bodies of dead combatants could not be recovered. Of the four deaths that the poet Vera Brittain mourns in her elegies, her friend Geoffrey Thurlow's body could not be traced following his death. Quite naturally, beyond the surface stoicism the situation was one of desperate anguish and helplessness for most victims of grief.

In Victorian society it was customary for a widow to wear mourning dress for about two and a half years following the death of her husband. This social trend continued into the early half of the twentieth century. However, by 1914 the rules of mourning were not as strictly adhered to as during the Victorian period. In fact with the commencement of the war there was a growing demand for the traditional mourning garb to be discarded. As David Cannadine observes in his essay "War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain":

...death had become so ubiquitous and tragic, and grief so widespread and overwhelming, that even those remaining Victorian rituals...were now recognized as being inadequate, superfluous and irrelevant. What point was there in donning widow's weeds when the husband probably lay mutilated, unidentified and unburied on the fields of Flanders? What comfort could crepe or black-edged notepaper bring in the face of bereavement at once so harrowing, so unnatural and so widespread? (218)

Under the circumstances, women were even encouraged to abstain from making a public display of grief, as it was widely believed that such a show might lower the morale of the soldiers on leave. Judith Lytton's "The Soldier" articulates the

¹⁵ For more details see Joanna Bourke's *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War*. London: Reaktion, 1999.

mood of the hour: “Weaken him not with grief; with useless tears / Show not the bitter anguish of thy soul, / Lest he should lose the least of his control, / Lest he should hesitate with nameless fears...” (Birmingham Archives 433). It was also generally assumed that as the soldiers had sacrificed themselves for a “Holy War”, so the expression of grief was inadmissible under such conditions. As *The Times* reported in August 1914:

The stricken must determine for themselves how they may best meet their own longing to honour their cherished dead, but as the wishes entertained in the highest quarters rightly count for very much in matters of convention, we feel sure that a few words of timely approbation uttered from them would bring success to a movement that seems to us in many ways worthy and becoming the chastened grief of English hearts. (Lerner 101)

Thus women’s right to express their legitimate grief came to be subjected to the whims and fancies of the patriarchal state. They were expected to be proud of the sacrifices of their lovers, husbands, brothers and sons for the nation and not to mourn personal losses in public. In an untitled poem, Iris Tree voiced her anger against such interference of the state:

No more! — And we, the mourners, dare not wear
The black that folds our heart in secrecy of pain,
But must don purple and bright standards bear,
Vermilion of our honour, a bloody train.

We dare not weep who must be brave in battle (*Scars Upon My Heart* 115)

Regretting such restrictions on formal displays of grief, the poem moves on further to lament: “Of all who died in darkness far away/Nothing is left of them but LOVE, who triumphs now, / His arms held crosswise to the budding day, / The passion-red roses clustering his brow” (*Scars* ... 115). Denial of display of grief invigorated the social trend to explore alternative private avenues for venting sorrow. On the other hand, it initiated a process of social repression of grief, which was to further culminate in the later decades. As the social anthropologist Geoffrey Gorer observed:

... giving way to grief is stigmatised as morbid, unhealthy, demoralizing very much the same terms are used to reprobate mourning as were used to reprobate sex... mourning is treated as if it were a weakness, a self-indulgence, a reprehensible bad habit instead of a psychological necessity... one mourns in private as one undresses or relieves oneself in private, so as not to offend others. (128)

Denial of sorrow in public also contributed to the emergence of poetry as one of the alternative forms of expression of private grief for women. It served as a psychological anodyne for thousands of mourning women during the war. As

Jeffrey Lerner observes in “Changes in Attitudes Toward Death: The Widow in Great Britain in the Early Twentieth Century”: “The first public expressions about death and the war were poems. Poetry was the traditional medium for discussing death, so it is hardly unusual to find it employed....” (Lerner 93). Hundreds of slim volumes of verse written and published by women poets during the war testify to the unprecedented nature of the grief that British women suffered. As this extract from Mary Boyle’s sonnet sequence shows, poetic space served the twin purpose of both displaying and commemorating private grief:

Since you loved words, ’tis words I bring to you
Woven in garlands to adorn your brow,
Wreathed sonnets are the gifts I bring you now,
Prismatic words, glowing in crimson blue.

Besides commemoration of personal sorrow, most of these elegies belong to the sub-genre of family elegies which circuitously chronicles the social position of women as hapless victims of the war. The sudden demise of male relatives in the war forced female survivors to redefine their own images of family life. Some of the poems implicitly protest against the institutionalized male-centeredness of the family, affirming the stereotypically gendered nature of women’s citizenship during the war. Beyond their apparent simplicity in form and content, these elegies provide fascinating insight into the psychology of women’s grief of the war generation.

Unlike earlier elegists, women poets of the First World War often dealt with several successive personal losses at multiple levels, condensed within a brief span of time.¹⁶ Frequently the psychological distress was so paramount that the victim had no other alternative but to surrender to the extreme compulsion of seeking secret refuge in writing verse, often amidst difficult circumstances.¹⁷ Classical examples in this context are Vera Brittain’s war elegies, which were mostly written during her period of active service as a V.A.D. in various military hospitals in London, Malta and France. In her elegies Brittain mourns the deaths of four men very close to her: her fiancé Roland Leighton,¹⁸ her friends Victor Richardson¹⁹ and Geoffrey Thurlow²⁰ and her younger brother Edward.²¹ In psychological terms, such a closely paced sequence of losses can have a paralytic

¹⁶ Earlier elegists usually explored a single primary loss with consolation being ultimately assured in verse in tune with the conventional elegiac tradition.

¹⁷ As Vera Brittain explains in *Testament of Youth* “all at once the impulse to put what I felt into verse — a new impulse which had recently begun to fascinate and torment me — sprang up with overwhelming compulsion” (267- 268).

¹⁸ Lieutenant Roland Aubrey Leighton, 7th Worcesters, died of wounds near Hebuterne, December 23rd 1915, buried at Louvencourt.

¹⁹ Lieutenant Victor Richardson, MC, 9th King’s Royal Rifle Corps, blinded at Vimy Ridge, April 9th 1917, died of wounds in 2nd London General Hospital, June 9th 1917.

²⁰ Lieutenant Geoffrey Robert Youngman Thurlow, 10th Sherwood Foresters, killed in action at Monchy-le -Preux, April 23 rd 1917.

²¹ Captain Edward Harold Brittain, MC, 11th Sherwood Foresters, killed in action leading his company to the counter-attack in the Austrian offensive on the Italian front, June 15th 1918; buried at Granezza, Lusiana.

effect on the mourning psyche. As Brittain herself stated: “pain beyond a certain point merely makes you lifeless, and apathetic to everything but itself” (*Testament of Youth* 193).

Explaining the effect of successive deaths on the mourner, Freud observes in *Thoughts for the Times on War and Death*:

A number of simultaneous deaths strikes us as something extremely terrible...The complement to this cultural and conventional attitude towards death is provided by our complete collapse when death has struck down someone whom we love — a parent or a partner in marriage, a brother or sister, a child or a close friend. Our hopes, our desires and our pleasures lie in the grave with him, we will not fill the lost one's place. We behave as if we were a kind of Asra, who die when those they love die. (290)

It is this sense of excruciating void that most women's elegists seek to redress in verse. Such a poetic redressal had to negotiate with grief in its myriad forms. In their analysis of grief, psychologists Colin Murray Parkes and Robert Weiss classify grief into three broad categories: unanticipated grief, conflicted grief and chronic grief.²² Given the prospect of a looming protracted war, women's grief during the war cannot be labelled as an ‘unanticipated’ one. As their poems testify, the prospect of threatening death inevitably contributed to a deep sense of anxiety for most of the writers. In this context I specifically use the word ‘anxiety’ as compared to ‘fright’ or ‘fear’²³. As Freud points out in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, in contrast to fear or fright, “anxiety described a particular state of expecting the danger or preparing for it, even though it may be an unknown one” (*Beyond the Pleasure Principle* 6). Such chronic anxiety-ridden states are well testified in various poems written by Vera Brittain, May Cannan, Mary Boyle, Eleanor Farjeon, Marian Allen, Isabel Clarke and several other poets who went on to lose family members in the war.²⁴ Quite frequently temporary separation or farewell from loved ones eventually turned out to be a long lasting and permanent one. Eleanor Farjeon's poetic record of an anxious moment of parting

²² “Unanticipated grief occurs after a sudden, unexpected, and untimely loss and is so disruptive that uncomplicated recovery can no longer be expected.” “Conflicted grief arises after the loss of extremely troubled, ambivalent relationships... The conflicted grief reaction pattern eventually becomes marked by severe grief ... and continued yearning and pining for the deceased associated with a persistent need for and sense of connection to the lost one.” “Chronic grief is most often associated with a highly and anxiously dependent relationship upon the deceased, as defined by ‘inability to function adequately in the roles of ordinary life without the presence, emotional support, or actual help of the partner’”.

Therese A Rando, *Treatment of Complicated Mourning*. Illinois: Research Press, 1993. 116-118.

²³ “Fear requires a definite object of which to be afraid. Fright, however, is the name we give to the state a person gets into when he has run into danger without being prepared for it; it emphasizes the factor of surprise”, Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, translated and edited by James Strachey. London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-analysis, 1971. 6.

²⁴ Like Brittain, May Cannan lost her fiancé Major Bevil Quiller Couch shortly after her engagement with barely less than two weeks to go for demobilization. David, Mary Boyle's brother was one of the earliest victims of the war, being killed at La Cateau on 26 August 1914.

from Edward Thomas, in “Now That You Too”, represents the wider cultural anxiety of the period:

Last sight of all it may be with these eyes,
Last touch, last hearing, since eyes, hands, and ears,
Even serving love, are our mortalities,
And cling to what they own in mortal fears:—
But oh, let end what will, I hold you fast
By immortal love, which has no first or last. (49)

Eileen Newton’s “Last Leave” echoes similar sentiments of resignation to fate: “So even so, our earthly fires must die; / Yet, in our hearts, love’s flames shall leap and glow/ When this dear night, with all it means to me, / Is but a memory!” (Newton 12). Vera Brittain’s “St Pancras Station, August 1915” describes an analogous poignant mood of separation between lovers: “One long, sweet kiss pressed close upon my lips, / One moment’s rest on your swift-beating heart, / And all was over, for the hour had come/ For us to part?” (Brittain 16)

Beyond this wider anxiety and apprehension, the elegies often give way to complicated mourning and chronic grief. Psychoanalytic theories abound as regards melancholic mourning, distinguishing it from the normal task of grieving. As Freud asserts, “in the mourning it is the world which has become poor and empty, in melancholia it is the ego itself” (xiv 246). According to him, it is the trait of “disturbance of self-regard” that separates melancholia from mourning:

The distinguishing mental features of melancholia are a profoundly painful dejection, cessation of interest in the outside world, loss of capacity to love, inhibition of all activity, and a lowering of the self-regarding feelings to a degree that finds utterance in self-reproaches and self-revilings, and culminates in a delusional expectation of punishment. This picture becomes a little more intelligible when we consider that, with one exception, the same traits are met with mourning. The disturbance of self-regard is absent in mourning; but otherwise the features are the same. (xiv 244)

The process of grieving is characterised by “inhibition and circumscription of the ego”, an “expression of an exclusive devotion to mourning” for the dead (xiv 244). Julia Kristeva distinguishes melancholy as “the institutional symptomatology of inhibition and asymbolia that becomes established now and then or chronically in a person, alternating more often than not with the so-called manic phase of exaltation” (Kristeva 9). The process of psychological recovery for the victims of grief is a gradual and time consuming one, as past memories flock to resist acceptance of the present reality. It is through recurrent and ‘countless struggles’ that the bereaved is finally reconciled with the loss. Close perusals of women’s elegies written during and just after the war reveal this ongoing struggle for reconciliation. Mary Boyle’s sequence of thirty sonnets commemorating her brother David or Alexandra Grantham’s sequence of elegies for her dead son

Hugo Frederick, testifies to such 'countless struggles' being carried out in verse in order to be reconciled with the grief and loss. As Grantham states in her dedication:

I could place no fragrant flowers on thy grave,
Thou loveliest of flowers the great God gave
Into my keeping twenty golden years ago....
What is there left that I
Can do, but from the bitter tears I cry,
Gather a funeral wreath of broken song,
That sweet remembrance of thy life so young,
So rich in promise of surpassing worth,
Fade not, but linger yet a while on earth. (7)

The complex psychodynamics of mourning during wartime are distinct and separate from those of ordinary circumstances of peace. Freud affirms: "The war neuroses, in so far as they are distinguished from the ordinary neuroses of peace time by special characteristic, are to be regarded as traumatic neuroses whose occurrence has been made possible or has been promoted by a conflict in the ego" (Freud xvii 209). During mourning the "old ego" protects itself by taking flight into "traumatic neurosis" it defends itself against the new ego which it sees as threatening its life. Women's elegies, combating grief, serve as effective tools or combat strategies to defend the old self against the new ego which struggles to emerge from the deep loss inflicted by the deaths of near ones. Such a defiance is explicit in Brittain's "The New Stoicism", where the poetic voice insists on persisting with its task of mourning: "I fling defiance in the cold world's face, / And strive to grow impervious to scorn; / For should I once reveal how much I mourn/ The vanished joy no time shall bring, nor space...." (64). Brittain's defiance is also echoed by Mary Boyle in her elegiac sonnet XXVIII commemorating her dead brother David: "I know, / The desert journeying cannot always last, / And pain must somewhere reach finality."

When Vera Brittain was writing her autobiography, she thought the exercise in itself would aid in purging her mind of the Great War and its memories. She even wrote to her husband: "now it's all laid down on paper and I shall never, perhaps, write of it again" (80). Ironically, she had not escaped from grief: only a few weeks later writing about her visit to Edward's grave she admitted, "I was ashamed to find myself ignominiously weeping" (81). Brittain's or Cannan's poems testify to the process of complicated unending grief. As Catherine Sanders points out in *Grief: The Mourning After*, such a situation arises out of sorrow that is prolonged and an unresolved one.²⁵ Women's elegies

²⁵ "Bereavement may have begun in what appeared to be a normal course, but somewhere along the way the individual became stuck or was fixated in one phase or another and was unable to move on to resolution". Catherine Sanders, *Grief: The Mourning After*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1989. 111.

often serve as a medium of clinging to the earlier pre-war situation, in an extreme reluctance to give it up. Even years following the death of her lover, Brittain continues her earlier conversation in “After Three Years”: “What though no spring shall ever now renew/ The April in my eyes, the wayward will/ That could not live through all I have lived through? / I think you love me just the same, if you / Can see me still” (58). Marian Allen’s “The Wind on the Downs” perceives the presence of the ‘khaki figure’ long after her lover’s death:

Because they tell me, dear, that you are dead,
Because I can no longer see your face.
You have not died, it is not true, instead
You seek adventure in some other place.
...
Here still I see your khaki figure pass,
And when I leave the meadow, almost wait
That you would open first the wooden gate. (*Scars....* 1-2)

To elegize in modern literary tradition is to pave the way for a protracted psychological struggle in verse, and on occasions, to deliberately indulge in the private task of mourning. As Jane Dareing’s untitled elegy pleads: “Leave me, leave me, let me weep, / Let tears drown my woe—/ Perchance then sleep, / — Sweet sleep! —/ Will cover me with darkness for a while/ Until I wake to weariness once more — /Let it be so” (10). Prolonged mourning is an excruciating job, quite often an immensely onerous one for the victim. The recurrent process of poetic mourning, often involving a long sequence of poems, emerges as an enervating psychic exercise, often giving rise to “a sense of total, debilitating exhaustion” of the poetic psyche (Plain 30). As Grantham narrates: “O child, I am so weary of seeming brave, / Of hollow mockery of laugh and smile / And idle talk through out the day, the while / My thoughts in anguished wandering seek thy grave;” (22). In Brittain’s “Sic Transit”, the obsessional form of mourning not only dissipates the grieving female psyche, but also robs life of its inherent significance and further cause of existence:

I am so tired
The dying sun incarnadines the West,
And every window with its gold is fired,
And all I loved the best
Is gone, and every good that I desired
Passes away, an idle hopeless quest;
Even the Highest whereto I aspired
Has vanished with the rest.
I am so tired. (34)

As Gill Plain observes, “the work of mourning is a burden, its painfulness evident in the tension between the desire to remember and the instinct to survive that demands that we forget” (Plain 49-50). Such poems testify to the extreme difficulty women elegists faced in disentangling themselves from the imprisoning

memories of the past. In accordance with Freud, the “work of severance” from the object of affection “is so slow and gradual that by the time it has been finished the expenditure of energy necessary for it is also dissipated” (xiv 255). It is this dissipation of energy that is evident in elegies like Brittain’s “Sic Transit” and May Cannan’s “In the End”. The guilt-ridden state of existence of the survivors can be best explained by the following extract. As Jay Winter points out in *The Great War and the British People*, quoting the troubled conscience of a survivor of Hiroshima:

I almost died, I should have died; I did die; or at least I am not really alive, or if I am alive, it is impure of me to be so, and anything I do which affirms life is also impure and an insult to the dead, who alone are pure. Such a state of mind is nearly intolerable, because it is infused with a burden of guilt which makes life a type of walking death, or which requires total identification with the dead who continue to live inside the survivor. (302)

In May Cannan’s novel *The Lonely Generation*, Delphine, the female protagonist in her conversation with Lucius Carey conveys a similar state of guilt: She said in a choked voice: “It’s a very lonely war. One ought to have been dead, too. It isn’t dying that matters, it’s dying in good company. And one won’t. One will go on living and living, and it will go on hurting and hurting, and I don’t think I can bear it...Why should I, Most Wise?” (240)

The burden of returning to a world bereft of love and purpose of life emerges as a recurrent poetic motif in most women’s elegies. In her post war poem, “Women Demobilized” May Cannan articulates the tragic finality of returning to the gruesome reality of an “empty world”. Vera Brittain, Marian Allen, Olive Lindsay and several other women poets echoed Cannan’s concerns: “Now must we go again back to the world/Full of grey ghosts and voices of men dying, /And in the rain the sounding of Last Posts, /And Lovers’ crying—/Back to the old, back to the empty world” (79).

Most poets recognized the irreversible nature of the impact of the war, especially the crippling influence it would have on them psychologically for the rest of their lives. As DeGroot points out, “Death had been bizarre, mysterious, inexplicable; to go on living seemed a capricious injustice” (280). For elegists guilt often manifested itself in the form of lifelong obsessions with the war. Cannan’s verse provides a clear expression of such a poetic preoccupation: “Now in our hearts abides always our war, /Time brings, to us, no day for our forgetting, /Never for us is folded War away, /Dawn or sun setting, /Now in our hearts abides always our war” (*The Splendid Days* 79). Cannan’s post-war lyric, “When the Vision Dies...”, an elegy for the entire war generation, further explores the guilt-ridden state of existence of the survivors. In the void of the post-war period, what endures is the tragic irrevocability of past memories and the ultimate seclusion of the poetic soul:

When the Vision dies in the dust of the market place,
When the Light is dim,
When you lift up your eyes and cannot behold his face,

When your heart is far from him,

Know this is your War; in this loneliest hour you ride
Down the Roads he knew;
Though he comes no more at night he will kneel at your side,
For comfort to dream with you. (*The Splendid Days* 80)

While the burden of melancholic mourning and obsession with guilt emerge as recurrent themes of women's war poetry, Brittain's elegies reveal further psychological complexities and ambivalence. This ambivalence, as "The German Ward" testifies, stems largely from her war experience. The poem records the psychological tussle between her allegiances towards patriarchal notions of patriotism on the one hand and the evolving roots of internationalism on the other. While nursing German soldiers Brittain's growing awareness of Pacifism is clear: "So, though much will be forgotten when the sound of War's alarms / And the days of death and strife have passed away, / I shall always see the vision of Love working amidst arms / In the ward wherein the wounded prisoners lay" (Brittain 40). As a female elegist, Brittain mourns the deaths of friends and family members who themselves are representatives of the patriarchy. These male figures, her objects of love and affection, are also unconscious reminders of her confinement and curtailed existence in a patriarchal society. Ambivalence characterizes all human relationships. As Julia Kristeva points out: "...depression, like mourning, hides an aggression against the lost object and thereby reveals the ambivalence on the part of the afflicted with respect to the object of his mourning" (106). Freud observes that it is this "law of ambivalence of feeling, which to this day governs our emotional relations with those whom we love most" (xiv 293). In psychoanalytic terms, the roots of such ambivalence lie in the understanding that "in each of the loved persons there was also something of the stranger" (xiv 293). In Brittain's case, the element of the 'stranger' pertains to the male figures she mourns, who are representations of the repressive patriarchy. The psychological stress stems from the condition of inevitable surrender to mourn these "ambivalent objects of grief".

Brittain not only had to mourn and search for heroic aggrandizement for the dead in her verse, but at the same time she had to take cognizance of the new found seeds of Pacifist vision that was evolving through her own personal experience of the war as a V.A.D.: "I shall still see, as a vision rising' mid the war-time shades, / The ward in France where German wounded lay" (39-40). A psychological struggle ensued in her compulsion to go on rekindling the initial belief, that the war was being fought in the service of some greater cause. She had to keep faith with the men she loved and elegised, amidst her simultaneous growing awareness of the futility of the war. Her verse records this unconscious dichotomy during the war. This strain or anxiety is even more evident in the contrast between "The German Ward" and "To My Brother". The latter is pro-war, replete with militaristic imagery and romanticised hero-worship, while the former deeply probes into the complex issues of human identity and questions the validity of war in the modern world. Thus the poet's own feelings about her brother in "To My Brother" become ambiguous and conflicting. As Angela

Woollacott argues, “in the face of her growing pacifist conviction of the futility of the war, Brittain is overwhelmed with pride when Edward receives the Military Cross for bravery” (134), testifying to the conflict ridden state of the women elegist during the First World War. Her actual experience and realizations from the war while serving the wounded German soldiers, as “The German Ward” testifies were in sharp contrast to her initial romanticized notions. Brittain’s elegies also explore the theme of female bonding during war service while commemorating the service rendered by the nurses in verse. Two of her war elegies — “The Sisters Buried at Lemnos” and “Vengeance is Mine”— in true spirited camaraderie, are dedicated to the nurses who were killed during their war service. The poetic complaint of the lack of recognition of selfless female endeavors during the war is evident: “Seldom they enter into song or story; / Poets praise the soldier’s might and deeds of War, / But few exalt the Sisters, and the glory/ Of women dead beneath a distant star”(Brittain 29). ‘Vengeance is Mine’ reflects on the suffering caused by the German air raids on Etaples in June 1918. Written in memory of the sisters who died in these air raids, it explores the deeper anguish and vulnerability of the female volunteers. Brittain’s elegies commemorating the nurses, in true sisterhood, articulate an authentic experience of the First World War, revealing the dangers the nurses were exposed to during their war-service. In course of the First World War, as Jay Winter records in *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, “the dead returned to the living in prose and poetry” (Winters 204). According to him many “writers used verse to keep the voices of the fallen alive, by speaking for them, to them, about them” (Winters 204). This is intrinsically more valid in the context of the personal elegies through which female poets effectively communicated with the dead. In search of heroic aggrandizement for the war victims, elegiac renderings by women are often impregnated with medieval knights, noble warriors, and hallowed moments of sacrifice. As Allen Frantzen points out in *Bloody Good: Chivalry, Sacrifice, and the Great War* “Chivalry on the battlefield was a comfort to the imagination of those at home...” (181). The elegiac sanctuary of chivalric motifs provided an imaginative release for the poets, yet again testifying to the conventional nature of citizenship of British women during the war, in which generations had been schooled. The chivalric notion of the war, in which the war generation women had been schooled and conditioned, encouraged some poets to justify the conflict in their verse. Notable examples in this context are Alice Cooke’s ‘The Knights of a New Crusade’, Virna Sheard’s “The Young Knights”, Constance Ada Renshaw’s “The Noblest Height”, Katherine Tynan’s “The Short Road to Heaven” and Ruth Mitchell’s “He Went for a Soldier”. On conventional lines these lyrics glorified the soldier as a knight and saw the war as a crusade. However, even personal losses in the war came to be interpreted in chivalric terms in women’s elegies.

The wide gamut of religious and chivalric motifs in women’s elegies, along with the complex psychodynamics of female grief, leads to the obvious question: why did such a large body of poetry come to be marginalized in the decades following the war? In tune with Julia Kristeva’s hypothesis of the ‘semiotic’ and the ‘symbolic’, Gill Plain brands these poems as “semiotic irruptions within a symbolic order fundamentally unchanged by the ravages of the war” (Plain 37). According to her:

They told a story that was ‘other’ to the official record, and as such constituted a threat. Real or imagined, or indeed, made real *because* so imagined, the threat was neutralized by marginalizing it. The poems were silenced because they could not be read—just as the outcry of their male-authored counterparts was ultimately dismissed through their literary promotion from the voices of protest to the well-wrought urns of art. (37)

This large body of elegiac verse represents a form of resistance to the “dominant patriarchal logic of war” (Plain 36). Considered ‘unpatriotic’ during the time of the war and undesirable in the post-war period of renovation, the body of elegiac verse served as a ‘leftover residue’. Being discordant with the dominant patriarchal ideology of the time, they also defied integration into the history of war. Inevitably they suffered from the predictable fate of being repressed. Beyond the surface reality of negotiating grief, they form a formidable force of protest and angst against the dominant patriarchal rhetoric of the war. These lyrics elegise and protest against the socio-political position of women of the time.

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A Genealogical Approach to Memory and Identity: Strategies of Remembering in Amin Maalouf's *Origines*

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In *Origines* (2004), Amin Maalouf narrates his quest to bring to light the buried memories of his family past.²⁶ As he explains at the beginning of this memoir, after his father's death the author gets particularly interested in unveiling some of the rumours about his family ancestors. His mother gives him a suitcase – full of documents and old letters from some of his relatives – that triggers the author's personal discovery of his family's hidden past. The memoir focuses particularly on the story of his grandfather Botros Maalouf and his great-uncle Gebrayel Maalouf, although it develops a wide network of characters linked to the author's origins by different familial and societal ties. Indeed, the development of the history of his kin allows Maalouf to provide the reader with many historical facts. Throughout his journey, he moves from Lebanon to Cuba to discover the truth about why his grandfather Botros, a poet and educator in Lebanon, travelled across the globe to rescue his younger brother, Gebrayel, who had settled in Havana. While he follows in the footsteps of his grandfather, he does not hesitate to challenge politically dominant narratives by criticizing late Ottoman nationalism or by highlighting the links of some of the Cuban revolutionary leaders to Freemasonry. His personal search carries him to new territorial and political contexts with which he establishes new affective bonds. He goes so far as to encounter a family member in Cuba who had lost contact with the rest of his relatives in Lebanon, participating thus in an unexpected process of trauma recovery.

The aim of this article is to analyze Maalouf's family memoir as a medium of memory and to explore its particular strategy of remembering.²⁷ The first part will explain how Maalouf's specific methodology for looking at the past can be considered as a genealogical rather than a historicist one. The second part of this article will explore the author's personal conception of identity in relation to memory. A specific analysis of the characters within the narration will show how

²⁶Amin Maalouf is a French-Lebanese author. His literary work has been translated into more than 40 languages. It includes novels, essays and opera librettos. He has been awarded several honorary doctorates; he has also been the recipient of literary prizes such as the Prix Goncourt in 1993 and the Prince of Asturias Award for Literature in 2010.

²⁷ Maalouf's writings have been explored in relation to identity. Some critics have also analyzed his texts as strategies of remembering, such as Carine Bourget in her essay, "The rewriting of history in Amin Maalouf's *The Crusades Through Arabs Eyes*" (2006). Maalouf's book *Origines*, in particular, has been examined and linked to memory, but its narrative strategy has not been deeply analyzed as a medium of Cultural Memory.

their identities are constantly negotiated and constructed in relation to the gaze of the others. The third and last part of the article will explain how the author's genealogical approach to his past and the way he links himself to his ancestors serve him as he reconstructs his own identity in the present. Coupled to an analysis of the author's use of oral and visual sources, the entire narrative of *Origines* will be discussed as an effective strategy of commemorating and as storage medium that is constitutive of Cultural Memory.²⁸

Historicism, Genealogy and Autobiography

In *Origines*, Amin Maalouf is not trying to write the history of his family, but rather to "trip down the river of [his] origins" (141).⁴ His presence as a first person narrator and his active role in the process of remembering generates and develops the narration. He uses the river as a metaphor to suggest a linear continuity between generations and makes it clear that the history that he narrates continues "upstream and downstream" (481). Hence, the aim of his memoir is not only to look at his past, but also to establish connections with his present. The author is interested in the past events in so far as they have imprinted the bodies and characters of his family members and, consequently, his own persona. In this sense, his active remembering can be considered as genealogical. Memory and genealogy, rather than history and historicism, are thus the objects of his memoir.

In fact, the river is a constant trope throughout the narration. In the very first lines of the book, Maalouf makes explicit his rejection of "roots" as a figure for representing continuity between generations. He firmly declares: "I don't like the word 'roots' and I don't like the image either . . . Trees are forced into resignation; they need their roots. Men do not" (9). It is relevant that he uses "rivers" instead of "roots" to link himself to his origins for different reasons. On the one hand, the fluidity and the mutability of the river, in contrast to the solidity and the limited mobility of the roots, match his understanding of identity as a complex and fluid concept rather than as a limited and fixed one. On the other hand, this metaphor implies that the history that he is narrating will be always unfinished – a river always represents a cycle. Indeed, while tracing his past, Maalouf does not expect to find any truth about his origins but rather wishes to immerse himself in the complexity of his own story and to reformulate it in an expanded horizon. He is aware of the fact that, as Foucault stated, "what is found at the historical beginning of things is not the inviolable identity of their origin; it is the distension of other things. It is disparity" (79).

Furthermore, the river as a metaphor is also used within the narration to express the union between different ways of thinking, or traditions. An example of this is Maalouf's description of the marriage of his grandparents as "two streams that have intermingled without fading into each other" (*Origines*, 433). This particular way of representing the continuity between the past and the present contrasts with the traditional image of the family tree. Indeed, one of the

²⁸ See the work of Aleida Assmann and Astrid Erll, who have explored literary texts both as a mnemonic artifact and a medium of Cultural Memory.

most valuable aspects of *Origines* is that it is full of contrasts, unfilled gaps and unsolved enigmas. The use of the image of the family tree or the approach to his past through a more historicist perspective would have undermined the genealogical process that is present in Maalouf's remembering since, as Foucault argues in "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History":

Genealogy does not resemble the evolution of a species and does not map the destiny of a people. On the contrary, to follow the complex course of descent is to maintain passing events in their proper dispersion; [...] it is to discover that truth or being does not lie at the root of what we know and what we are, but the exteriority of accidents. (80)

In addition, Maalouf's personal effort of reconstructing his past is, at the same time, a creative process. At the end of the book, he explains that he initially tried to use family trees to reconstruct the whole history of his family until he realized that this way of organizing generations did not work efficiently. He finally decided to use a different strategy that consists in putting the descendant in the centre with his parents around him, then his grandparents in the four cardinal points, and, finally, the great-grandparents following them. Rather than as a tree or a pyramid, his way of representing familial connections resembles a map. As Deleuze and Guattari explain in their rhizome theory: "All of tree logic is a logic of tracing and reproduction" whereas "The rhizome is altogether different, a *map and not a tracing*" (13). Interestingly, the result of Maalouf's method is not to identify an ancestor who produces descendants but a descendant who produces infinity of ancestors – two parents, four grandparents, eight great-grandparents and so on. This is why Maalouf's genealogical reconstruction of his past is 'ahierarchical' and rhizomatic; it is an interconnected process that takes place in the author's present and inevitably changes the way in which he perceives his own identity. In his own words, "each one of us has two heritages, a 'vertical' one that comes from our ancestors, our religious community and our popular traditions, and a 'horizontal' one transmitted to us by our contemporaries and by the age we live in" (*In the Name of Identity*, 102). By drawing the vertical line that links him to his ancestors, he is rethinking and reconstructing both his past and his present, as he makes evident when talks about the responsibility of taking care of his family archive: "I am the son of each of my ancestors and my destiny is to be as well, their belated progenitor in return" (*Origines*, 260).

Both this bidirectional connection and the timeless dialogue that he establishes with his past can be interpreted as a critique of historicism. Although he reconstructs the history of his family through letters, documents, family registers and photographs, he manipulates his archive organically since it serves him to interconnect constantly with his conscious reconstruction of the past and his creative remembrance in the present. In fact, there are frequent references throughout the narration to the deliberate process of filling the absences of the archives. This act of making explicit the creative process of filling the gaps with imagination unveils his strategy of reflectivity – in opposition to the strategy of authenticity that a historicist approach would generally undertake.

In addition to the methodological distance that Maalouf keeps from historicism, the international and intergenerational approach to his family past represents a more political criticism of it. The constant debate about modernity in the late Ottoman Empire – present throughout the whole narration and particularly embodied in the figure of Botros – brings into question the conception of global historical time that was coined by historicism. The cosmopolitanism of some of the characters and the questioning of dominant narratives and Western discourses of modernization in Lebanon reinforce Maalouf's critique of historicism. Consequently, this critique challenges the historicist conception of historical time as a measure of cultural distance between the West and the non West (Chakrabarty 7). The discussions about modernity that are present in the memoir add another level of criticism since, as Chakrabarty argues, "a critique of historicism therefore goes to the heart of the question of political modernity in non-Western societies." (9)

Historicism is contested through an additional perspective. Although *Origines* is not considered an autobiography – at least not in the general meaning of the term – another characteristic of its genealogical approach is that it allows the author to reflect on the *self*. A deeper understanding of the autobiographical genre considers an autobiography to be any work that, by establishing a relation between the first person "I" and the authorial self, allows the author to conduct a process of self-scrutiny. Following this interpretation, Paul J. Archambault considers that the "great enemies" of autobiography are precisely historicism (237) and the Rousseauistic ideal of transparency or sincerity (239). On the one hand, Archambault makes it clear that he "cannot see in history any incremental progression toward a deepening of self-consciousness or an awareness of personal freedom" (237). On the other hand, he explains that the main obstacle for the Rousseauistic ideal of transparency is the presence of the *Other* (239). It is important to note that Maalouf's reflective style not only rejects any kind of historicist approach to the past but also any appearance of transparency. An example of the latter is the constant allusion to the negotiation between the characters' identities and the gaze of the others that is present in the memoir. The authorial self is questioned through the reflectivity of the narrative style and redefined every time that the narrator links himself to new territories and memories. In this sense, Maalouf's memoir can be considered autobiographical; the self-scrutiny that is present in the narration is also related to his genealogical approach towards his family past. Moreover, the author's autobiographical and genealogical self-reflection gains perspective if we correlate it to his particular conception of identity. In the following development I will explore how the identities of the characters within the narration are constantly defined by their relation to others.

Hybrid Identities and Contradictory Allegiances

In his book *In the Name of Identity: Violence and the Need to Belong* (2000), Maalouf questions his own identity and expresses his difficulty in answering the question of whether he feels "more French" or "more Lebanese". As an author who was born in Lebanon but lives in France, he explains how his particular

background has provided him with allegiances to different languages and nationalities and also with a particular understanding of different religious traditions. In *Origines*, Maalouf develops a more in-depth understanding of his hybrid identity by linking himself to the history of the generation of his paternal grandfather Botros – a generation of people who share with him a diversity of territorial, political and religious bonds:

In my grandparents' thoughts, those different allegiances had their own "box": their state was "Turkey", their tongue was Arabic, their province was Syria, and their country the Lebanese Mountain. They had, of course, on top of this, their diverse religious allegiances, that must have weighed more than the rest on their existence. Those allegiances were not experienced in harmony . . . but there was a certain fluidity, in naming as in borders, that has disappeared with the rise of nationalisms. (257)

In this section of the book, which is critical of the rise of nationalisms, he underlines the fluidity of his people's allegiances and their capacity to navigate them. This is also made clear by the easiness with which the characters translate their names when they speak in other languages. For example, when Maalouf's grandfather Botros speaks in English he changes his name to "Peter" and when he speaks French he is called "Pierre". In Cuba, Gebrayel becomes "Gabriel" and Alice becomes "Alicia"; and in the United States Tanus is "Tom", Farid is "Fred" and Nadim is Ned (201).

Identity is thus constructed within the memoir in relation to others and also in relation to the political and historical context. When Maalouf talks about how the crisis of the Ottoman Empire affected his family, he declares that it is impossible for him "to separate the political from the personal" (168). On more than one occasion he overtly expresses his political position. For instance, when he elucidates his grandfather's political thoughts towards the Young Turk revolution in 1908, it is clear that Maalouf shares his criticism and that he is concerned with the respect for minorities:

What interested Botros . . . was to know if he, being born into a minority community, with a Christian religion and Arabic tongue, would, in a modernized Ottoman Empire, obtain his full place as a citizen without having to pay the price of his birth for the rest of his life. (160)

In addition to linking his political position to that of his ancestors Maalouf also redefines his allegiances through the territories. He expresses that he feels connected to Cuba as soon as he arrives there, following in his grandfather's steps. He has the feeling of being at home because of his personal involvement with the family members who had lived there before. However, this form of being affected combines feelings of cosmopolitanism with feelings of dislocation that every act of migration entails. The hybrid identities of Maalouf and his kin are thus similar to those of liquid modern individuals whose identities and locations inspire a mix of feelings. "Locations where the feeling of belonging was traditionally invested (job, family, neighbourhood) are [for them] either not available, or untrustworthy" (Bauman 30). In fact, although having experienced the feeling of being at home in Havana, the narrator affirms later on: "Cuba will

not ever be ours, grandfather, neither will the East. We are and we will forever be misplaced men" (*Origines*, 404).

Maalouf and his ancestors are able to navigate their hybrid identities by taking account of different attachments, but these multiple allegiances can also be contradictory. In this sense, "identities are mixed blessings. They vacillate between a dream and a nightmare" (Bauman 30). In the following paragraphs, I will explore in greater detail how these contradictions are present in the characters' feelings towards discourses of modernity, in their connections to religion and laicism, and in the tensions that migration generates between the people who leave the country and those who decide to stay. Maalouf's grandfather Botros is perhaps the character who presents more inner contradictions. The author describes him as a man of the world, deeply revolutionary for his time, who was constantly judged by his comrades because of his sophisticated behaviour. Maalouf regularly repeats that one of his grandfather's main distinctive features is the way he dresses. Botros always wears a black cloak and goes bareheaded, "neither with an oriental turban, nor with a European hat" (*Origines*, 121). Botros is a particularly progressive character who studied in an American school and is known to be an innovative teacher. His decision not to cover his head represents a way to distinguish himself from both tradition and from the West. This particular position makes clear the relationship that Botros wants to establish with the 'Occident'. This relationship is explicitly mentioned within the dialogue of a play written by Botros himself: "It is not enough to just want to imitate the Occident, it is also necessary to know what is worthwhile to be imitated, and what is not!" (122)

Botros' political position recognizes some values of the 'Occident' without rejecting his own values. However, this liminal position is not easily accepted in his community. Botros inspires both admiration and repudiation from his neighbours. These contradictory feelings increase when he decides to create a new school in town with the collaboration of his wife Nazeera. This school is called the "Universal School" and differs radically from the Catholic school in town because it mixes boys and girls in the classrooms and accepts children from any religious confession.

The competition between these two schools obviously represents the tension between two different worldviews. This strong competition does not cease and eventually divides the community. Even Botros' brother Theodoros, who is a Catholic leader in the community, advises him to close the Universal School when the tensions are at their peak. However, Botros' engagement with non-confessional education does not surrender to the attacks of fanaticism in the neighbourhood.

Furthermore, contradictions between different religious allegiances are also evident in a family fight that develops within the narration. Botros' cosmopolitan way of thinking makes him decide not to baptize his children. He wants them to decide to which religious community they belong when they become adults. He also expresses that a "community of believers should not be a tribe to which we belong by birth" (227). This decision generates tensions in his community and even in his family. These tensions lead the children's Catholic uncle Theodoros to baptize the sons of his brother in secret. This egoistic decision

of the paternal uncle generates reactions in the members of the mother's family. To seek vengeance, the children's maternal uncle inscribes them in the census as Protestants. As a result, Maalouf's father and his brothers do not know at some point to which religious community they belong.

According to Maalouf, it is not a coincidence that later on his father's older brother becomes a religious fanatic who expresses a feeling of reverence for the Crusades or the Inquisition and professes that there is no salvation outside the Roman Catholic Church. It is surprising that a son of the cosmopolitan Botros can profess such things and Maalouf links this to the fact that Botros' children are forced to be baptized by Theodoros – against Botros' will – before they become adults. This is not the only example of the tensions between family members because of religious extremism. I have mentioned how Botros and Theodoros differ in terms of religious allegiances and how this tension is reproduced again in Botros children. Maalouf's particular position in this regard is clear. His parents were afraid that he would take the path of his fanatical uncle, and they would tell him that "the lack of religion is a tragedy for families but the excess of it is a tragedy too" (467). Maalouf shares this idea; he is fully aware of the difficulties of dealing with religious conflicts.

Another explicit contradictory allegiance is made evident in the tension between those who migrate and those who do not. The act of migrating is constantly present throughout the narration and Maalouf takes specific care to deconstruct the myth of the migrant who leaves the country poor and comes back rich. To do so, he explains how those who emigrate cannot live without the constant pressure from their comrades at home: "They never escape the gaze of those who stayed in the country, because his kinship controls and judges them with their own eyes" (176).

As I have mentioned, the "eyes" of the others are always a determinant for all the characters. They cannot escape the gaze of their family members even when they are in another country. This is clear in the main migration story in the memoir. Botros' trip to Cuba is explained by the family and neighbours in the Mountain (Lebanon) as one of Botros' heroic actions. It is said that Botros went to the other side of the world to help his younger brother Gebrayel. However, as Maalouf moves on in his research he understands that the story is slightly different. Botros seriously considers the possibility of leaving his hometown several times when his brother offers him a job and a place to live in Havana. When Botros travels to Cuba he does not dismiss the possibility of staying, but the events on the island do not proceed as he expected. Nevertheless, even when he comes back to Lebanon he considers starting a new life in Havana: Under the mask of the wise adult, there was a distraught young man. A young man who wanted to leave, who envied Gebrayel for having left, but who didn't dare take the plunge. And he tied his own hands with all sorts of moral arguments to justify his indecision. (92)

Botros constantly reflects on whether migrating is an act of courage or an act of cowardice. He even writes a play in which the characters discuss the pros and cons of migrating. His decision to stay in the country is in part the result of several accidents. His hesitation to emigrate is also determined by the others' gaze; he feels that his people need him.

The tension between the responsibility to serve one's country of origin and the desire to discover other parts of the world is another common theme in *Origines*. All the characters constantly have to make difficult decisions to deal with the contradictions of their religious and political allegiances. Of course, Maalouf is aware that this is something that not only happens to him and his ancestors. "Wherever there is a divided society, there are men and women wearing with them contradictory allegiances, people who live on the frontier between opposed communities" (*In the Name of Identity*, 36).

Visual Documents, Oral Sources and Cultural Memory

I have argued that the narrative of *Origines* reconstructs the past through a genealogical approach and makes evident the author's constant self-scrutiny. I have also explored how the characters within the narration are able to navigate their hybrid identities but need to negotiate them when they deal with contradictory allegiances. In this last section, I will link the memoir's autobiographical function and the author's negotiation of identity in order to discuss Maalouf's narrative process as a medium of cultural memory. As Astrid Erll argues, Cultural Memory rests on narrative processes and "the most 'narrative' of all our individual memory systems is autobiographical memory" (147). I will explore how the processes of remembering and forgetting are not only carried out by the authorial self – Amin Maalouf himself – but are also made literally evident in the narration – through the narrator's voice. Consequently, the genealogical aim of the author's search will be again highlighted by exploring his particular use of the archives. To do so, I will pay specific attention to the sources that he manipulates to construct his narrative, which are essentially oral and visual documents.

First of all, it is important to emphasize that Maalouf conceives memory as an active process of reconstructing the past. He accesses his family memory first and foremost through visual documents; primarily, the documents left in the suitcase that his mother gives to him at the beginning of his quest, and other documents that he finds during his personal research and that complete his archive. These include letters, photographs, registers, maps, bank accounts and business cards from his family members. In the case of the photographs, it is important to note that he even includes some of them at the end of the book. These images that the author shares with the reader operate in two different ways. On the one hand, they function as a strategy of authenticity since they corroborate that the stories are 'real'. On the other hand, and perhaps more interestingly for this analysis, these images are nothing else than a copy of part of Maalouf's archive and therefore make evident to the reader that the author has constructed the narration through these and other documents. The placement of the images at the end of the book – and not within the narration – is thus a way to share with the reader the mnemonic material that lies at the origin of the author's process of remembering. The photographs are not a strategy designed to sustain verisimilitude. Indeed, all these documents create an illusion of reality for Maalouf's story, but he insists on making explicit his active and creative role in the process of filling in the gaps:

For lack of almost any witnesses, I was forced to fumble, to speculate and to sometimes mix in my account of the facts, imaginary, legend and genealogy – a confusion that I would rather have avoided, but how could I otherwise compensate the archive's silence? (*Origines*, 43)

In addition, the oral testimony of his living family members is another valuable source that Maalouf uses to reconstruct memory. Nevertheless, he makes explicit his preference for the written text when he critiques the ancient oral transmission of the poets' work: "Tribute should be paid to oral tradition, people often say. Personally, I leave this reverential awe to reformed colonials. I revere written work only" (68). On the one hand, his critique of the oral tradition is basically due to its shorter durability – in this sense he manifests a certain obsession with archives. On the other hand, he is also aware that the oral testimonies cannot be objective since everyone remembers what he or she consciously or unconsciously wants to remember. He nonetheless uses the oral sources to construct his narrative and values the testimony of the old people: "**Elderly persons** are a **treasure** that we squander in cajoleries and blandishments; then we remain forever unsatisfied" (259). Maalouf understands that the credibility of the oral sources operates in a different way. As Portelli states, "the importance of oral testimony may lie not in its adherence to fact, but rather in its departure from it" (68). Maalouf uses the oral testimony to gain a better understanding of what the past events meant to his ancestors rather than to know what really happened. "The first thing that makes oral history different, therefore, is that it tells us less about events than about their meaning" (Portelli 67). Moreover, he incorporates the oral testimonies in the narration and uses them to fill the absences, but he is very prudent not to take it too far. As he makes explicit at one point: "I do not feel that I have the right to speculate or to build a castle of dreams in such a narrow terrain" (*Origines*, 194).

Maalouf is aware that in any case he necessarily has to fill the gaps that both the visual documents and the oral testimonies have left. The visual sources, and especially the written text, are valuable for Maalouf because of their durability. However, he does not consider them objective. Neither does he consider the oral testimonies to be objective. They are valuable for him precisely because of their subjectivity. His multimodal archive is thus a toolbox rather than a window to a past reality. The documents that he possesses and the voices of his family members are the tools for his remembering. This is clear for him from the moment in which his ancestors' suitcase enters his possession. The pursuit of his origins is for him a "personal fight against forgetting" (260). He feels this fight almost as a duty since not remembering will condemn to death the memory of his family's past. In this sense, *Origines* is a staunch allegation against forgetting. As such, it operates as a content of memory. Indeed, its genealogical approach and its autobiographical aspects permit the author to renegotiate his identity in the present by building new memories. Memory, for Maalouf, differs again from historicism because it goes beyond historical time; it connects the past to the present time:

The past can just remain partial; it can just be reconstructed and reinvented. In it we can just harvest today's truths. If our present is the son of our past, then our past is the son of our present, and the future will be the harvester of our meanness. (337)

Conclusions: Downstream *Origines* as Content of Memory

I have shown how instead of using the recurring image of roots Maalouf chooses the river as a metaphor to link himself to his origins. This figure expresses his genealogical approach to memory more accurately. In the same vein, this trope allows him to develop an in-depth understanding of his hybrid identity by establishing a direct and fluid connection with his vertical heritage. The self-reflection that is present throughout the memoir allows us to understand his work as autobiographical. Genealogy and autobiography, in the way that they are used in Maalouf's *Origines* – and combined with the constant discussion of discourses of modernity within the narration – diverge from historicism. In this regard, opposing reality, truth and a fixed conception of identity, Maalouf is using history in relation to memory and constructing a “countermemory – a transformation of history into a totally different form of time” (Foucault 93). This different conception of historical time is symbolically expressed by tropes of childbirth and generation in which the present reciprocally gives birth to the past. This conception of memory as a timeless and creative act destabilizes the author's present.

The [genealogical] search for descent is not the erecting of foundations; on the contrary, it disturbs what was previously considered immobile; it fragments what was thought unified; it shows the heterogeneity of what was imagined consistent with itself. (Foucault 82)

Once again, his act of going through the documents, letters and photographs to track the path of his ancestors is a way to develop the complexity of his identity. Following the metaphor of the river, he is drawing a conscious line that flows upstream to his cultural heritage and downstream to his identity negotiation, a process that depends on his active remembering.

The migrations in Maalouf's country of origins have undoubtedly contributed to a reconfiguration of his ancestor's hybrid identities. However, these hybrid identities need always to be negotiated. Migration as constitutive of identity is discussed within the narration as a positive act of openness towards a global world and as an undesired consequence of a neo/postcolonial world. I have explored how the author makes explicit his active process of remembering and the difficulties of being objective in doing so. More specifically, I have mentioned the role of images and other visual documents as well as the role of oral testimonies as necessary but not objective sources to access the past. Maalouf uses the archives creatively as weapons against forgetting. He conceives memory as a creative process of commemoration and also as a duty. Accordingly, remembering and forgetting are explicitly and constantly mentioned throughout the memoir.

There is also an element of Intertextuality that needs to be mentioned. The author refers on more than one occasion to the existence of a book entitled *Dawani al koutouf fi tarikh Bani Maalouf* by Issa Iskandar Maalouf and which is considered the bible of the Maalouf family genealogy and Diaspora. This book is used by the author as another useful source during his research. It is implicit, then, that *Origines*, as a literary text, functions as storage medium too. Since *Origines* operates as a cultural text that looks at the past, it will be also remembered as a medium of cultural memory. Cultural texts are indeed “medium and object of the Cultural Memory at the same time: media which ‘remember something’ about a community’s past and are themselves remembered” (Erll 163).

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**“Jesus Been a Long Time Gone”:
Differing Memory Aesthetics in O’Connor’s and
Huston’s *Wise Blood***

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Scholars often contrast Flannery O’Connor’s religious outlook with the development and proliferation of Modernism. Most scholarship devoted to religious symbolism in O’Connor’s stories notes her personal disdain for the “nihilism” she saw as rampant within Western society (O’Connor, “To ‘A’” 97). O’Connor viewed this nihilism as a direct result of the religious, cultural, and moral “abyss” that stemmed from Nietzsche’s proclamation of the death of God, which, as numerous critics point out, was the rejection “of all traditional values as well” (Wood 1; Brustein 8). It was for this reason that Brustein categorized certain modern dramatists as “rebels” against the formerly pervasive traditional culture, “chafing against restraints, determined to make all barriers crack” (8). Likewise, critics categorize certain novels of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as modern based on the “corrosion of certain stock ideals and values” such as the “extension of subject matter” and a “freer and more realistic use of language” and violence (Yates 61-64).

This tension between a modernist present and the traditional past recurs throughout the works of modern American Southern authors as well, especially during what has been termed the “Southern Renaissance.” Those attempting to define the Southern Renaissance have often followed the lead of Allen Tate, who argued that the writers of the Southern Renaissance had “a kind of historical perspective” which allowed them to observe Southern people and culture not only as they had been, but also as they currently were (Rubin, Jr. 37). This historical vision was both based on historical context and thematic tendencies. Historically, the Southern Renaissance emerged after the First World War when the American South “faced the unavoidable disparity between traditional attitudes and the modern world” (King 13). Thematically, the canonical works of this period emphasized a “sense of place and past, the importance of religion, a distrust of abstraction, and a kind of cultural conservatism” (King 15). Based on these historic and thematic categories it might be assumed that the Southern Renaissance attempted to idealize the past, designating the Old South as superior to the modernized New South. Yet, Tate argues that literature of the Southern Renaissance is distinguished as such because these writers could both believe “in the value and meaningfulness of their people’s past” while also being able to disbelieve in it (Rubin, Jr. 37). Lewis P. Simpson has made similar arguments and has labeled many of these Southern writers as exhibiting an “aesthetic of memory” which “repudiated the simplicities of the Southern culture of memory but not its deeper symbolic meaning” (244).

The duality of both believing and disbelieving in the traditions of the Southern past meant the acceptance, at least on some level, of Modernism. Authors such as Tate, William Faulkner, Robert Penn Warren, and John Crowe Ransom are seen as the proto-types in this regard, with Faulkner being the most prominently cited. Through their writing these authors continually pitted Southern traditions against modern decision-making, challenging both the old and the new in the process, and artistically “questioning...their time and place” (Simpson 244). This artistic questioning asks questions that cannot be answered; it seeks something “unsearchable that must nevertheless be searched” (Driver xii).

Flannery O'Connor's inclusion as both a modern literary author and as part of the Southern Renaissance is debated because of the connection that these authors have with modernist ideals. This is not surprising given O'Connor's outspoken commitment to and belief in Roman Catholic orthodoxy. Many argue that O'Connor's Christian beliefs, which are “at the heart of” her fiction, are so central “that it could be argued that she is not really a Southern writer at all” (Young 120). Simpson notes that O'Connor is a pivotal figure “in the resolution of the drama of history and memory in southern fiction” because she rejects the “aesthetic of memory” for an alternative “aesthetic of revelation” (244). This alternative aesthetic rejects the inward assimilation of history to memory that categorized the aesthetic of memory. In its stead, O'Connor's fiction supposedly argues that the enduring quality of the South “is not remembrance; it is something ‘known only to God’” (Simpson 245). Within this view, O'Connor rejects any sense of an historical, cultural memory that both haunts and sustains individuals in favor of an irresistible force dictating the decisions and actions of characters no matter the time or place.

Yet, this clear delineation between aesthetics of memory and revelation simplifies the use of memory and historical consciousness within the Southern literary canon while also too neatly dividing authors of the American South into “Modern” or “Traditional” categories. It also provides a very limited definition of memory. John F. Desmond questions whether Simpson's thesis is “too comprehensive a formulation to explain the complex reality of the twentieth-century historical-literary situation,” arguing instead that Simpson's “aesthetic of revelation” is not actually a rejection of cultural memory but a spiritualized version of cultural memory, or a “metaphysical memory” (85). Rather than memory being viewed “exclusively in terms of its function within the natural order,” O'Connor's uses memory as “a natural faculty...whose roots reach ultimately into the transcendent, into our knowledge of ‘unchangeable Truth,’ particularly the truth of our condition as contingent beings who exist by virtue of our participation in the divine” (86-87).

Therefore, instead of navigating the Southern memory through the contradictions of the modern world, O'Connor navigates the metaphysical memory through those same contradictions; and instead of accepting certain aspects of Modernism as correctives to a dogmatic view of tradition, O'Connor moves beyond both the modern correctives and the traditions in search of absolute Truth. Rather than seeking questions that cannot be answered or

searching the unsearchable, O'Connor's fiction seeks a memory of divine origin that wants to be found and searches for a deity that has made Himself known. The metaphysical memory outlined by Desmond is clearly present in Flannery O'Connor's novel *Wise Blood* (1952). Traveling preacher Hazel Motes embodies the modernist disavowal of absolute truth. Hazel's desire to reject Jesus Christ as the means to salvation and replace him with a new "Church without Christ" is a dark and absurdly comedic attempt to represent the ramifications of such a rejection as seen through the lens of orthodox, Catholic Christianity. Through this lens, the modernist preacher is bridled in contradiction, unable either to fully accept his spirit-less message or completely reject his religious past. While Hazel preaches the meaninglessness of Christian truth, he is continually haunted by a desire to understand truth; while he desires to convince the masses that they do not need salvation, he cannot convince himself; while he presents what is, in his mind, a new message of freedom, he is continually reminded of a distinctly spiritual past that will not set him free. It is Hazel's desire yet inability to escape this metaphysical memory that ultimately provides the clearest example of modernity's powerlessness to fully reject or elude the social, cultural, and especially spiritual aspects of the memory.

Yet, one of the more fascinating aspects of *Wise Blood* is the usage of modernist devices within this very non-modernist worldview. O'Connor often drew the ire of many religiously minded readers for her use of language, sexually explicit material, and, most notably, violence. This may be why most examinations of John Huston's film version of *Wise Blood* (1979) praise it as a faithful adaptation since a "good deal of dialogue and nearly every scene" from O'Connor's novel are used in the film (McCaffrey 73). Other scholars have found fault with the "faithfulness" of this film adaptation along similar, thematic grounds. Peter S. Hawkins, for example, argues that the novel's use of a narrator creates an "added dimension" that dialogue alone cannot convey. He writes that if the novel's dialogue were extracted from its narrative context it would "silence the author's interpretive voice," and that the film affords an "example of this elimination" (31). Many of these discussions of thematic faithfulness also point out that the film and the novel are "coming from different places" (Rosenbaum 29). By this, critics usually mean that the novel presents a story of spiritual redemption while the film offers no such redemptive hope. In order to support this claim, scholars point to the personal convictions of the artists responsible for each version of the story. Since Flannery O'Connor is a Catholic, her story portrays spiritual renewal; since film director John Huston is an atheist, his version lacks spiritual redemption (Demory; Hawkins 31).

As a consequence of these discussions of faithfulness and authorial interpretation, scholars have mostly neglected examinations of specific, aesthetic distinctions between novel and film. One of the most important distinctions between these versions of *Wise Blood* is in the use of memory. While the novel uses memory to highlight the tension between a metaphysical memory and the modernist present, the film aligns more closely with the "aesthetic of memory" laid out in Simpson's work since it repudiates "the simplicities of the Southern culture of memory but not its deeper symbolic meaning" (Simpson 244). Whereas the novel portrays Hazel as a man seeking to ignore and escape the

spiritual reality of Jesus Christ, the film depicts Hazel as a man trying to ignore and reject the earthly, religious dogma of his grandfather. Both of these attempts are futile.

Memory plays a major role in the first chapter of the novel as Hazel Motes is traveling to Taulkinham by train. During the trip Hazel becomes almost obsessed with the train's porter, believing that the porter grew up in the same town as he had. His recognition (or misrecognition) of the porter as "a Parrum nigger from Eastrod" sparks a series of memories interspersed with the action and dialogue of the trip. After his first attempt to get the porter to admit that he is from Eastrod, Hazel moves back to his seat as "Eastrod filled his head and then went out beyond and filled the space that stretched from the train across the empty darkening fields" (O'Connor 13). His recollections of the "Negro shacks" and a barn stall with the "red and white CCC snuff ad peeling across the side of it" are interrupted by his fellow traveler, Mrs. Hitchcock, asking him if he is "going home" (13).

Later in the chapter Hazel's interactions with the porter precede another memory sequence. After the porter lets Hazel into his berth for the night, Hazel lays in the dark and connects his small quarters to that of a coffin. This connection allows him to think of other coffins he has seen in his life: he saw them at his grandfather's, two younger brothers', and father's funerals. A jolting of the train nearly removes his memories, but instead shifts his thoughts to another kind of death – the death of his hometown. When his father died there were twenty-five people in the town. By the time he left for the war at age eighteen, there were only ten. Now, as he recalls his return to his hometown of Eastrod just before boarding the train, no one remains. Even the store was boarded when he arrived, the barn was leaning, "and the smaller house [was] half carted away" with "the porch gone and no floor in the hall" (21).

In many ways, these images of a faltering and suffering Southern homeland correlate with the historical consciousness so prized in the authors canonized within the Southern Renaissance. Instead of "flattering myths" or "romantic dreams of the South's past," *Wise Blood* seems to be disdaining "the polemics of defense and justification" in favor of the "somber realities of hardship and defeat and evil" (Woodward 24). As David A. Davis points out, the defining characteristic of most Southern writers of the first half of the twentieth century is the "inherent tension between modernity and Southern provincialism" and the forced movement away from a rural, agriculturally-based society to an urban, manufacturing-based society (91). Hazel Motes' journey away from his rural home in Eastrod, which he realizes is "only a shell" since there is nothing there "but the skeleton of a house," toward the urban town of Taulkinham appears to capture this tension (O'Connor 26). Memories of the rural past live in tension with the actions of the urbanized present. In short, based on the rhetorical strategy utilized within the first chapter of *Wise Blood*, the novel initially appears to fit quite neatly into Simpson's "aesthetic of memory."

The film's opening sequences highlight this tension between an old historical consciousness and a new modern alteration of that cultural history. In an examination of the only two films John Huston directed based on distinctly Southern texts (*Wise Blood* and *The Night of the Iguana*), Gary D. Rhodes argues

that the main characters “exist on a linear timeline, but they cannot escape the past and struggle with the modern world” (86). This is clearly displayed in the still photographs projected behind the title credits, most of which combine evidences of the Southern past with modern influences. For instance, there are photographs of the following: a large billboard with “if you repent God has forgiveness for you in Jesus your Savior” next to highway signs and telephone poles; a sign post with several signs pointing toward Baptist churches just underneath a sign for Coca-Cola; an outside shopping area with da Vinci’s “The Last Supper” stitched onto an Oriental rug and a large Confederate flag hanging in the background; a large, modern Dairy Queen sign that has “REPENT BE BAPTIZED IN JESUS NAME” spelled out in the lower section; another religiously infused billboard next to a visible highway; a gravesite adorned with a fake telephone and the words “Jesus Called.” Each of these images conflates the old and the new, the traditional and the modern, the religious and the secular. The photographs are also all presented in black and white while the rest of the film is in color, conflating even traditional notions of old and new cinematic style. Rhodes also points out that the use of a “1947 Redd Stewart-Pee Wee King song ‘The Tennessee Waltz’” throughout the film perhaps best represents “the past encroaching on the present” since the song’s lyrics (although not heard in the instrumental version played in the film) “speak to a past that cannot be lost or forgotten” (87).

The film also clearly positions Hazel’s journey as a decisive movement away from the past. However, the forward progression of the film narrative removes the sequences of Hazel’s memory that take up much of the first chapter in the book, electing to instead visualize many of these memory passages as present events. Instead of starting with Hazel on the train to Taulkinham as does the novel, the film begins with Hazel’s return to his childhood home after the war. The first image after the credits is of Hazel literally standing at a crossroads, overtly symbolizing the psychological and physical positioning of both Hazel and his hometown at the film’s opening. After Hazel slowly wanders through his family’s run-down farm house, buys a suit, and gets on the train to Taulkinham, the forward progression of the narrative continues. The train porter who sparks Hazel’s crucial memories of home in the novel does not even appear in the film. In fact, the film excises much of the train sequence, with only small portions of Hazel’s dialogue with Mrs. Hitchcock utilized, effectively speeding up the narrative.

Instead of using scenes of memory to contrast Hazel’s present journey with his past, the film utilizes visual signifiers such as moving cameras and tracking shots, aesthetically maintaining the theme of progression. After the opening credit sequence, as Hazel stands at the crossroads, the camera remains stationary in connection with the still photographs summarized above. This stasis quickly dissipates as Hazel, hitchhiking, is picked up by a truck. The camera moves into the car with Hazel and the driver, capturing the motion of the car as it speeds by the surroundings. Even after Hazel tells the driver to let him out near his family farmhouse, the camera continues moving, exiting the car with Hazel and panning with him as he grabs his bag, shuts the door, and thanks the driver for the ride. The motion of camera is connected with the dialogue of the

driver, who tells Hazel about all of the families who have left Eastrod for the city, again focusing the attention on the tension between the rural and the urban. It is this very movement away from the rural to the urban that Hazel is also making.

Once Hazel arrives in Taulkinham the film again uses camera movement to highlight Hazel's attempts to move away from his past. As he leaves the train station the camera tracks with him from right to left, capturing the movement of both Hazel and the train as it embarks from the station. Then, as Hazel leaves the screen, the shot remains on the train for a moment as it continues its movement from right to left. Like the train, Hazel is moving further from Eastrod. The right to left movement of characters and camera is utilized again after Hazel meets the apparently blind preacher Asa Hawks and his daughter. Obsessed in some strange way with Asa's blindness and message of salvation, Hazel follows him through the streets of the city. In two long tracking shots the film captures Hazel's movements along with those of Enoch Emory, whom Hazel has just met.

Yet, instead of allowing Hazel's quest to move along unimpeded, the film introduces thematic and aesthetic conflicts. For instance, as Hazel and Enoch follow Asa, Hazel inadvertently begins crossing a street against the light. Enoch tries to stop Hazel from crossing, but it is not until a police officer steps in front of Hazel and verbally reprimands him that both Hazel and the camera stop moving. Not only does this signify the conflict between rural and urban, since Hazel is unfamiliar with the notion of street lights and traffic patterns, it also signifies that Hazel's quest, whatever it may be, will not be easily attained.

After Hazel catches up with Asa and preaches to the people exiting a meeting hall, Hazel and Enoch are again captured in a tracking shot. This time, it is Enoch's long-winded story of his past that causes Hazel to stop moving. Each time Hazel stops to tell Enoch to leave, the camera stops as well. Hazel views Enoch's attempts to emerge from his own sordid history as barriers to his own forward progression. In escaping his own history he does not want to be bothered by anyone else's history.

Hazel's attempts to continue moving forward are thwarted in similar ways throughout the rest of the film, and the editing and camera movements continue this contrast between movement and stasis. In addition to the stoppages that Hazel experiences in the action of the present day, the film visualizes memories of Hazel's youth with his inability to move forward. Even though the reliance on memory is not as strong in the film as it is in the novel, the film does provide four flashback sequences to illustrate the past he is attempting to escape. Most of these flashbacks are of Hazel's grandfather giving sermons about Jesus' power over the sinner and the sinner's inability to escape from the Lord's salvific love. The first flashback occurs as Hazel is about to leave Eastrod and he stands over his grandfather's grave. This first flashback is short, but it does introduce the grandfather as a "fire and brimstone" style preacher, calling his congregants "stones" falling down in the lake of fire. That Hazel leaves town after this memory positions his journey as an escape from the religious background instilled in him by his grandfather.

The second flashback occurs after Hazel sleeps with a prostitute. Introduced while Hazel is sleeping, the flashback shows what is in the novel

Hazel's first experience with sexual sin. Sneaking into a peep show, Hazel sees a naked woman as a promoter's voice calls out to the men inside the show how "sin-sational" the experience is. Then, after a brief cut back to Hazel sleeping next to the prostitute, a third memory appears depicting Hazel filling his shoes with rocks and walking along a dirt path as a means of penance. The promoter's voice is replaced by the voice of Hazel's grandfather deriding the pleasures of the flesh and the sins of humanity. These two flashbacks, by connecting the off-screen voices of the promoter and the grandfather, also connect the actions of Hazel in each scene. His actions, along with the other viewers of the peep show, are guided and directed by the promoter just as his act of penance is directed by his grandfather. Therefore, the grandfather and the promoter become similar entities, both promoting the importance of their respective "shows," one proud of being sin-filled and the other promoting righteousness. While this connection between the showmanship of religion and spectacle recurs throughout both the novel and the film, the most important aspect of this scene in terms of its use of memory is that Hazel's past experiences are prefiguring and, in some way, haunting his present. Since his recollection of the peep show and subsequent penance occurs after his night with a prostitute, on some level he is conscious that his grandfather would disapprove of his current lifestyle choices.

Up to this point in the narrative the flashback sequences do not literally impede Hazel's progress away from his past. The fourth and final flashback, however, changes that. After Hazel buys a used car that, appropriately, does not have any rear-view mirrors, he drives onto the highway, presumably in an attempt to continue moving further from Eastrod. Yet, during the drive the car begins to sputter and Hazel must pull to the side of the road. He ends up directly across the street from a large rock with a gospel message painted on its face. As Hazel stares at the rock, the soundtrack shifts to his grandfather's voice as he gives another of his sermons. This is the first instance in the film of elements in the flashback blending with elements of the present action, clearly signaling Hazel's inability to escape the past as he intends. The words of the flashback also illumine this connection between past and present since the grandfather, while pointing and yelling in young Hazel's direction, says that "Jesus would die ten-thousand deaths" to save any soul, and that Jesus will "have you in the end." In the flashback, these words cause Hazel to urinate through his pants, an obvious visual symbol of his fear. In the present, the recollection of these words causes Hazel to remain fixated on the stone until another driver, stuck behind the motionless Hazel, reaches in and touches Hazel's shoulder. Causing a long backup on the highway, Hazel must now restart his journey; but instead of moving forward, Hazel must turn his car around and go back to Taulkinham.

While these flashbacks establish Hazel's thwarted efforts to move forward, they also imply a distinctly physical history empty of the supernatural. It is Hazel's memory of his grandfather and the psychological torture produced from his sermons rather than the Jesus he preaches who Hazel is attempting to flee. In Jesus' place is the very visible and audible presence of the grandfather. Hazel's car, as his means of transportation and freedom from stasis, is also the vehicle by which he realizes that escape is not possible. In both the novel and the film Hazel's car is destroyed by a police officer, and this destruction leads Hazel into

the destruction of his own body by blinding himself. Along with blinding himself with lime, the novel and the film also include other forms of self-harm that Hazel inflicts upon himself, including a reversion to walking for miles with rocks in his shoes. Since the memory sequences in the film have set up Hazel's journey as an attempt to escape his grandfather, these penance-type activities mark Hazel's realization that escape from his grandfather is not possible. Hazel, unable to rid his thoughts of his grandfather's religious tyranny, instead accepts the religious dogma as a way of life. Ultimately, this acceptance leads to his exclusion from culture and his death.

The film's relegation of memory to the natural order aligns with Simpson's notion of the "aesthetic of memory." Hazel battles the historical past by trying to create a new history in which all notions of the past are eliminated. His "Church without Christ" is emblematic of Simpson's claim that the omnipresent subject of modern letters is "man's idea of himself as a creature of his own conception of history, and his resistance to this idea" (238). Though preaching a rejection of the past Hazel cannot completely remove himself from the past; memories of his grandfather will not let him.

Unlike the film, the novel expands its use of memory beyond the natural order to include Desmond's notion of a "metaphysical memory." Rather than having the grandfather dominate Hazel's memories and thereby establish the grandfather as the history Hazel wishes to escape, the novel uses the grandfather's sermon as a bridge to understanding Hazel's deeper concerns. Much of the dialogue in the film's flashback scenes comes from the first chapter of the book in which Hazel, half-dreaming in his berth, remembers the grandfather's words that "Jesus would have him in the end" (O'Connor 22). While the film connects these words with young Hazel's terrified urination (which the novel does not contain), the novel begins a new paragraph with the words "The boy didn't need to hear it" (22). This line suggests that Hazel, on a deeper, metaphysical level, already knew the gospel that his grandfather was preaching. He already had "a deep black wordless conviction in him that the way to avoid Jesus was to avoid sin," and at points in his life would see "Jesus move from tree to tree in the back of his mind, a wild ragged figure motioning him to turn around and come off in the dark where he was not sure of his footing, where he might be walking on the water and not know it and then suddenly know it and drown" (22). Hazel's metaphysical memory, as established in the first chapter, establishes his movement away from his past as an attempt to move away from the spiritual Jesus rather than his physical grandfather.

Likewise, Hazel's recollection of his first sexual sin and subsequent penance is presented differently in the novel than it is in the film. Hazel's arrival and subsequent viewing of a peep show in the novel is not, as in the film, something that Hazel acts upon alone. Instead, Hazel is attempting to follow his father (who is not included in the film) into the show in order to see what is inside. Hazel realizes that the men are viewing a naked woman lying inside a coffin-shaped box and hears the voice of his father say that if a woman like that were "built into ever' casket...be a heap ready to go sooner" (58). Immediately Hazel leaves the tent, sneaking away in the hopes that he is not seen, and hides in the back of his father's truck until they go home.

Hazel's mother (also not in the film) awaits his arrival at the house and somehow knows that he has seen something sinful. She asks him "What you seen?" and hits him across the legs with a stick in a manner reminiscent of the powerful and direct preaching of Hazel's grandfather in both the novel and the film. His mother also tells him that "Jesus died to redeem" him, to which Hazel responds that he "never ast him" (63). Yet, even though Hazel rejects the notion of Jesus' death for his sins, as he mother stares at him the text says that "he forgot the guilt of the tent for the nameless unplaced guilt that was in him" (63). As with the earlier memory scene of the grandfather's sermon, it is not the human person who Hazel is afraid of or attempting to appease. This nameless, unplaced guilt inside of Hazel is directly related to Jesus, and this is made clear when, the next day, Hazel places stones in his shoes, "laced them up tight and walked in them through the woods for what he knew to be a mile" in an effort to "satisfy Him" (64).

Hazel's recognition of Jesus as the memory that must be escaped contrasts sharply with the film. It is not the grandfather or the mother that Hazel fears. In fact, one of Hazel's memories recounts the care he takes of his mother's shifferrobe so that she will "rest easier" in her grave. His journey is not away from his familial heritage but away from the spiritual presence of Jesus Christ, and it is only when he realizes that he cannot escape the metaphysical memory of Christ's presence that he decides to live in a perpetual state of penance. Hazel's knowledge of the realm beyond the material is hinted at again after his car is destroyed by the police officer. Staring out over the embankment past the ruins of the automobile, Hazel's face reflects "the entire distance across the clearing and on beyond, the entire distance that extended from his eyes to the blank gray sky that went on, depth after depth, into space" (209). These words also recall the initial memory passage in chapter one in which "Eastrod filled his head and then went out beyond and filled the space that stretched from the train across the empty darkening fields" (13). It is at this point that Hazel admits to the officer that he isn't really "going anywheres" before walking over three miles back to town, buying lime, and blinding himself (209).

As in the film, Hazel's final actions of self-harm separate him from society and ultimately lead to his death. However, what is clear in the novel is that Hazel's final attempts to cleanse himself are directed not at his own, physical past, but at a spiritual reality that he cannot ignore. His recognition of metaphysical memory overtakes his desire to ignore and reject that memory. His penance is an attempt to "satisfy Him" just as it was when he was a young boy. Ultimately, the Hazel of the novel and the Hazel of the film, while acting and speaking in a similar manner, have different motivations. These differing motivations are based on the aesthetic construction of memory in both texts. In the film, Hazel tries to escape and reject the memories of his physical past, particularly the memories of his grandfather. Hazel's quest to remove himself from his homeland, or the physical realm of his grandfather, does not succeed. His forward progress is continually thwarted, most prominently through the flashback scenes in the film, and the presence of his grandfather in these memories forces Hazel to live his life as an attempt to appease the religious notions promoted by the grandfather. In the novel, Hazel's attempts to escape go

beyond the physical realities of his past into the metaphysical. It is not a family or a place that Hazel flees and rejects but a spiritual presence. Yet, Hazel is not able to escape the memory of Jesus, eventually subjugating himself to penance as a means to appease this unseen force. Memory, then, is an important factor in understanding the rationale behind Hazel's actions. It is this distinction that alters how the novel and the film approach Hazel's physically destructive behavior, making the "different positions" of the novel and film more than mere distinctions between authorial worldviews. These differing positions are, instead, based on different memory aesthetics used within the texts themselves.

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**FORMATION/TRANSMISSION OF
INSTITUTIONAL AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY**

Collective Memory as Political Instrument

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From its very title, we understand that memory plays a pivotal role in Milan Kundera's novel, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*. In the novel, three levels of memory are at play, as the narrative oscillates between the autobiographic memories of the author, the imagined memories of the fictional characters, and the memories of Bohemia, the historical backdrop on which the narrative takes place. Kundera draws a parallel between personal memories— whether they are his own memories or those of his fictional characters— and collective memory, which tells the history of a country in transition: from Nazism to communism, from communism to independence, and from independence to alienation.

In February 1948, the Communist leader Klement Gottwald stepped out on the balcony of a Baroque palace in Prague to harangue hundreds of thousands of citizens massed in Old Town Square. That was a great turning point in the history of Bohemia. A fateful moment of the kind that occurs only once or twice a millennium.

Gottwald was flanked by his comrades, with Clementis standing close to him. It was snowing and cold, and Gottwald was bareheaded. Bursting with solicitude, Clementis took off his fur hat and set it on Gottwald's head.

The propaganda section made hundreds of thousands of copies of the photograph taken on the balcony where Gottwald, in a fur hat and surrounded by his comrades, spoke to the people. On that balcony the history of Communist Bohemia began. Every child knew that photograph, from seeing it on posters and in schoolbooks and museums.

Four years later, Clementis was charged with treason and hanged. The propaganda section immediately made him vanish from history and, of course, from all photographs. Ever since, Gottwald has been alone on the balcony. Where Clementis stood, there is only the bare palace wall. Nothing remains of Clementis but the fur hat on Gottwald's head.
(Kundera, *Book of Laughter* 4)

This episode is emblematic of what Kundera calls *willed forgetfulness imposed by totalitarian power* (*L'art du roman* 172). Here, the decay of memory is not just provoked by the natural human tendency to forget. It is a deliberate manipulation of historical documents and official archives.

Memory is selective by nature. When we remember, we exaggerate our achievements and repress our disappointments. We choose what to remember and what to forget, like the narrator of a story who carefully selects what to reveal and what to overlook. This is true for the individual as it is for the collective.

When Clementis was executed, the memory of the once hailed Slovak Minister was quickly buried, just as the protagonist Mirek wanted to erase the chapter of his relationship with Zdena because she was “too ugly.” As with the photo on the balcony in Prague, or the letters of Zdena that Mirek got rid of to obliterate any proof of a relationship with the woman, traces of the memories subjected to forced amnesia are also expunged from official records. That is because memories that challenge the dominant narrative risk disturbing the existing power/knowledge structure.

The photo of Clementis in the novel of Kundera invokes an image of a palimpsest in which different versions or images of a single incident are superimposed one on top of the other. Each memory is in itself a palimpsest where we find several versions of what we naively call the “truth” stacked one above the other. Traumatic memories in particular, psychologists have pointed out, are layered which is why they emerge gradually and in pieces (Suleiman, *Risking Who One Is* 211). In this palimpsest, it is real existence itself that serves as the original text, the *texte antérieur*, but a text that is forever inaccessible, and of which we are left only with traces (Bouju 27).

What the incident of the photo of Clementis makes visible is that memories are never really faithful to the past. Many conflicting versions can surround a single event. What often happens is that the more powerful group imposes its version by repressing the voice of the Other. Furthermore, because we are always in the process of rewriting the past to serve present or future objectives, all our memories of what has happened are subject to manipulation across changing times.

In the case of authoritarian regimes such as that of Gottwald, this forced amnesia serves to maintain the status quo. However, as was made obvious in France after the Second World War, it is not only totalitarian regimes that are responsible for such amnesia. Democratic regimes too can manipulate collective memory for the sake of present or future political goals.

Resistancialism refers to the Gaullist myth about World War Two which claims that the French people stood united in their resistance to German occupation- *une France unie*. This myth was set in motion on the eve of liberation by Charles de Gaulle, who wanted to rewrite the dark chapter of Vichy France in the sake of national solidarity. Historians have highlighted that after the Liberation France found itself in a unique position amongst the other European countries: how to claim the right to negotiate as a victor and future conqueror of Germany while at the same time be held accountable for the collaboration with the Germans by both the Vichy government and a significant

portion of the population (Suleiman, *Crisis of Memory* 14). And how was France going to recover its republican image after four years of undemocratic rule under Vichy? Although it is true that the French Resistance was a powerful partisan movement that took immense risks to help protect Jewish citizens and liberate France from the Germans, France was partially complicit in the crimes against its Jewish citizens. The Vichy government turned in its Jewish citizens to the Gestapo in what became known as “l’affaire de fichiers juifs.” Helped by these files, the Gestapo was able to roundup the Jews living in Paris to be deported to their death in the east— from where many had originally escaped persecution to come to the *liberal, egalitarian, and fraternal* France.

Myths serve an important social function, as they habitually help maintain the structure of power. In *Mythologies*, Roland Barthes analyses the myths of modern society and the way in which historical facts represent themselves as natural facts. But there are no facts; every myth is a construction, a *mise-en-forme* that is related to a particular system of values situated in a particular point in time and space.

In his analysis of myths, Barthes tells us that what appears as natural in history is anything but. It is supported by the epistemological and discursive authorities that surround us.²⁹ In the same regard, Michel Foucault points our attention to the epistemes of our collective knowledge that determine what is “true” and what is “false” as a result of a network of social, economic, political and ideological forces (Eckstein 22). Like history, literature, and the other discourses of power that help shape our societies, collective memory is related to this structure of power/knowledge.

These memory-myths do not just address the past, they are not just retrospective but are also prospective in that they orient themselves towards the future. Myths are both inspiring and mobilizing all at once. They rely on symbolic representation and they are fueled by a social function (Bedarida 240-242). This is why collective memory is not just established and sustained by informal efforts of the community, but more importantly, they are propagated by formal means of commemoration and official policies.

Collective memory is not a natural or guaranteed phenomenon; it must be sustained and nurtured in order to be firmly established. It needs substance, commemoration, commercialization, and documentation so that it can yield well-formed *lieux de mémoire* that transcend generations (Nora, “Entre Mémoire et Histoire” 29). The main goal of commemoration is to bridge the gap between past and future generations, to dissolve the distance between the events of the past and those who did not live them, to make sure that the past lives on in the conscience of the present and the future (Kattan 60-61). That is especially important when the day comes that there are no firsthand witnesses of those past events left to tell their stories.

Commemoration on all levels, whether personal or collective, as monuments and memorial foundations across the world’s capitals can attest, is something that must be proactively established. In the city of Paris, for example, as witness to the *Rafle du Vél’ d’Hiv*, that is, the roundup of more than 13,000

²⁹ See Barthes, *Mythologies*.

Jews in the summer of 1942, commemorative plaques are placed outside buildings, schools, and public venues from which Jewish families were taken and turned in to the German occupants. That is because to survive, collective memory must be continuously fed.

The Memory Model

As a direct result of the increasing interest in collective memory since the memory boom of the 1970's, we have witnessed a surge in autobiographical writings, memoirs, and testimonies. In France, the 1970's saw the proliferation of autobiographical writings produced not only by Jewish survivors of the war but also by French men and women of different origins, such as immigrants from North Africa with the *roman beur* or the ex-colonized of sub-Saharan Africa (Astro 2).

The substantial three-volume work of Pierre Nora and his collaborators on *Les lieux de memoire* of the French people is often cited as the origin of the memory turn in historiography and cultural studies (Suleiman, *Crisis of Memory* 2). In *La memoire, l'histoire et l'oubli*, Paul Ricoeur underlines the main thesis of Nora's work, namely that as a result of our contemporary obsession with commemoration, the memorial model has overpowered the historical model as the key to our past (Ricoeur 110). For Nora, collective memory has taken on an unprecedented historical value over the last decades. Likewise, for Maurice Halbwachs, the father of collective memory, it is memory rather than history that establishes historical continuity, the link between our past, future and present, because while history is divided neatly in terms of centuries or decades, collective memory is more fluid (46). This is why historiography has come to rely more on memory than on history in its traditional sense because collective memory helps provide the larger context.

The decade of the 1970's marks the beginning of our "*ère du témoin*" (Annette Wieviorka), our "*ère de commémoration*" (Pierre Nora). Not just the memory of the Shoah but also the memory of colonialism, of the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, of apartheid in South Africa, of the Bosnian war—all these areas have become active *lieux de mémoire* that garner much discussion and debate. More importantly, this preoccupation with collective memory has propelled many marginalized subjects that have been excluded from the writing of history in the past to put pen to paper and write their stories— be it in the form of oral testimonies, autobiographies, or memoirs— and to challenge existing narratives.

Collective memory plays an important role when the archives fail to represent the familiar reality endured by the real actors and witnesses of events. In the case of the Algerian war, for example, the Algerian people had to rely predominantly on the partial French documents for knowledge of their own history since 1830. The experiences of the mostly illiterate female *moujahidines* in the guerilla war that was to end French colonisation of Algeria is not available, as it is not written down. It is passed down from generation to generation by word of mouth.

Furthermore, the surge in autobiographical writings since the 1970's— which saw the ordinary man take up the pen to write his story— makes evident a sort of “democratization” of the actors of history. This democratization is a result of the *soixante-huitarde* spirit that signified the “prise de parole” by the common man (Wieviorka, *L'Ère du témoin* 127-128). History is no longer the preserve of an elite group of specialists who select to whom to give voice and whom to silence. This is ever clearer with the popularity of citizen journalism, for example during the Arab Spring, when people constantly uploaded images and videos of the protests in the streets while official media outlets were banned from doing so.

Anyone can become a historian. The surge of testimonies in the public arena thanks to the mediatization of the Shoah in France and elsewhere, along with the triumph of ideologies centered on human rights since the 1970's, has placed the individual at the very heart of society and history (Wieviorka, *L'Ère du témoin* 127-128). If historical memory was in the past constructed and disseminated by ruling elites such as the church, the state, or the academy, today it has become more decentralized and democratized (Nora, “Entre Mémoire et Histoire” 31). If collective memory was in the past transmitted and disseminated in a top-down manner, it now emerges bottom-up.

History, by nature, according to Halbwachs, is totalizing. If a single story does not fit in with the larger universal History, it is repressed. But whereas history seeks domination, collective memory is by definition limited to a precise group because it is restricted geographically and temporally (49). Halbwachs explains that while History with a capital ‘H’ has traditionally presented itself as universal, that is, as “the universal memory of the human race”, in reality a universal memory has never existed; collective memory is pluralistic (48-49). Because this universal History-memory does not exist organically, any process aimed at arriving at this totalizing history is violent as it relies on the silencing of the memories of Others.

Nonetheless, despite the tendency of certain groups to impose their memories on those of others, collective memory has never existed except in the plural— as collective memories. In his essay entitled “Comment écrire l'histoire de France” in *Les Lieux de mémoire*, Nora claims that we have passed from “Une France” in the singular to “Les France” in the plural (“Comment écrire l'histoire de France?” 2224-2228). Today, France is a country with several collective memories that hold different meanings for each different group. As a result of the surge in importance given to collective memory, many of those who were often marginalized in the official record of the past have taken steps to provide their own narratives.

Nora highlights the end of a totalizing history-memory for France, the end of a centralized and a singular collective memory for a country that is increasingly becoming a home for immigrants from around the world with long-lasting ties to France (“Entre Mémoire et Histoire” 33). However, Nora claims that the emergence of multiple collective memories in a country like France can be problematic, because France is established on a single national history. The United States, on the other hand, has always been a country of plural memories, a melting pot of collective memories, albeit at times a turbulent one (“Entre Mémoire et Histoire” 26).

Memory and Contest

The strong performative power of collective memory— as evident in the way societies transmit and commemorate events of the past— demonstrates its strong value. As a result of the importance given to collective memory over the last decades in the different domains, from the humanities to the social sciences, it has become an often-contested area. Moreover, groups that represent opposing versions of the “past” find themselves in opposition with one another as both sides attempt to pass their own memory as natural and thus more credible. This is why the palimpsest of collective memory often consists of violent erasures and violent superpositions, such as we have seen with the photo of Clementis.

In these situations, memory becomes an area of contest. This is because like land, it is territory that must be marked and claimed. This is especially true when there is a conflict between opposing collective memories. Such is the case with Israelis and Palestinians who continue to produce different versions of the same reality.

One critic has studied the importance of trees (orange trees, lemon trees, olive trees) as a signifier of rootedness/uprootedness in both Israeli and Palestinian collective memories where they often appear (Bardenstein 148).. In the literature produced by both residents of the Holy Land, trees are used as either a symbol of a lost land or of a return to an old (or new) land. Because the olive trees are mentioned in the Torah, the Bible and the Quran, they are symbols with strong historical and religious resonance for Palestinians and Israelis alike (148). They are symbols of the land that has been lost several times across history for both groups.

The surge in testimonial writing after the Shoah comes as no surprise, as the world was witness to atrocities that were unprecedented in terms of form, scale, method and application. The necessity to testify is strongest at moments of social fracture, moments of history in which man sees the “descent to hell” (Burgelin 82). Memories are not just violent because they impose themselves as permanent scars on our conscience, they are also violently inscribed in our souls, as Nietzsche says, “if something is to stay in the memory it must be burned in: only that which never ceases to hurt stays in the memory.” (Nietzsche 57-62). This applies as much to personal as it does to collective memories.

When man is confronted with the *ineffable*, the *unspeakable*, the *unnamable*, he is also overcome by an incredible urge to name it and to speak it to others. To stay silent, to forget, is to abandon those that did not make it. The Jewish genocide gave birth to a double preoccupation: on one side, try at all price to conserve the traces of the Jewish community of which a large portion disappeared in the Shoah, and on the other, to write the history of the Shoah so that we can teach it to future generations (Wieviorka, *Déportation et génocide* 412). We find an impulse to make sure that the horrors of the past are not repeated in the future (Kattan 57). But above all, behind the duty to remember is a desire to know and understand (52), the necessity to familiarize ourselves with the experiences that we were fortunate enough not to encounter ourselves.

What is evident in the passionate response to the “*dévoir de mémoire*” or *duty of remembrance* is that there is a strong desire– or actually necessity– to remember amongst survivors of traumatic events. There is a collective fear of forgetfulness, and a collective desire to tell the story. The duty to remember becomes even more important at a time when few people and eventually none at all will be able to testify of their firsthand experience of an event.

The Nazis did not invent genocide, but it was the first time that white man committed an atrocity against his white neighbor, a neighbor who spoke his same language. Without a doubt, the history of European colonialism, of centuries of slavery in the United States, of Japanese occupation in the East are all comparably dark chapters in our shared human history. However, if during the centuries of slavery and colonization the European conscience was able to morally distance itself from its actions by treating the “Others” as subhuman, there was no denial that the European Jews had historical ties to the European community and that such a distance would not be allowed.

Furthermore, because of the perceived rationality of the Nazi crimes and its affiliation with an entire system of thought of the turn of the century Europe, the collective conscience of the West is complicit in these crimes. The seemingly scientific and modern system of thinking and methods of application used by the Nazis are the direct product of modern European philosophies. As a result, in the European and American conscience in particular, the Shoah has become the quintessential signifier of collective trauma and atrocity (Suleiman, *Crisis of Memory* 172).

Negationists have often criticized the duty of remembrance as a particularly Jewish phenomenon that the latter are using to exploit in the spirit of revenge (Suleiman, *Crisis of Memory* 103). After all, the Jewish people are known to be the people most guided by history and for whom memory is most important and tenacious (Yerushalmi xxxiii). One of the first commandments ordained to Moses were “Remember what Amalek did to you” (Yerushalmi 10). It is as if this call unleashed an entire tradition of memory for the Jewish people across time.

Furthermore, the word *Zakhor*, meaning remember– or other variations of it- appears 169 times in the Torah. In all these mentions, the word calls on the Jewish people to remember both Israel and God, because preserving the memory of those two notions is fundamental to the Jewish identity (Yerushalmi 5). And just as there are frequent injunctions ordering the Jewish people to remember, there are also constant warnings against forgetting, because man’s memory is short and unfaithful (Yerushalmi 5, 10). But more than suggesting an obsession particular to Jews alone, what this insistence on remembering across the Jewish bible suggests more than anything is that memory is a process that requires constant nourishment to be kept alive.

The importance given to memory was no doubt renewed at the turn of the twentieth century when anti-Semitism was already becoming a dangerous epidemic in Europe. At the start of World War One, Yiddish writers came together to call on the Jewish people to become historians: “*enregistrez, notez, rassemblez des documents*”/“record, write down, gather the documents.” (Wieviorka, *Déportation et génocide* 315. Our translation). But the duty to

remember is not only the responsibility of the Jewish survivors of the Holocaust. There is no monopoly on memory. Memory is after all a universal capacity that knows no skin color or ethnicity. It is something that all cultures share. It is something that is innately human. More obviously, it is a responsibility and a desire of all those who have faced traumatic atrocities.

The Memory Template of the Shoah

The duty of remembrance has been well heard and responded to by the community of survivors after the Shoah, aided tremendously by the increasingly strong Jewish networks who helped gather and archive testimonies, hunt Nazi criminals who were still at large, and support artistic endeavors that help bring the story of the Shoah to the whole world. Now, as the last survivors of the holocaust disappear one by one, there is no fear that the memory of the Holocaust will not be transmitted and commemorated. The memory of this chapter in history has been well institutionalized deep in the fabric of almost every society that was involved— whether directly or indirectly— in the war. There are memorials in all the major metropolises (the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah in Paris, the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC, the Yad Vashem in Israel, the Jewish Museum in Berlin, to name but a few). There have been many initiatives to gather and transcribe not just written testimonies but also oral testimonies given in the Yiddish language, to make sure that even when the language disappears from the world, the stories of the people who once spoke it do not.

It is the vast volume of testimonies, literature, films, and documentaries that emerged on the Shoah that has helped to establish it as an uncontestable *lieu de mémoire* in the conscience not just of Jewish descendants but also of the entire world. Across the years, the careful work of documenting and commemorating the Shoah has led to an *institutionalization* of memory (Wieviorka, “Les Enfants cachés sont-ils un objet d'Histoire?” 47). The terminology or metalanguage alone surrounding the Holocaust studies suggests to what extent its memory has become institutionalized. We find, for example, nuanced categories of the survivors: first generation survivors, second generation, 1.5 generation, hidden children, and so on.

Furthermore, collective memory is not just an intangible thread that joins a group of people together. It has real material and even legal manifestations. In France, the *lois mémorielles*³⁰ or “memory laws” are pertinent evidence of the passage of memory into law, into something official backed up by formal institutions.

This legal translation of the duty of remembrance, that is the *lois mémorielles*, although necessary to protect and preserve the memory of the Shoah from the willful ignorance of negationists and denialists, are a point of controversy for French historians. Some historians were quick to criticize the *lois mémorielles* as undemocratic because they restrain the freedom of the

³⁰ For example the *loi Gayssot* that deems negationism an offense (See Lochak 190).

historian.³¹ Such external constraints imposed on the work of the historian are in conflict with the very essence of historical research in which objectivity, or at least an overture to the nonjudgmental search for truth and understanding, is a principal goal.

Today in France we do not speak so much of a duty of remembrance when we discuss the Shoah but more of a hypermemory or an industry of memory (Kattan 70). We talk about the excess or “surfeit of memory” (Charles Maier), the “abuse of memory” (Tzvetan Todorov). Henri Rousso, author of *Le syndrome de Vichy*, insists that since the 1970’s and after many years of forced collective amnesia, the memory of Vichy has become practically an obsession, *a past that does not pass*. In a subsequent work, Rousso warns of a judeocentrique reading of the Vichy years that might eclipse other important lessons to be learned from this dark chapter in French history. Furthermore, such a judeocentric reading can result in rifts in national memory and create dangerous conflicts between rival memories.³²

In *Les Abus de la mémoire*, Todorov also warns of a “cult of memory” and a nostalgic obsession with the past at the turn of the century, especially amongst Europeans and in particular the French (Todorov 51). Charles Maier has also warned that the fascination with memory could be harmful to democracy because it focuses on “narrow ethnicity” rather than the whole, thus hindering the building of what he calls “encompassing communities” (Charles S. Maier 150). What ends up happening is that different group memories compete with one another for recognition of their sufferings, which often implies the belittling of those of others. Such is the nature of the conflict in memory between Israelis and Palestinians as each group focuses solely on its own sufferings while overlooking those of the others.

When it comes to the case of Palestine, however, we cannot but notice the relative absence of available testimonies, in particular written testimonies, since the beginning of the Palestinian diaspora in 1948. An entire segment of Palestinian history and identity has disappeared because it has not been documented. In *Les Lieux de mémoire*, Pierre Nora calls on people to “*archivez, archivez, il en restera toujours quelque chose*”/“document, document, there will always be something left out” because our contemporary mind, according to him, is documentarian (Nora, “Entre Mémoire et Histoire” 32, 30. Our translation). The scarcity of testimonies and archives on the struggle of the Palestinian people since 1948 is as much the fault of Palestinians who have not invested in real efforts to document their contemporary history as it is the fault of the world that remains biased towards the Israeli narrative. To neutralize the domination of the Israeli narrative in the West, Edward Said calls on Western media outlets to give the Palestinians “permission to narrate” the other side.³³

³¹ Lochak 80-91. In December 2005, nineteen of France's most prominent historians signed the “Liberté pour l'histoire” petition, published first in the *Libération*, that calls for the abrogation of the *lois mémorielles*. The full text of the petition is available at <http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2005/12/13/liberte-pour-l-histoire_541669>.

³² Suleiman, *Crisis of Memory* 6. See also Rousso 269-274, 398.

³³ See Said, “Permission to Narrate”.

Aside from its obvious territorial, economic and political consequences for the Palestinian people, the war in Israel has caused a fracture in the historical continuity and thus the identity of the Palestinian people. This is a fracture that collective memory can help rectify.

This discontinuity is visible in neighboring Arab countries as well. In Egypt, for example, each new regime that comes to power delegitimizes the prior regime and seeks to start over. To do so, each must rewrite the past to serve present objectives. Most recently, for example, under the presidency of the Muslim Brotherhood's Mohamed Morsi, the names of many of the national landmarks that were erected during the reign of Mubarak (and thus carrying his name) were expunged and renamed. These same landmarks were once again subjected to change when the military strongman, Abdel Fatah el Sissi, came to power, after the controversial events of June 30th 2013 that saw the removal of Morsi. In a country such as Egypt, where there exists neither governmental continuity nor a historical one as a result of the control of history by the ruling elite, collective memory plays an important role in establishing a sense of national identity that transcends a particular regime or political bias. In places where censorship- legal or social- is widespread, collective memory can be a saving grace.

When official channels of "remembering" the past fail as they do in Palestine, collective memory becomes exponentially more important. For inspiration and guidance, the Palestinians would do well if they were to look to the commemorative efforts surrounding the Shoah. Unfortunately, there is a tendency amongst Arabs to deny the Holocaust, given the ongoing conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. The split between Israeli and Jew, just like the split between terrorist and Muslim, though seemingly obvious in theory, is not guaranteed in reality. Nevertheless, the manner in which the Shoah was established and is continuously nurtured as an active *lieu de mémoire* can be an inspiration for the Palestinian people who need to focus more on *institutionalizing* memory and on establishing a strong sense of collective memory.

If the duty of remembrance, since the 1970's was propelled by the memory of the Shoah, today it has become a call to all survivors of genocide to remember and document their stories. The duty to remember the Shoah has also become the duty to remember the war in Algeria, the atrocities of Stalinism, and apartheid in South Africa (Suleiman, *Crisis of Memory* 224). As the last living survivors of the Shoah pass, the question of sensitivity to the sufferings of firsthand survivors will lessen, allowing the democratization of the memory of the Shoah. As the term "postmemory," coined by Marianne Hirsch,³⁴ suggests, everyone can today inherit the memory of the Shoah. It is no longer just the exclusive preserve of the direct descendants of its survivors, but a *lieu de mémoire* with which many people around the world identify, even those farthest removed from its events.

Memory studies focusing on other *lieux de mémoire* such as communism in Eastern Europe or apartheid in South Africa have relied on the studies surrounding the memory of the Shoah as a model. The Shoah has become a

³⁴ See Hirsch 103-128.

template for constructing collective memory in different parts of the world that have witnessed collective trauma (Suleiman, *Crisis of Memory* 2). For Andreas Huyssen, the Shoah is "a powerful prism" through which we can observe other atrocities and genocides (Huyssen, *Present Pasts* 14).

The testimonial writings on the Shoah can be "old news" for the European readers today, but what can they do for those reading them in translation, like the Arabs? A recent project attached to the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah in Paris entitled the Projet Aladin raises funds to translate literature on the Shoah into Arabic so as to open a dialogue between Muslims and Jews. Furthermore, as the memory of the Shoah comes in contact with other cultures, it is guaranteed that new knowledge will emerge, thus renewing what many deem as a tired and exhausted subject. To advance towards a common future, we must face our collective pasts, our plural histories- not in the spirit of revenge, but in the spirit of understanding.

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By Divine Providence: Remembering Lincoln's Founding and Reimagining Its Legacy

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Fifty years after the founding of Ashmun Institute, later renamed The Lincoln University, newspaper editor William T. Ellis asserted that the story of the University's founding, for which Reverend John Miller Dickey is credited, should give equal recognition to James Ralston Amos. Following his attendance at Lincoln's 50th year commencement ceremony in 1904, Ellis said that Amos' "eagerness for knowledge stirred the Rev. John Miller Dickey to the efforts which culminated in Lincoln University" ("An Educational Jubilee" 3). Ellis referred to the then widely known story about the symbolic power of a free Black man's prayer in Lincoln's founding. Since seminaries denied him admission because of his race, Amos "walked twenty-eight miles" weekly to study independently with Dickey. At the beginning of his walk he stopped to pray by a stone that served as his altar. As the institution's first building, Ashmun Hall, was being constructed, Amos's prayer stone was placed in its foundation. For years, Dickey himself publicly recalled the resonance of Amos' prayer as the core of Lincoln's founding principles and purpose: "Was it not founded under a necessity? Was it not founded in prayers?" (Dickey speech)

As Amos prayed for an institution where free men of African descent could acquire formal education to enable them to pursue careers as educators and ministers, Dickey preached for sending free Blacks and emancipated slaves to Liberia rather than granting them full rights as American citizens. An active member of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, Dickey believed that an institution should be established to educate Black men to teach and Christianize native Africans, proclaiming in 1853 that "the colored people of this country seem to have been sent here by Divine Providence" to fulfill this purpose (Dickey). That year he and members of the Ashmun Institute organizing committee published a statement of purpose while affirming their divinely ordained duty to educate men of the "colored population" to serve as missionaries in Liberia. They appealed for moral support of the Institute whose faculty and administrative ranks would be dominated by white males into the next century.

Is not our colored population to be brought into the church and kingdom of God? And if so, how are they to be employed in labor for the conversion of the world? ...they must be prepared in this country, they must be prepared by white men, and they must be prepared mainly at the expense of white men. If white men are to be their teachers, they must live here, and here are the means of support and proper oversight while they are engaged in this preparation" (Dickey, et al).

The committee, which included Dickey's cousin, Samuel Dickey, distanced itself and their nascent Institute from the abolitionist agenda while challenging critics to financially support the colonization agenda. Serving as the Institute's

treasurer, Samuel Dickey asserted that colonization would “bring more substantial benefit to the colored man” than ending slavery, and he urged abolitionists to “put their hands in their pockets and give of the substance to elevate the degraded sons of Africa” (“The Ashmun Institute”). Soon afterward, the Ashmun Institute opened and began training men to serve as ordained Presbyterian missionaries in Liberia, which was established by the American Colonization Society to encourage free and formerly enslaved Blacks to settle there. James Ralston Amos and his brother Thomas Henry Amos were among the first three graduates sent there in 1859.

Until recently, the Amoses’ voices have been absent from the prevailing version of Lincoln’s missionary experiment and from the varying narratives of how to educate Black Americans and who could do it best. Fluctuating views among generations of Lincoln administrators, faculty members, students and alumni have prompted a recurring exploration of Lincoln’s mission and legacy. Alumnus Walter Decker Johnson’s *Lincoln University: The Nation’s First Pledge of Emancipation*, published in 1867, is one of the first books to acknowledge James Amos’ pioneering missionary efforts, the accomplishments of early graduates who became leaders in their professions, and Lincoln’s role in promoting Christian-based education among Blacks. Horace Mann Bond’s *Education for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University* provides an exhaustive study of John Miller Dickey’s pro-colonization views. Bond, Lincoln’s first Black president, who served from 1945 to 1957, also provides insightful perspectives about the surrounding Hinsonville community whose mostly Black residents worked with Quakers and a network of abolitionists to assist freedom seekers while fostering a supportive environment for Lincoln to evolve as an institution of higher learning.

More recent scholarship examines the limited sustainability of the institution’s Liberian missionary experiment, especially following the American Civil War, when Ashmun was renamed Lincoln University to honor the emancipator President Abraham Lincoln and redirected its mission to the education of newly freed Blacks. The emancipation of slaves “made the African colonization scheme obsolete, so that the whole direction of Ashmun Institute would have to be changed if it was to have a part in the new social order after the war,” notes Andrew Murray, a former professor of Religion at Lincoln (410). The curriculum was expanded to prepare freed men for vocations beyond missionary work as demand grew for educated Blacks throughout the post-emancipation South. Lincoln’s administrators and financial supporters redirected resources from African evangelization to support this new mission as its students and alumni increasingly directed their energies “towards relieving the social burdens of the masses of freedmen” (McBride 372). Reginald Pitt’s insightful 1994 study examines the short-lived missionary careers of the Amoses and Armistead Miller, the first three Ashmun graduates sent to Liberia whose pioneering work is almost entirely absent from Lincoln’s institutional narrative. Cheryl Renée Gooch’s in-depth 2014 study, *On Africa’s Lands: The Forgotten Stories of Two Lincoln Educated Missionaries in Liberia*, examines letters the Amoses and their Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions colleagues wrote between 1859 and 1869 regarding their work. The letters reveal views and experiences that challenge the

presumed redemptive outcomes of the missionary agenda emphasized in prevailing narratives of Lincoln's founding. Informed by that original research, this essay uses primary source documents to further examine the contradictory ideals on which the institution was formed, the challenging circumstances those ideals created for the Amoses' missionary efforts, and the implications for Lincoln's legacy.

"This institution, for the training of Africa's sons, bears the name of Ashmun, one of Africa's philanthropists."

C. Van Rensselaer, December 1856

C. Van Rensselaer, Corresponding Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Education, dedicated Ashmun Hall in December 1856, while emphasizing missionary Jehudi Ashmun's significance to the evangelization of Africa. In naming the Institute after Ashmun, who led the settlement of Liberia while serving as an agent of the American Colonization Society, the organizing committee and its supporters accentuated their divinely ordained purpose. James and Thomas Amos were the chosen ideological ambassadors of a movement fraught with contradictions; their sponsors were a consortium of organizations (Ashmun Institute, New Castle Presbytery, Pennsylvania Colonization Society, Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions) whose leaders endorsed the emigration of Blacks to Liberia while opposing emancipation and denying their human equality. The Amoses would soon follow in the footsteps of the revered missionary whose controversial name and legacy foreshadowed the difficulties they encountered in the mission field.

Ashmun served as Liberia's Governor between 1822 and 1828. His published history of the colony, in which he vividly describes the violence used to secure lands in the Monrovia area for settlers, was undoubtedly required reading for Ashmun Institute students, including James and Thomas. Facing an army of 800 native men who attacked the Monrovia settlement on November 11, 1822, Ashmun ordered the settlers to fire their canons in defense.

Imagination can scarcely figure to itself a throng of human beings in a more capital state of exposure to the destructive power of the machinery of modern warfare! Eight hundred men here pressed shoulder to shoulder, in so compact a form that a child might easily walk upon their heads from one end of the mass to the other, presenting in their rear a breadth of rank equal to twenty or thirty men, and all exposed to a gun of great power, raised on a platform, at only thirty to sixty yards of distance! Every shot literally spent its force in a solid mass of living human flesh! Their fire suddenly terminated. A savage yell was raised, which filled the dismal forest with a momentary horror (Ashmun 28-29).

A second assault on December 2 was put down in less than two hours, the enemy's losses evident from "the quantities of blood with which the field was found drenched" (36). Shortly after the decisive victory, Ashmun and armed British soldiers met with local chiefs whom they forced under gunpoint to cede land to the American settlers. The chiefs were "easily induced, but with affected resistance, to sign an instrument binding themselves to observe an unlimited truce with the colony" (38), Ashmun reported. The man whom the Ashmun

Institute honored by name, and who used violence to defend and secure the Monrovia territory, would engender distrust among generations of natives, including those living in a remote region of Liberia whom James and Thomas would try to convert to Christianity.

“Why so many untaught heathen and so little influence going out from missionaries and Christian people among them?”

James Ralston Amos, December 1859

Within seven months of their arrival, James and Thomas set up the first ever mission station in Niffau. They proposed an agricultural training school in which natives would learn to read, write and farm while undergoing Christian conversion and socialization. An acute departure from the United States-based Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions' standard approach to missionary work in Liberia, the plan was not fully supported—a foreshadowing of disappointing relations to come between the Amoses and their Board supervisors.

The Amoses' missionary zeal to bring the Christian faith to the land of their ancestors was matched by their determination to empower Liberians both socially and economically. Having farmed in Hinsonville, they believed the agricultural training initiative would diffuse hostility between American settlers and natives stemming from the expanding encroachment on natives' ancestral lands. This and other church and school building endeavors which the brothers pursued in Liberia evidently were informed by their extensive liberal education and leadership abilities, some of which were acquired before they enrolled at Ashmun. According to family history, both James and Thomas received some of their formative education, most likely at the Faggs Manor Presbyterian Church male academy, a few miles from Hinsonville. James enrolled in the well regarded Presbyterian Institute in Philadelphia during the 1853-1854 and 1854-1855 academic years, before Ashmun opened. Both brothers successfully completed Ashmun's classical curriculum between 1856 and 1859, including English grammar and composition, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, History, Mathematics and Theology. In 1859, Thomas was examined in Latin and Greek, Theology, Church Government and the Sacraments, presented a trial sermon based on Hebrews 3, and ordained a Presbyterian minister. During his time at Ashmun, James, already an experienced minister within the Methodist circuit, served as pastor of the First African Presbyterian Church in Reading, Pennsylvania. And Thomas, a master Mason before he emigrated migrated to Liberia, would co-found the Grand Masonic Lodge in Monrovia and serve as its Deputy Grand Master until his death in 1869.

Unlike Board and American Colonization Society sponsored publications that minimally interpreted the causes of difficulties missionaries like James and Thomas describe in their letters, historians have extensively critiqued the rhetoric and conflicting racial realities of colonization. Tom W. Shick notes that “The motive behind the settlement of Afro-Americans in Liberia was destined to involve emigrants in conflicts as they struggled to maintain Western standards in the midst of a traditional African cultural environment” (47). The Amoses' letters show their firm adherence to belief in the supremacy of the doctrinal teachings of

their Presbyterian training while also divulging their cognitive dissonance with Euro-American missionary views and practices that devalued their sense of purpose and identity. Health challenges, limited resources and frustration with the Board's delayed responses to and support of their efforts further exacerbated the Amoses' disillusionment. Within two years of their arrival in Liberia, both requested to return to the United States.

A July 1861 letter reveals how James and Thomas' cultural bias impeded their relationships with Niffau natives whom they considered war-like and savage. Describing both possibilities and challenges, James tells his Board supervisor that the Niffau mission can potentially spread the gospel to "one million human beings entirely ignorant of the existence of God" while at the same time expressing intolerance of native customs.

Our ears are saturated almost daily with the sound of the war-horn and the furious yells of the naked savages. And our eyes behold the most revolting scenes of bloodshed and cruelty. Yet... the Missionary they look upon as being superior to them; both in strength and knowledge. Consequently they will hear what he has to say.

Dismayed with the Board's handling of funding and supply requests for the Niffau mission, by October James and Thomas jointly requested to return home. They suggested that the mission be suspended for at least two years because of the local tribes' hostile behavior toward them, and threats to the health and safety of them and their families. Moreover, they believed their direct supervisor Reverend John Leighton Wilson had undermined their work asserting, "Whereas if our affairs had been properly managed... these most disastrous results which are now so apparent might have been obviated to a considerable extent." Direct and lucid, they declared that Wilson was biased against Black men.

Mr. Wilson knowing as he did what was required in the successful management of our mission, and then pursuing the course which proved to be quite averse to our success, gives room for us to entertain the strong presumption that it was intentional, that his assertion might be verified that colored men are not fit subjects to conduct the African Mission. We cannot commit to paper at the present all that we have to say upon this subject, but will only say that our prospects are all thwarted at the present and our mission. Nearly broken up.

A former slave owner from South Carolina, Wilson had extensive missionary experience in Liberia and once wrote another slave owner urging her to liberate her slaves and send them there. Wilson's sentiments reveal his bias against Blacks and are akin to the bias James and Thomas experienced in dealing with him.

For I hold that every human being, who is capable of self-government and would be happier in a state of freedom, ought to be free. I am not,

however, a friend of immediate and universal emancipation for the simple reason that all negroes are not ready for freedom, and would be worse off in that than in their present condition (Dubose 97).

Like their mentor John Miller Dickey, Wilson did not support “immediate and universal emancipation” for Blacks. The brothers faced similar paternalistic attitudes from Board supervisors throughout their tenure in Liberia, which included several short-term assignments. The insurmountable issue for James was the Board’s reduction of his missionary career to what he called a “mechanical trade.” He told his supervisor in August 1863, “I am quite as much surprised to learn that my missionary work has dwindled into a mechanical trade or builder.” By November, James submitted his resignation to the Board’s Corresponding Secretary, Rev. Walter Lowrie, whose actions he described as “uncourteous and unchristian.”

After much deep thought and earnest prayer upon the subject I have come to the conclusion, deliberately but positively, to withdraw from the field of labour which I now occupy and from my present relation to your Board. And therefore this is my resignation from all connection with the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to take place on the first day of May 1864.

James claimed his pastoral and leadership skills were underutilized. Demoralized by the Board’s condescending treatment of him, he requested funds to cover his passage back to the States where he intended to resume serving as pastor of his former church in Reading. Critically ill from living conditions in Liberia, he died soon after returning to the States in 1864.

Thomas continued to work in Liberia and serve as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Monrovia until his death in 1869. He devoted his efforts to stabilizing the church, which catered mainly to the settler population and a select number of natives who had converted to Christianity. He was equally committed to ensuring that settlers and select natives received a formal, English education. But to his growing dismay, the Board consistently underfunded churches and education. Still, he remained devoted to the emigration cause, trying to ensure that Blacks had an opportunity to live in an independent country governed by Black men. He wrote to his former teacher, Dickey, urging him to continue encouraging Blacks to emigrate to Liberia where they have the best opportunity for civil and political rights.

Liberia is advancing in intelligence, wealth and national importance, and we think it might now afford a happy home for many of your Black folks who are striving for civil and political rights against a torrent of opposition. My opinion is that the American Blacks will never be fully enfranchised in the United States of America. They are weak when compared with the whites, numerically, intellectually and pecuniarily. They therefore must submit to their condition, right or wrong. Why not advise them to seek a home where they can be happy, and enjoy all the

rights of free men and be a means to a glorious end in this heathen land and not think themselves an end; but a means in the civilization & Christianization of the multitudes of our benighted brethren.

The Amoses' letters reveal the complex identities and circumstances they negotiated throughout their lives, as educated and informed free men of color who sought to engender the self-reliance and independence of Liberians through advanced learning and Christian conversion. Paradoxically, they accepted a Euro-American interpretation of the scripture, "Ethiopia Shall Soon Stretch Out Her Hands Unto God," that Africans had to be Christianized in order to be fully redeemed and civilized.

Remembering Lincoln's Founding and Reimagining Its Legacy

Within 12 years of its founding, Lincoln evolved into an institution aiming to provide access to higher education for Black males who were tasked with leading and uplifting their communities within a society where racial segregation in virtually all aspects of life persisted into the 20th century. Lincoln, too, reflected American society. The institution founded upon the prayer of a Black man who faced discrimination declined to hire Black instructors until the 1930s. "Lincoln University alone of Negro institutions shuts colored men out of its trustee Board and out of its professorships," said Francis J. Grimke, a prominent Presbyterian minister in Washington D.C. who advocated equal rights for Blacks (Woodson 528). An 1870 Lincoln graduate, Grimke's major sermons, speeches and letters chronicle his lifelong work for racial justice. For decades Grimke refused to attend Lincoln commencement ceremonies in order to protest the administration's refusal to hire Blacks as professors or Board trustees. Responding in 1916 to Lincoln theology professor George Johnson's request for information about efforts of Lincoln graduates to improve Blacks' living conditions, Grimke instead challenged Lincoln's own discriminatory hiring and appointment, demanding that it uphold its professed mission.

Is it not strange, passing strange, that at the end of fifty years of freedom, it should be necessary to be discussing the question as to the propriety, the advisability of admitting colored men to the trustee board and to the faculty of a Negro institution, manned by professedly Christian men? The statement of the case alone is enough to show the absurdity of the position taken by the officials of Lincoln and the utterly unchristian spirit of the men who are responsible for it. The time has come, when it ought to end, when Lincoln ought to abandon the unworthy position which it has occupied during these fifty years, and take its place by the side of Howard, Atlanta, Fisk, Talladega and other institutions that are laboring for the uplift of the race... There is no good or sufficient reason why Lincoln University should be the only one of all Negro institutions of higher learning to shut colored men out of its trustee board and out of its professorships (Woodson 529).

Grimke's criticism of Lincoln's glaring self-contradiction given its stated mission to train Black leaders for education and ministry was accurately informed by a documented history of the supremacist views of Lincoln's founders and successive leaders. In 1873, three years after Grimke graduated, John Miller Dickey, then President of the Lincoln Board of Trustees, justified retaining an all-white male faculty. In response to mounting requests from students and alumni to hire Black professors, Dickey maintained that whites were best qualified to teach Blacks who needed time to evolve intellectually and socially.

My friends you need all the results of the 100's of years which have accumulated within the white race. It is no fault of yours that you are far back in education, in science, in wealth, in power over the people of the world; you have had no opportunity, you are just emerging from a sleep of ages and you are nobly grasping the means offered you of placing yourselves on a high plane... You desire the best instructor (s)... whose very presence with you and daily intercourse in the class room and the pulpit and in social intercourse will bring you up to their level. You are eager to learn; all your future that is of any value depends upon it and why should we now leave you and throw you upon the teaching of your own people? Wait: the time will come, but you may see the propriety of waiting longer than you may sometimes suppose necessary. High culture in a people is not the work of a day, get all you can from the best sources and let not pride rob you of success (Dickey notebook).

"I have very little patience with the authorities at Lincoln, and have not had for a number of years," Grimke said in 1926, lamenting these circumstances and continuing to decline invitations to commencement programs at his alma mater (Grimke 517). In 1932, Joseph Newton Hill was hired as Lincoln's first Black instructor. Hill was a professor of English and eventually served as Dean. Grimke agreed to deliver Lincoln's 1937 commencement address noting the progress made in hiring Blacks. Read by Lincoln President Walter L. Wright due to Grimke's inability to travel because of illness, Grimke said:

We stand here today in the presence of a new Lincoln; a new spirit now pervades the entire institution. I can now walk these grounds, go through these halls, mingle in whatever goes on here, and be sure that I will find nothing to remind me, even remotely, of a color bar. From every position in the university, including the trustee board, the presidency, the various facilities, etc., the color bar has been taken down.

When Horace Mann Bond, a 1923 Lincoln graduate, arrived to lead his alma mater as president, white males still dominated the faculty and administrative ranks. Facing ensconced paternalism and resistance to change, Bond embarked on a strategic effort, in Martin Kilson's terms, to "Afro-Americanize" the institution through administration and faculty renewal, governing-attitude renewal, and intellectual-cultural renewal (3). According to Kilson, a 1953 Lincoln graduate, Bond's primary goal was to intertwine facets of

Lincoln's history "with the history, culture, and traditions of African Americans" such as had not occurred during the previous century of the institution's existence (Ibid.). Bond intertwined the academic life of Lincoln with the emerging Civil Rights movement by promoting student awareness and activism, while recruiting Black faculty members and administrators. Bond's "revolution in the life-cycle of Lincoln University was never accepted by the old-generation white faculty and administrators" or the majority of the Board of Trustees, which during his tenure contained only two Blacks, as Kilson notes (Ibid.). By 1958, Bond was forced to resign and, unlike Francis Grimke, never happily reconciled with his alma mater. For the remainder of his life, Bond declined several invitations from Lincoln to receive an honorary degree.

The philosophical views expressed and practiced by Dickey, Grimke, Bond and others over Lincoln's 161-year history are insightful indicators of the institution's still evolving identity and legacy. In 1937, when Grimke lauded Lincoln's progress in hiring Blacks, seven (or 29%) of the 24 faculty members reflected the majority Black student body. Currently, Black Americans make up approximately 26% of the fulltime faculty. Prompted by concerns about the institution's identity and legacy, and perhaps these statistics, the Board of Trustees in early 2015 resolved that students be required to have an informed understanding of Lincoln's legacy in relation to history. Citing research to support the initiative, a Board committee stated, "it is clearly beneficial to imbue our students with a greater understanding of the history of people of African descent through a study of the history of The Lincoln University."

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James Ralston Amos (acknowledged co-founder of Ashmun Institute). This sculpted frieze is atop the historic Amos Hall, Lincoln University



A sculpted frieze of Abraham Lincoln, atop Amos Hall, Lincoln University. Ashmun Institute was renamed Lincoln University in 1866.

Remembering Next Year: The Brooklyn Dodgers as “*Lieu de Mémoire*”

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“The passage from memory to history has required every social group to redefine its identity through the revitalization of its own history,” Pierre Nora writes in his groundbreaking historical work, *The Realms of Memory*. “The task of remembering makes everyone his own historian,” he also notes (Nora 638). If, for Nora, “places of memory” (*lieux de mémoire*) within a nation are made up of “the events, holidays and monuments that give people their identity” (634), what place do the old Brooklyn Dodgers hold within the American psyche? With only a small plaque at the gates of a housing project where the endearing Ebbet’s Field once stood, are there sufficient monuments to memorialize a team that reflected the scrappy working-class culture of Brooklyn? As Carl Prince has written, for example, the borough and the team were indeed intimately connected:

The close relationship between deeply ethnic Brooklyn and its team was perhaps most evident in its schools and on the Parade Grounds, a mammoth athletic field ... where most organized amateur sports were played. The Dodgers shrewdly signed as many as ten Brooklyn boys each year, grooming them in the intricately organized Parade Grounds sandlot programs... In a community of very clearly defined racial, ethnic, or religious neighborhoods, this Dodger involvement with local boys was no small element in providing the borough with its central identity (Prince xii).

When after years of continuously losing to the New York Yankees, the Dodgers finally won the World Series in 1955, the borough was in a collective state of euphoria. According to Dave Anderson, the entire borough celebrated well into the night: “All over Brooklyn, the everyday people had tears in their eyes. Stars in their eyes, too... . The Dodgers had invited about 100 people to a victory party at the Bossert Hotel in Brooklyn Heights, but more than 300 showed up. And that evening, all of Brooklyn was one big block party” (Anderson 10/04/05). When, two years later, Walter O’Malley “absconded to Los Angeles with the franchise,” Anderson reminisces, “Brooklyn lost an identity it never regained” (10/4/2005).

From Doris Kearns Goodwin’s memoir *Wait ‘till Next Year* to Don DeLillo’s *Underworld*, from Tim McEloughlin’s *Brooklyn Noir* to Pete Hamill’s *Snow in August*, the Brooklyn Dodgers have emerged as a recurring chronotope for nostalgia and loss in contemporary American letters. If, according to Maurice Halbwachs, the “collective memory of a nation is represented in memorials

.../Whatever a nation chooses to commit to physical or more significantly what *not* to memorialize is an indication of the collective memory” (Halbwachs 172), perhaps the surge of Brooklyn Dodgers testimonials (starting in 1997 and leading up to the fiftieth anniversary of the Dodgers’ pennant in 1955) is an organic attempt to fill a historical gap that has lapsed within the fading memories of a rapidly transforming New York City. Memoirs such as Roger Kahn’s sequel to *The Boys of Summer*, *Memories of Summer: When Baseball was an Art and Writing about it a Game*, Carl Erskine’s *Tales from the Dodger Dugout* and Bob McGee’s *The Greatest Ballpark Ever: Ebbets Field and the Brooklyn Dodgers*, compliment fictional representations of the Dodgers as a way of compensating for the loss of tangible, urban Dodger markers within Brooklyn. The plaque at the housing project in lieu of the legendary stadium; a few lines on a wall of a Montague Street office building where Jackie Robinson signed his first contract with the Dodgers; a few discreetly placed pictures at Junior’s, the fabled restaurant on Flatbush Ave where the “Dodgerville Room” reigned, according to Prince, as “the classiest bar in Brooklyn” (100): these are the remaining traces...

While the old trolleys that gave the Dodgers their name have disappeared, small quotidian memorials have resurfaced from time to time as a gentle way of hanging on to a piece of the urban palimpsest. In 2005, for example, Brooklyn Lager, a contemporary micro-brewery that has attempted to revive the once thriving brewery tradition in Brooklyn, donated a certain percentage of their 1955 Pennant Ale sales to Keyspan Park, home of the Class A Mets minor league team, the Brooklyn Cyclones, in Coney Island. Indeed, this commercial venture-- a brewery which aims to evoke the heyday of Brooklyn as a New York version of Milwaukee helping the Cyclones, the first professional baseball team to play in Brooklyn since the Dodgers --is indicative of a collective yearning for what has been lost and un-preserved within a constantly changing metropolis. The marketing of nostalgia, of course, is inevitably tied to a strong impulse to recreate what extreme modernity and practicality may have zealously devoured. As Joseph Amato explains regarding Nora’s theories of “realms of memory,” the acceleration of history leads to a type of change that “rips up the planking from the human house of memory. It disrupts the equilibrium between past and present and sweeps away all that was once familiar” (Amato 933).

Indeed, as the quaint is replaced by the mass produced, and idiosyncratic space is taken over by what Marc Augé has termed “non-places” such as malls, airports and office buildings, the beer company and the minor league team help to combat the gradual erasure of a Brooklyn that may be relegated to the memories of only a “happy few.” As Augé observes, these markers of resistance, such as the housing project plaque, might even serve as “traces of memory” for not only what has been lost but also what is felt as an absence. As Augé explains:

It is clear that our memory would be ‘saturated’ rapidly if we had to preserve every image of our childhood, especially those of our earliest childhood. But what is interesting is that which remains. And what remains --remembrances or traces-- is the product of an erosion caused by oblivion. Memories are crafted by oblivion as the outlines of the shore are created by the sea. (Augé, 20)

In contemporary literature, as in contemporary everyday life, the old Dodgers are inexorably linked to the quotidian. While Juniors is still a busy commercial entity at its traditional location, for example, Sidney Offit's short story "No Time for Seniors" (in *Brooklyn Noir*) has been able to connect its importance to its current Brooklyn neighborhood *via* its past as a space for Dodger celebrations. Even modest attempts at observing such events as the anniversary of the Dodgers' 1955 pennant within a museum setting or in official "memorializations" through actual monuments have used the quotidian as its major thrust. Just before the start of the 2005 baseball season, for example, a statue of Jackie Robinson and Pee-Wee Reese was unveiled in front of Keyspan Park. As Ira Berkow observes, "The statue was not of a general on a horse, or a poet in deep thought (with a pigeon on his head) but of two long-ago baseball players." As he understands it, although only a few people witnessed the unveiling, "the monument was representative of a time in history, beyond baseball, that in the late 1940's reached to the deepest, the most tragic, and yet the most elevating moments of a nation in racial crisis. Robinson, a black man, was breaking the long-held racial barrier in the major leagues; Reese, from Louisville KY, had inherited a teammate whom many people did not want to see play major league baseball" (Berkow 11/2/05). Along similar lines in 2005, The Brooklyn Historical Society produced a small exhibit consisting of old baseball cards, programs, pins and pennants as well as other quotidian artifacts linked to the Dodgers such as beer cups, coasters, and advertisements titled "Dodgers Do It! Celebrating Brooklyn's 1955 Big Win." The exhibit was so popular that five years later, the Brooklyn Historical Society followed it with another exhibit on the Dodgers called "Home Base: Memories of the Brooklyn Dodgers at Ebbets Field," that was extended for a two year period (from 2010-2012). In "Home Base" of course, the exhibit underlined not only the sports memories associated with the Dodgers but especially those related to the notion of "home" — a nostalgic vision not unlike the German notion of *heimat* with all its connotations of homeland and attachment to a national or social space.

Yet, at the heart of the exhibit was an oral history that represented a truly deep commemorative project throughout which ordinary citizens would be invited to trace their own connections to the Dodgers of yore. "Yankee fans had an essential meanness...", one such participant, Joel Oppenheimer, recalls. "Dodger fans got beaten down so often that there was an essential humility... Yankee fans don't understand that the world is not a very nice place to live, that more bad things happen to you than good things" (*Home Base*, Brooklyn Historical Society, 2010-12). Oppenheimer's vision of the Dodgers as the hopeless but beloved underdogs are echoed in fact in Don DeLillo's epic *Underworld*, which begins with a sixty page prologue titled "The Triumph of Death" (re-released on its own as a novella called *Pafko at the Plate*) describing in portentous detail Bobby Thompson's famous "shot heard around the world" that doomed the Dodgers to another last minute defeat. As DeLillo describes it, history and personal memory are, from the Dodgers point of view, linked to a quasi-tragic sense of despair:

“Mark the spot. Like where Lee surrendered to Grant or some such thing.” Russ [Hodges] thinks this is another kind of history. He thinks they will carry something out of here that joins them all in a rare way, that binds them to a memory with protective power. People are climbing lampposts on Amsterdam Ave, tooting car horns. Little Italy. Isn’t it possible that this mid-century moment enters the skin more lastingly than the vast shaping strategies of eminent leaders, generals steely in their sunglasses. The mapped visions that pierce dreams? Russ wants to believe a thing that will pulse in his brain come old age and double vision and dizzy spells. The surge sensation, the leap of people already standing, that bolt of noise and joy when the ball went in. This is the people’s history and it has flesh and breath that quickens to the force of this old safe game of ours (Delillo 57).

As Hodges’s “The Giants win the pennant!” cry was immortalized and repeated millions of times through the oral shrine of radio and future recordings, Delillo’s Hodges dreams of a continuity of memory born of the simple fragments of summer afternoons and not history with a capital H. For Delillo, Hodges taps into a “natural memory” that deserves to be preserved and passed on, as Amato explains in relation to Nora’s “realms of memory”:

Historians have exhausted the past from which memory itself has largely vanished. That natural memory --spontaneous, concrete, singular, and filled with gesture and emotion-- has been exhausted. As peasant culture, a primary repository of tradition, has been done in by globalization, democratization, and the advent of mass culture, so [society] at large has lost its anchoring in the past and memory (Amato 933).

When Thompson rounds the bases, Delillo’s Hodges muses: “And fans at the Polo Grounds today will be able to tell their grandchildren-- they’ll be the gassy old men leaning into the next century and trying to convince anyone willing to listen, pressing in with medicine breath, that they were here when it happened” (60). Hodges watches as the indelible moment becomes both memory and history before his eyes: “Shouts, bat cracks, full bladders and stray yawns, the sand grain manyness of things that can’t be counted. It is all falling indelibly into the past” (60).

For Delillo, *Underworld* is told not from the victorious side of cheering Giants fans, but in the spirit of the Brooklyn Historical Society exhibit: it is dedicated to those accustomed to losing, and for whom loss is a natural and deep means of connecting with life rather than escaping from it in glib and superficial triumphs. As Delillo’s characters discuss at the Stadium Club at Dodgers Stadium in Los Angeles, they pretend to watch the game between today’s Dodgers and Giants: “Big Sims ordered another round and told Farish about the old Brooklyn Dodgers. Sims grew up in Missouri and he got some of it right, some of it wrong. No one could explain the Dodgers who wasn’t there” (92). In Delillo’s paradigm, the Brooklyn Dodgers’ continued appeal is rooted in loneliness and a spirit of independence which, like the borough itself, is sometimes overshadowed by its

mighty towering buildings and the weight of Manhattan. As Delillo's narrator continues:

I had a portable radio I took everywhere. The beach, the movies. I went; it went. I was sixteen. And listened to Dodger games on the roof. I liked to be alone. They were my team. I was the only Dodger fan in the neighborhood. I died inside when they lost. And it was important to die alone. Other people interfered. I had to listen alone. And then the radio told me whether I would live or die. (93)

If Thomas Wolfe was famous for saying that that "only the dead know Brooklyn," Brooklyn Dodgers fans also developed a reputation for thinking that only a Dodger fan could understand the loneliness of constant heartbreak³⁵, apparently. The narrator confesses that he bought the ball from Thompson's home run for a huge amount of money: "My shame is deep enough. Let's not examine the details." When he is pressed as to why he feels shameful, he elaborates: "Well, I didn't buy the object for the glory and drama attached to it. It's not about Thomson hitting the homer. It's about Branca making the pitch. It's about losing... It's about the mystery of bad luck, the mystery of loss. I don't know. I keep on saying. I don't know and I don't... But it's the only thing in my life that I absolutely had to own" (96). When he is asked to further elaborate, he admits: "Yes, first to spend serious money on a souvenir baseball. Then to buy it for the reason I bought it. To commemorate failure. To have that moment in my hand when Branca turned and watched the ball go in the stands. From him to me" (97). For the narrator, or perhaps even within the Brooklyn baseball unconscious, Branca remains a type of tragic hero, a Charlie Brown of the major leagues: "Even his name," one of Delillo's characters point out, "Somber Ralph Branca. Like a figure out of an old epic. Somber plodding Ralph slain in something, something dark" (97).

Indeed, when analyzing Branca's failure, a pivotal moment in baseball history, the characters conclude that, in fact, Branca *can* be seen as a hero in the sense that he was able to overcome defeat, not only by living to tell the tale, but by triumphing over the loss, as a survivor and as a testament to the human spirit in terms of moving on: "What loss? What failure are we talking about? Didn't they all go home happy in the end? I mean Branca's got the number thirteen on his license plate... Branca's a hero. I mean Branca was given every chance to survive this game and we all know why" (98). They compare his reaction to public failure with the truly tragic fate of the California Angel pitcher Donnie Moore who, thirty years later, would give up a home run in the ninth inning against the Boston Red Sox, enabling them to go to the World Series at the Angels' expense.

³⁵ Of course other cities with chronically failing sports teams have generated books on that subject, such as Terry Pluto's *The Curse of Rocky Colavito: A Loving Look at a Thirty Year Slump*, New York: Fireside, 1994 (about the Cleveland Indians) and George Will's *A Nice Little Place on the North Side: A History of Triumph, Mostly Defeat, and Incredible Hope at Wrigley Field*, New York: Three Rivers Press, 2015 (about the Chicago Cubs).

Unlike Branca who, with Thompson, would appear at dinners singing, telling jokes and selling memorabilia, Moore shot his wife and then himself. “Donnie Moore was not allowed to outlive his failure,” they assert, as “the fans never ceased to give him grief” (98). Branca becomes, as such, an almost mythological figure who transcends his moment of utter humiliation within a gentler prism of an era basking in a nostalgic hew, while Moore, devoid of Branca’s mystical if not sympathetic legacy, is too close to the present to benefit from any of Branca’s mystique. For Delillo, because our age is missing much of the romantic “fogginess” that 1955 technology permitted, the Moore incident is considered sad, but relatively banal, a news item among many similar news items. As one the characters of *Underworld* understands it:

The Thompson homer continues to live because it happened decades ago when things were not replayed and worn out and run down and used before midnight of the first day. The scratchier an old film or an old audio tape, the clearer the action in a way. Because it’s not in competition for our attention with a thousand other pieces of action. Because it’s something that’s preserved and unique. Donnie Moore_ well, I’m sorry but how do we distinguish Donnie Moore from all the other ball games and all the other shootings? (98-99)

As Delillo focuses on the nostalgia of failure, one that can prepare one for the travails of life, Marvin, a Dodger fan in *Underworld*, who reproduced the Polo Grounds scoreboard in his basement confirms that it is there “To remind me. Or to prepare me. I forget which” (191). Another recent novel focusing on the Dodgers, Pete Hamill’s best-selling fantasy, *Snow in August*, however, concentrates rather on the Dodgers as a magical source of racial, religious, and class-oriented healing within the dangerous and violent streets of 1947 Brooklyn. Hamill re-works the myth of the Golem, who, in Hamill’s book is black, as a metaphor for Jackie Robinson who is revered by the novel’s heroes—a rabbi who survived the Holocaust and an eleven-year old Irish boy. For the boy, Robinson’s ability to rise above the senseless racism targeted against him and break into the big leagues is far more captivating than the latest Captain Marvel comic book. When he is hospitalized after some thugs beat him to a pulp, he asks his mother to bring him stories about Robinson, rather than comics. Similarly, when Rabbi Hirsh also falls prey to racist attacks, he is lifted by thoughts of Robinson as well: “When the game was on the radio,” Hamill writes, “all that had happened before to Rabbi Hirsh seemed to disappear. He never talked about Prague. He didn’t evoke the spires of the cathedrals. There was no need for the Golem, if Jackie Robinson was taking a long lead off first” (Hamill 248).

Far from an idyllic landscape, Hamill’s Brooklyn is laden with the tyranny of brutal and ignorant gangs, obscenities and random acts of violence. In contrast to the rough streets, the friendship between the rabbi and the boy finds an imaginary protection through the prism of baseball at Ebbets Field: “Zip-a di-doohdah, the rabbi sang during a game, when Robinson scampered home from second on a wild pitch” (249). Baseball provides a glimpse of a happy future amidst the darkness of the streets. As the boy muses, shortly before he is jumped

by street thugs: "And summer would come, all hot and green, and we could go to see Reiser and Robinson. Watch Reiser steal home. Against the Cardinals. Cheer Robinson dancing off second base against ... the Phillies, just the way Red Barber describes him. *And here comes Robinson! And There goes Reiser*" (249). When the two finally make it to Ebbets Field to see a game, it is as though they had stepped into a paradise of democratic space, as the Rabbi suddenly bursts out enthusiastically:

Look at it! All around is America! You see it? Crazy people coming for the baseball, for the bunts and the triples and the rhubarbs! Look: Irish and Jews and Italians and Spanish, every kind of people. Poles too! I hear them talking. Listen words from every place! From all countries (298).

The Rabbi and the boy watch in wonder as, in pre-civil rights America, a mix of races pour into the stadium:

They were pulled along in the human river, out of the park and into latbush Avenue. Now another great human stream was feeding the river, a darker stream, as hundreds of Negroes arrived, many of them with gray hair and paunchy bodies and lined faces. They were waiting from Bedford-Styvesant. They were coming from the Franklin Avenue stop of the I.R.T.. They were hopping off buses. The older ones had waited decade after decade for a morning like this (299).

As Jackie Robinson becomes the hero of the downtrodden and the oppressed, the Rabbi and the boy rush to buy "I'm for Jackie" buttons as symbols of the Golem he represents for them on the playing field. As such, a game at Ebbets Field becomes an ecumenical religious experience as seen through the boy's eyes:

They eased along Sullivan Street, staring up at the weather-stained facade of the great ballpark. It was more beautiful and immense than anything Michael had ever seen. Bigger than any building in the parish. Bigger than any church. He paused, balanced on the crutches, to allow the sight to fill him. So did the Rabbi. They stared up at the structure, seeing people walking up the ramps, and behind them, thick slashing bars. As they stood there, like pilgrims, the crowd eddied around them, and Michael felt a tingle. That was like that moment in a solemn high mass when priests would sing a Gregorian chant and the altar seemed to glow with mystery (310).

As they take in the familiar icons of the stadium such as the Abe Stark sign promising a suit to any player who hit it with a fly ball, or the Bulova watch ads or the famous concave wall in right field, the baseball experience becomes an exhilarating, communal one. When, in the bleachers, the harmony inevitably turns into a racist melee as a spectator behind them taunts the Rabbi with anti-Semitic slurs for cheering the opposing player, Hank Greenberg, a Jew, -- the

Rabbi and the boy use the boy's crutches to defeat them in a fight with the help of good honest working-class fans. Once again, in the spirit of the pugnacious Dodgers, the borough comes together within the seemingly fantastical stadium.

When the sociopathic head of a gang that has been victimizing them is released from prison and threatens to kill the boy, molests the mother and ransacks the Rabbi's synagogue, the boy invokes the Golem to come to their rescue. Yet, in Hamill's fable, even the Golem becomes a type of Brooklyn Dodger, a variant of Jackie Robinson:

Sitting there, the Golem was as dark as Jackie Robinson his hazel eyes full of sorrow. He looked from left to right, the sorrowful eyes taking in the desolation of the sanctuary. He seemed to have expected this sight. He leaned forward and looked at the palms of his immense black hands before turning them over to gaze at their blackness (358).

Just as the boy wears his "I'm for JACKIE" button as a "badge of defiance" (353), he uses the same button to fasten the Golem's makeshift cape. When the Golem avenges the thugs' victims and makes the streets safe again, Hamill points not to the myth of losing that fascinates Delillo, but to the courageous and avant-garde aspect of the Dodgers who broke the color barrier by signing Robinson to a major league contract. Just as the statue of Pee Wee Reese and Robinson is used today to memorialize the friendship between the two men at a time when such a public friendship was dangerous, Hamill uses the Dodgers to create an allegory for a gutsy period in baseball history. In the cynical age of free-agents and multi-million dollar contracts, Hamill reaffirms the impact the Dodgers had on post-war America when, as the flyer for *Home Base*, the Brooklyn Historical Society exhibit, points out, going to Ebbets Field was indeed a salutary activity: "Rooting for the underdog Dodgers brought the diverse communities together," the Historical Society brochure states, "softening the harsh edges that divided ethnic groups. Newcomers and outsiders were welcomed at Ebbets Field. It was the place where everyone belonged" (*Home Base*, promotional flyer, 2010).

"You had to be there half a century ago to appreciate today's 50th anniversary of when the Dodgers won the World Series for the first and only time" Anderson writes (Anderson 10/04/05), yet, if "Wait 'till next year" was the perennial motto for a team and a borough that kept on fighting through their problems even in the worst circumstances, in contemporary American fiction, then, the myth of the Dodgers both as loveable losers and courageous civil rights pioneers, can allow twenty-first century readers to participate in their memory as well. More vibrant perhaps than the statues or the plaques, fictional reminiscences keep the vanished physical Ebbets Field alive intellectually and spiritually. Writing about the then proposed, extravagant Brooklyn Nets Basketball arena (now corporately named the Barclays Center) on the same site Walter O'Malley wanted to build a new Ebbets Field for the Dodgers before deciding to move to Los Angeles, Michael Shapiro, in an article for the *New York Times* titled "A Moment of Truth in Dodgerless Brooklyn," writes that he was at first surprised to learn that most contemporary Brooklynites opposed the plan, "as it would mean more traffic, noise and development too grand for a

neighborhood whose great attraction was block after block of affordable housing" (Shapiro 06/19/05). Realizing that his personal memories of "the mythologized Brooklyn, the Eagle and Lundy's for Sunday dinner" were no longer part of the collective ones, Shapiro dropped his romantic notions of reviving the old days which had, he writes, been carried away "to Long Island, Florida, and to 'the city,' Manhattan" (06/19/05).

Yet, as his nostalgia turns to the present, he also realizes that what was appealing in "old Brooklyn" was indeed alive and well in the new one. "Like the old one," he observes, "the new one is filled with neighborhoods where people are friendly if not necessarily friends. It is a cozy place many of us never found again after we left" (06/19/05). While the Brooklyn Dodgers remain a "place of memory" cherished among those who lived and died by them and enjoyed by those who read about them, Brooklyn, like any modern city, moves forward not to obliterate the past in order to replace it with Augé's "non-places," but to fill it with new places of memory for future generations. As Shapiro concludes: "We of the old Brooklyn always assumed our longing was for the Dodgers. It wasn't. It was for the friends and neighbors and people at the bus stop with whom we talked about the Dodgers ... The new Brooklyn has new things to talk about, and the past, my past, isn't one of them" (06/19/05).

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REPRESENTING TRAUMA

The Power of Looking: Trauma and the Photograph in W. G. Sebald's *The Emigrants* and Alain Resnais' *Muriel*

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The relationship between the visual and the psychological is rooted in the beginnings of modernity and is a fundamental part of the development of photography and paradigmatic ways of thinking about trauma. Lev Manovich notes that from the beginning of the twentieth century we have witnessed “recurrent claims” that visual technologies “externalize and objectify the mind” (Manovich 205), with photographs deemed to be the “mechanical and precise” materialization of “abstract” ideas (205) and claims that film could “reproduce or ‘objectify’ various mental functions on the screens... closely approximating flashes of memory, the flights of imagination, and other mental acts” (206). At the same time, modern psychological theories have approximated mental processes to technologically generated visual forms, and one of the key ways in which trauma has been theorized has been by means of the assumed isomorphism of mental representation and external visual processes. From notions of the flashback to screen memory, “much of the language deployed to speak trauma’s character is emphatically, if not exclusively visual” (Saltzman and Rosenberg xii). Even for Walter Benjamin, the idiom of photography comes to be both the “methodological tool for picturing life in Paris as laid down in Paris” and the “technical idea that informs Baudelaire’s writings” on the traumatic condition of the modern subject (Petersson 5-6).

The assumed isomorphism of the photograph and the mind can be linked to the notion that the photograph is somehow less mediated than other signs and therefore closer to the event. In C. S. Peirce’s semiotics, the written sign is an arbitrary symbol, rendered significant by convention, whilst the photographic image is an index, a sign that also carries the physical trace of the object itself. Peirce describes photography as *indexical*, which draws attention to the fact that the photographic image is mechanically produced in a way that physically forces a correspondence to the object (Chandler 39-42). Theorist Roland Barthes has similarly argued that the photograph proclaims that the “thing has been there” (Barthes 76). Because photography preserves a chemical trace of the object it thus presents itself as “a certificate of presence,” or of a having-been-present (87). However, this claim for photographic “presence” has in recent times been obscured by skepticism. Several theorists have acknowledged that all images are

absorbed by language and that their interpretation is conducted within this system of signification (Mitchell 209). Other critics argue that photographs are but “fragments of stories, never stories in themselves” (Hirsch 83) and thus fall short of claims to reveal the truth.

In the area of trauma studies, the link between the photograph and the mind becomes more complex. Many theorists of trauma have asserted the absolute unknowable nature of trauma. The occurrence of psychological shock or trauma is often described as the subject’s dissociation from reality. The impact of trauma floods perception so profoundly that the subject divorces himself from immediate time and space, such that trauma creates a hole in consciousness. Unable to process the overwhelming event immediately, the subject compulsively repeats the traumatic experience through uncontrollable “flashbacks, and nightmares” (Caruth, *Traumatic Awakenings* 208). The unknowable moment of trauma, when the mechanisms of consciousness and memory are momentarily dismantled, translates into a constitutional failure of linguistic representation, an “interruption of a representational mode” (Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience* 115). Theorists such as Susan Sontag (1977) and Ulrich Baer (2002), who consider the contemporary relationship between trauma and photography, have argued against the photographic image as a site of unquestionable truth, and point to the photograph’s variable semiotic status as constituting its failure to represent trauma.

The preoccupation with the unknowable nature of trauma has thus contributed to a critique of photography that focuses on absence and the failure to represent trauma. At the same time, however, trauma studies consistently returns to the notion of the traumatic event as that which urgently demands representation. The September 11 attacks and their aftershocks have revived appeals to bring traumatic historical events into collective consciousness. It is a truism to say that we now live in an image-saturated and spectatorial world wherein “privilege [is] given to the authority and presence of the image” (Guerin and Hallas 2). The photographic image occupies a central position in contemporary discussions about remembering trauma.

In an urgent sense, therefore, there is need to renegotiate this impasse, to look past the absolute failure of photographic representation and turn towards the possibilities of the photograph for revealing the complexities of trauma. In her final book, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (2003), Susan Sontag revises her earlier position and writes that there are now “innumerable opportunities” that visual technologies provide us for witnessing the shocks of modern life (11), implying that we can no longer deny knowledge, and that we must start to recognize that, although they “cannot possibly encompass most of the reality to which they refer,” photographs “still perform a vital function” (102). This shift in thinking signals a belief that visual technologies have the potential to affect, stimulate, and move us into action. I am interested in advancing this conception through an exploration of how art can actualize a response to the photographic image that moves beyond the concept of absence, allowing for affective and discursive re-engagement with history.

The anxieties surrounding the veracity of the photograph, I suggest, are rooted in an Occidental “culture of common sense” that, as Jacques Derrida tells

us, is marked by the opposition between idealism and materialism (“My Chances” 25). This supposed “common sense” involves a privileging of the Ideal (truth or meaning) over representation (image), with the assumption that the visual will never be able to accurately represent the “truth” of an event. This logocentric way of thinking works through the effacement of the metaphorical status of the Ideal, “obscur[ing] its dependency upon practices of exclusion and principles of hierarchical classification” (Lury 1) and disguising the insoluble tensions within. I would like to collapse the binary opposition and consider how meaning is contingent on the image.

For Derrida, the a priori condition of any mark or sign is an “ideal iterability” (“My Chances” 16) that allows the mark to be identified or recognized. In other words, to “mark its marking effect” the mark must be reiterable from one context to another (16), and therefore “be capable of functioning in the radical absence of every empirically determined receiver in general” (“Signature, Event, Context” 8). This repeatability allows the mark to be freed from any specific context or referent, implying that it is inherently divisible, its presence disrupted by the trace of what is absent, “imprinting the capacity for diversion within its very moment” (Derrida, “My Chances” 16).

Applying this idea to the photograph, what is suggested is that the image is not necessarily bound to any meaning or thing. The stereotypy of the image comes from the fact that it “share[s] in the physical identity of the objec[t]” and thus “continually asserts the presence of the concrete world” within a semiotic system made up of signs (MacDougall 132), which accounts for the force of the singular event that it marks. What is important to note is that our very apperception of the photograph in the present, as an attestation of a “past presence” is dependent upon a structure of iterability, which asserts “the impossibility of [the photograph’s] rigorous purity” and its “detach[ability] from the present and singular intention of its production” (“Signature, Event, Context” 20) and which therefore “prohibits any saturation of context” (18). This operation of simultaneous recognition and repression, its inherent divisibility, enables the image to be remediated and thus able to contest old narratives and negotiate new ones, opening up the possibilities of meaning.

I will attempt to demonstrate this idea of divisibility through an analysis of W.G. Sebald’s *The Emigrants* (1993) and Alain Resnais’ *Muriel, or, The Time of Return* (1963), two texts that explore the relationship between the unknowable ordeal and its material remains, specifically, the historical photograph or film. I will attempt to show how these archival images, ostensibly “objective” or “authentic” records of fact, are revealed to be sites of tension, where contradictory meanings co-exist. I will argue that this revelation is a critical move that allows for the possibilities of new meaning to come into view through deconstruction, appropriation and re-signification. In these two texts, therefore, we recognize that the power of the photograph lies in the performative rather than in the constative, thus moving the practice of bearing witness beyond the singular burden of veracity.

W. G. Sebald's *The Emigrants*

Published in 1993 (English translation 1996), *The Emigrants* is an inventive fusion of narrative and photograph, and a mix of fact and fiction, chronicling the forgotten face of European history. *The Emigrants* is an exploration of subjectivity wounded by the Second World War and particularly by the extremities of the Holocaust, which, for many thinkers, is the singular catastrophe “held to have precipitated, perhaps caused, an epistemological-ontological crisis of witnessing, a crisis manifested at the level of language itself” (Leys 268). The text brings together four biographies of displaced or exiled Germans, chance survivors who struggle to inhabit the world and who suffer under the weight of history. Two of the characters eventually commit suicide. The narrative repeatedly returns to the Holocaust, which remains the unnamed event that haunts the characters’ memories.

Upon first inspection, the text resembles a factual reconstruction. The first-person narrator collates the biographies of four German Jews complete with photographic evidence. The narrator himself is effectively removed from the text: we learn very little about him and he seems to function as a repository of collected stories. He becomes an empty center riveted on what is emphatically outside of himself, that is, the experiences of others. The stories of these other characters, forming most of the narrative, are relayed to the narrator orally, by the characters themselves or through relatives or acquaintances.

The authenticity of these individuals’ histories is asserted through photographic presence. The narrator reproduces photographs that come from their family albums, postcards they had had in their possession, and there are even images of pages from their journals. These traces of the real testify to the veracity of these characters’ experiences, and this is advanced through sections of direct transcription, as we read the personal thoughts of the characters through their own writing, in the closest trace we have of these individuals. For example, in the chapter titled “Max Ferber” the narrator reconstructs the details of the lost pre-war Jewish past entirely through the voice of Max Ferber’s mother, accessed through memoir.

The conscious distancing entailed in this manner of writing is predicated upon the need for respectful documentation, a concern we become aware of through the narrator’s reflexive comments about his struggle to communicate these stories. He admits to the reader that the “endeavour to imagine [Paul Bereyter’s] life and death” does not bring him to a complete or true understanding of his life and experience “except at best for brief emotional moments of the kind that seemed presumptuous” (29). It is “in order to avoid this sort of wrongful trespass” (29) that the narrator tries to curb affective imaginings or empathic responses in favor of a principled and ethical distance. He thus removes himself from this objective collection of the facts and documents, demonstrating a position that privileges “authentic” forms of testimony (such as autobiographical narratives, oral histories, and personal photograph collections) as the means of transmitting experiences and memories of people whose stories are otherwise unwritten.

The epigraph that introduces the story of Paul Bereyter tells us that “[t]here is mist that no eye can dispel,” which in the context of the entire novel is a pronouncement that asserts the impossibility of completely or truly knowing the other. This is a motif that runs through the text, and is demonstrated in our experience of reading. As we engage in the narrative through a singular point, drawn into the personal histories of these characters, photographs serve as constant reminders of the profound otherness of the subject. Many of the photographic images, particularly in the earlier sections, are formally framed images of the characters, of buildings, and landscapes. The photographs have the effect of distancing the reader, and thus they mark moments of disruption in our act of reading, frustrating any affective response we may start to feel. Our distance from these characters is furthered by the fact that none of the photographs is captioned. The reader must work to ascribe meaning to these photographs, some of which do not seem overtly related to the immediate text, and so must work to discern the implied referent. This interrupted experience of reading therefore enacts the “hermeneutic issue of how a German of the postwar generation, not a survivor but an observer who appears on the scene after the fact, confronts the problematic past” (Prager 90).

However, the very fact of narrative interruption, and Sebald’s insistence on this kind of disturbance, calls into question the viability of this kind of respectful distance. The persistent challenge to this objective position hinges on Sebald’s narrative control and choice of singular focal point, which filters all details through a unitary voice and viewpoint. The reader is therefore interpellated into a position of alignment with each character and with the narrator, who (it is increasingly clear) is an “empathetic German” (Prager 82), drawn to other emigrants because they are his “own kind” (67). The linguistic indicators of reported speech, which like the photographs serve as markers of the mediating narrative frames, are progressively left out, such that in the last story of Max Ferber, the narrative control breaks down. In this chapter, the narrator, so moved by Ferber’s grandmother’s memoir of her life in Kissingen, visits Kissingen and its Jewish cemetery. Here, the breakdown of narrative control and the danger of identity slippage become discernible. In the Jewish cemetery the narrator is so affected by the symbol of a writer’s quill on one of the gravestones that “[he] imagine[s] her pen in her hand, all by herself, bent with bated breath over her work” and he comments that, as he writes, “it feels as if *I* had lost her, and as if I could not get over her loss despite the many years that have passed since her departure” (224 emphasis in original). The image of the quill on the gravestone becomes, for the narrator, a point of affective identification; and the interpellation of the reader through the narrative focalization performs this slippage of identity.

It is no accident, I think, that the breakdown in narrative control coincides with a realization of the failure of “objective” collocation in the last section. The narrator belatedly senses that Max Ferber must have suffered under the Nazis and that “it seems unforgivable that [he] should have omitted or failed, in those Manchester times, to ask Ferber the questions [Ferber] must surely have expected from [him]” (178). Here, objective collocations and a demand for authenticity, of which the historical photograph surely partakes, are aligned with

an “unforgivable” omission or blindness. And it is a position that is increasingly difficult for the narrator to maintain as “truth” becomes contaminated by the traces of the subjective and the imaginative. For example, the narrator admits to the substitution of images. In one instance, he substitutes a picture of Dr. Henry Selwyn in Crete with a “photograph of Nabokov... [he] had clipped from a Swiss magazine a few days before” (16). In the section on Max Ferber, the narrator recounts a moment of “absolute [physical] pain” (171) that blots out consciousness, and makes “everything go black” (171). At this point, the narrator inserts a picture of himself as a schoolboy bent over his desk, which imitates the crooked position he was forced to stand in, but which is also linked to a preceding passage in which he described the “monstrosity of that suffering... emanating from the figures” in the Grunewald paintings, who are “doubled up by grief” and mental suffering (170). This moment signals a break in photographic referentiality, as the photograph becomes divided, removed from its origin, and re-signified as a profoundly affective state. This excess of meaning, enabled by the divisibility of the visual sign, reveals an agency and power that the image has in evoking a feeling outside of the realm of conscious knowledge.

The power of the photograph becomes clear in the final passage of the text. The narrator tells us that he is looking at a photograph of three young women that he “do[es] not know.” As he looks at them, sitting behind their loom, he “sense[s] that all three of them are looking across at [him],” and that one is “looking at [him] with so steady a gaze that [he] cannot meet it for long” (237). What occurs here is a collapse of narrative control and a dissolution of the narrative frames that had, up to this point, kept him at an objective distance. It is significant that the novel ends with precisely that presumption that had been so actively avoided: a spectral, imaginative attachment of identity. In that moment, he cannot help but feel that he is “standing on the very spot” where the photographer stood, and “wonder[ing] what the three women’s names were—Roza, Luisa and Lea, or Nona, Decuma and Morta, the daughters of night, with spindle, scissors and thread” (237). It has been noted that the naming of the anonymous women in this way “ultimately shifts the singular, historical (‘what has been’) to a mythological level” (Bergman et al. 211), transforming historical moment into art. In this final reflection, narrative frames dissolve. Yet, crucially, the narrator avoids over-identification; as he stands in the place of the photographer, he maintains a distance between himself and the women. It is significant to note that it is in this tenuous position of empathic distance that the gaze can be reversed.

Throughout the text, the reader has been placed in the position of observer, engaged in the hermeneutic acts of confronting a distant past. Critically, the final photograph in the text is one that we cannot see. As the narrator describes this absent image we are wholly dependent on him to position us, and as such we are forcefully put into the position of being looked at. What the text performs, perhaps, is what Dominic LaCapra (2001) calls “empathic unsettlement.” This describes writing that enables an understanding of the other and his suffering, but which at the same time ensures that this understanding can never be complete, through techniques that prevent over-identification (22).

While the empathic connection with material traces of trauma opens up the possibilities of ethical response to images of suffering, one of the criticisms of Sebald is that there is a feeling of melancholic entrapment running through his texts. Andreas Huyssen takes issue with Sebald's "relentless melancholy," arguing that Sebald "gives us not so much an analysis as a reinscription of trauma" (154, 156). Indeed, there is hardly a sense of working-through of trauma in *The Emigrants*; the characters remain trapped and unable to move on, and several characters meet tragic deaths. I will argue that Alain Resnais' *Muriel* offers us an account of ethical witness that does not focus on empathic response to the victim (indeed, the victim is absent from the film) but on critical self-reflection that centers upon the politics of looking and in this way perhaps suggests a way to move forward.

Alain Resnais' *Muriel*, or, *The Time of Return*

Muriel is a film that shows the "other" side of trauma, that is, it explores the lives and subjectivities of the perpetrator and examines how a former colonial nation, France, comes to live with an unassimilable past, in the wake of the Algerian war for independence. Set against a backdrop of decaying pre-World War II structures and insipid modern buildings, the film follows a group of people who are haunted by their memories. Helene, a widow and an antique seller, is a nervous woman, and an archetype of forgetting, at one point flippantly commenting that she cannot remember if "two hundred or three thousand" people were killed in Boulogne during the Second World War. Her nervous energy seems to be aggravated by a gambling addiction that has put her, we infer, in debt. For reasons that are not very clear, she invites a former lover, Alphonse, whom she has not seen for twenty years to visit her. Helene lives with her stepson, Bernard, who has just returned from Algeria, having served as part of the French army. Bernard is haunted and unable to resolve the guilt he feels about a rape and murder of Algerian woman he has witnessed, a woman whom the French soldiers had named Muriel.

The film follows these characters in a frayed manner, editing out portions of dialogues, gestures and even characters from our field of vision, which has the effect of completely un-anchoring these elements from their narrative function. While this perhaps is meant to convey to the viewer the characters' sense of dislocation, Resnais' insistence on our interrupted vision seems to also suggest a self-consciousness about the difficult nature of the film's project: the depiction of colonial violence.

At the heart of *Muriel* is an unspeakable act of colonial, masculine violence—the rape, torture and murder of an Algerian woman. Significantly, it is an act that is not directly represented. The Algerian woman is literally and symbolically silenced in the film, and yet as the titular figure and subject of Resnais' film, she haunts the film and her absence permeates its landscape. On the one hand, the absence of Muriel indicates a suppression of memory, the omission of the Algerian war and colonial violence from French consciousness. On the other hand, her absence from public memory (the memory of Muriel only seems to exist in Bernard's guilt-ridden mind) is linked to her absence from

public mnemonic forms, suggesting in this way the contingency of memory upon representation.

The problems of memory and the need to remember are issues that in the film revolve around archival footage (historical photographs and film). Archival footage occupies the temporal center of the film, and it forms the central moment in which the audience finally learns about "Muriel." It is a moment that reveals the problematic status of the image in testifying to a past. This traumatic center of the film, astoundingly concealed from our vision, is made present through Bernard's painful description to the stableman to whom he shows what resembles archival footage of the war experience. This oral confession becomes the voice-over for our experience of watching this footage, signaling a discrepancy between image and word, and a rupture in the visual mark's claim to veracity.

What is also important to note is that, through this disjunction, Resnais highlights the implicit narrative embedded in this footage. In contrast to Bernard's account, these archival images show scenes of camaraderie and domesticity; we see the French soldiers cooking, sharing food and horsing around, creating an impression of an innocuous French presence in Algeria. The actuality of this narrative is undercut by the fractured families of the film's present day and by the violence expressed in Bernard's emotional voice-over. Correspondingly, the Algerian is reduced to a figure of powerlessness (the old man and the dependent child), while lingering shots of exotic mosques further frame the Algerian as the mysterious other, thereby justifying the dominance of the white European male. Resnais demonstrates how archival photographs, and by extension historical documentation, do not merely receive reality but also intervene to frame and re-constitute its object. As Brent Harris (1998) has observed, the advent of photography in the mid-nineteenth century "coincided with a rapid expansion of colonialism"; in this context, photography "played an important role in... the construction of colonial identities" and was used to "illustrate physiognomic and phrenological theories... which helped to define the deviant and the pathological 'other'" (20). These archival images are therefore imbued with concerns of power, wherein the colonial master is given the power of the camera to gaze upon and thus objectify and define the "other."

The film deconstructs these colonial narratives by unveiling the absence that haunts each image, and therefore the divisibility of each image. This enables the re-engagement of meaning and signification. Resnais demonstrates this at several points in the film. For instance, the inoffensive cigarette we see a French soldier smoking in the central footage is re-signified as an apparatus of torture by means of Bernard's coincident description of Muriel being burnt by her torturers. Similarly, Bernard's collection of archival photos, banal images of soldier and landscape, are recast in the context of Bernard's journal, as Resnais' camera places these photographs in the same frame as Bernard's handwritten entries. Entries such as "I began to see the truth with Muriel," and, "I think I want to die" serve to destabilize the sense of photography's ability to capture existential reality.

The critique of photographic "truth" and presence is furthered through its implied complicity with violence. This violence of colonial looking is suggested through the figure of Alphonse. Alphonse, who has recently returned from

Algeria, and expresses a nostalgic longing for a glorious colonial past, represents a hypocritical position of intolerance towards Arabs while claiming “respect [for] all races,” a position that perhaps reflects colonial France’s own ambivalent position as civilized nation. He is symbolically characterized by the colonial photographs, enthusiastically showing Helene his collection of images of the exotic Algerian landscape, at one point strewing them across her bed. What is interesting is how, through Alphonse, the colonial gaze is seen to infiltrate into the film’s present and private spaces, often to a threatening degree. The masked aggression of this gaze now turns upon Helene, in his insistence upon looking at her and his desire to take a photograph of her, in addition to physically invading the private space of her apartment. The aggressiveness of Alphonse’s look results in Helene’s consistent turning away, and she comments on the fact that she “always look[s] blind in photos,” signaling that in this imbalance of power, she is unable to return his gaze. Celia Britton suggests that Helene is “‘tortured’ metaphorically” by being looked at and that she “experiences Alphonse’s gaze as a form of violation” (42). Furthermore, the cinematic apparatus mirrors the violence of his looks by visually cutting Helene up. For instance, she is characterized visually by close-ups, often of her hands, and it is suggested that Helene is “simultaneously *objectified* and *fragmented*” by the objects that surround her (Britton 42, emphasis in original). In fact, Britton suggests that this “disfiguration” of Helene echoes and stands in for the “mutilation and disfiguration” of Muriel, which is in itself unrepresentable (41).

This critique of photographic objectivity is further advanced through the figure of Bernard and his problematic status as observer. Bernard’s presence on screen is distinctly bound to his camera, and the audience watches him move around Boulogne recording the world around him and collecting historical footage, consumed by the need to collect “evidence” that will somehow testify to the horrific event he witnessed in Algeria. His position is one of objective distance, a passive spectator, mimicking the position of historical documentation. In a crucial scene, Bernard films a fight that erupts between Alphonse and his brother-in-law, Ernest, who is unhappy that Alphonse has abandoned his sister in order to visit Helene. With almost manic delight, Bernard asks Francoise to get his tape recorder, which she accidentally switches on, unleashing the sounds of raucous laughter, which is implied to be the actual sound recording of the torture incident. The laughter we hear directly links Bernard’s documentation of this fight with the terrible act of rape and murder that it hides, implicating Bernard’s voyeurism in both instances of violence. In an earlier scene, Bernard deplores the fact that Robert (whom he believes to be the main perpetrator of Muriel’s murder) walks free, to which the stableman replies, “just like you?”—an utterance that aligns Bernard’s passive spectatorship with Robert’s brutal deeds and that implies his complicity in the torture of Muriel rooted in a failure to act. Bernard’s “objective” distance is firmly criticized as a compromised position of non-intervention that fails to reflect upon one’s own subject position and involvement. That Bernard is unable to reflect upon his own participation in murder is symbolically suggested by the effacement of his own presence in his photographic objects, his face literally cut out of his pictures. Resnais thus presents us with an ethics of witnessing that begins with an examination of self, in the form,

specifically, of post-colonial French subjectivity. This potentially accounts for the film's refusal to look to the Algerian other for answers; at one point in the film, the momentary image of the veiled Arab woman is literally burned by our gaze. This "turning away" does not constitute, as has been suggested, a "lack of engagement with one of the leading political questions of the time" (Gauch 48), but instead reveals a critical choice founded upon the necessity of directly engaging with the culpability of the French middle-class and the acknowledgement of feelings of guilt towards the Algerian war.

In *Muriel*, photography does not convey the truth but rather a cultural code, a problematic and contradictory order that is produced primarily through the construction of essentialized identities and the binary opposition between Self and Other, wherein the authority of the European male Self is maintained through control and suppression of the peripheral other, constructing the other in negative terms. Colonized subjects are vulnerable to the most brutal application of this logic, but it is a violence, I have suggested, that is also felt by the other peripheral subjects (such as the female). The brutality of this binary logic continues to pervade the lives of the characters in the present, and their circular existence is perhaps symptomatic of this binarism. All of the characters seem condemned to repeat the violence of their lives, Bernard exclaiming to Helene at one point that "[she] never change[s]." Alphonse's repeated abandonment of his female lovers, and Bernard's scapegoating of Robert, for instance, might possibly be read as ways of enforcing binary logic in order to re-attain control and subjective coherence in the face of threatened emasculation. The circularity of the characters' relationships and movements is reinforced formally through repetitive, circular sequences. For instance, in an early moment, there is a repeated sequence of close-ups of Alphonse, Francoise and Helene, whose oblique glances at each other enhances the sense of disquiet that is cast in turn upon the viewer. Circularity also defines the space of Helene's apartment; in the final scene of the film, the audience follows Simone as she slowly moves through the apartment, looking for Alphonse, and, in a very significant way I think, the center is revealed to be profoundly empty. In essence, the underlying concern of *Muriel* is the "time of the return," which not only implies a return of the past and the repressed, but also points to the manner in which the past *persists* within the time of the present.

Resnais' critique of photographic documentation is not, I think, a denial of the place of the archival photograph in historical memory. Rather, the uncovering of its inherent tensions constitutes the beginnings of an ethical relationship with the past. *Muriel* demonstrates the power of filmic art to continually re-engage with the historical image, opening up spaces of critical inquiry and new meanings of self and nation, and bringing the past into the present. This space of possibility is not a merely cognitive, and I would argue rather that the film's power lies in the affective realm. In conjunction with narrative disturbances, Resnais' formal choices open up an affective space that is able to register the 'unknowable' feelings associated with violence, denial and guilt. From the overly menacing ring of the telephone, to the abrupt and seemingly incongruous intrusions of music throughout the film, to the devastating verse that pierces the emptiness of the

final scene, the soundscape of *Muriel* produces an atmosphere of palpable anxiety, desolation and fear, a feeling one might describe as the uncanny return of the repressed.

Both *Muriel* and *The Emigrants* offer examinations of suffering from the position of the “non-victim.” *Muriel* engages in the complexities of French middle-class subjectivity in the wake of the Algerian war for independence, and *The Emigrants* provides us with insights into the struggles of a non-Jewish German trying connect with Jewish-German histories. Both Resnais and Sebald consider the centrality of the historical photograph in (re)negotiating a relationship with our past. I have shown that both artists, in their own ways, understand that the power of the image lies in its simultaneous absence and presence, an inherent divisibility, that allows meaning to be deconstructed and reconstructed. For Sebald, this divisibility allows the photograph make claims on the present, demanding an empathic response that still maintains the separation of self and other, and maintains that the other’s suffering can never be fully understood. For Resnais, the photograph is revealed to be a space of suppression and anxiety. By unveiling these tensions and anxieties, Resnais provides a space for critical self-reflection and the acknowledgement of repressed feelings. Both Resnais and Sebald acknowledge that the photograph, through the medium of art, has the power to engage in a way that goes beyond intellectual or cognitive understanding, pointing to the importance of the affective in the study of trauma. In their own ways, I believe that both Resnais and Sebald engage in what Walter Benjamin calls “historical materialism,” which is an active and open relationship with history, that “bring[s] the past to memory” and establishes a “continuing dialogue with loss and its remains” (Eng and Kazanjian 1). The photographic images in these texts are not presented as records of a visually “knowable” event. Rather, in the hands of these artists, the photograph becomes a dialectical space, which points to what remains outside of experience and outside of representation.

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Representing the Holocaust: Lee Miller's Concentration Camp Photographs as 'Modern Memorials'

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According to Jonathan Webber in his book *Auschwitz: A History in Photographs* (1993), "the historical memory is selective; it does not and cannot recall everything. This is what thinking in symbols, or thinking with symbols, is about: to treat part of the history as representative of the whole, to shrink it down to something of a manageable size" (284). For the war photographer, the real problem is not necessarily documenting the effects of human destruction and dealing with the ethical connotations that images of war inevitably provoke. The primary issue is how to frame the horror in both the photographic and conceptual sense of the word and knowing what to omit from the camera's gaze. As a former *Vogue* model and the assistant and muse of American Dada-Surrealist artist Man Ray in Paris during the late 1920s and early 1930s, Lee Miller approached World War Two by applying her knowledge of Surrealist methodologies, including the practices of juxtaposition, fragmentation and polarization. Thus, by viewing a scene of devastation from an artistic perspective, Miller was able to deconstruct the horrors of war—and the Holocaust, in particular—into smaller, more digestible fragments. A primary aim of this creative process is to enable viewers of war or 'atrocities' photographs to assimilate what they are seeing and, subsequently, assist them in attempting to understand or come to terms with the subject matter piece by piece rather than as an overwhelming whole (if that is indeed possible). Subsequently, this practice of artistic deconstruction allows the viewer not only to see the events of war from an individual perspective but to *remember* the specific details rather than simply an impressionistic overview of war. Therefore, photographs have a significant role to play in the memorialization and commemorating processes.

But how do you begin to photograph the Holocaust? While many of Miller's peers, such as Margaret Bourke-White, would photograph a war scene then quickly depart, Miller often preferred to stay and work on her photographic composition, taking strikingly perceptive photographs from positions that were difficult and challenging both physically and psychologically. For example, to take a photograph of two United States medics observing a dead prisoner inside the so-called Dachau 'death train', Miller positioned herself inside the train compartment with the corpses to compose an image that forces the viewer to adopt the perspective of one of the victims. Outside the train, the two medics stand arms crossed with vacant expressions, observing the dead and attempting to conceive the sight before them. As Jean Gallagher writes, "It is a picture not only of a Holocaust victim but of American observers' looking and disbelieving. It represents being caught as an observer within the frame of proximity to

incomprehensible damage and at the same time straining against that frame, attempting to insert distance between seer and seen” (86). This photograph was in direct contrast to a second image taken by Miller from outside the train with the same two GIs standing either side of the compartment, framing the horrors within. These two images reflect two different perspectives of the same scene—the first photograph, arguably the more evocative due to Miller’s courageous position within the train; the second, perhaps displaying Miller’s artistic inclination to a greater extent by showing how Miller utilized objects or people within the scene to compose the photograph.

The Surrealist practice of fragmentation was used by Miller to signify one small part of a much larger scene of horror. In another close-up photograph, captioned “Dead prisoners, Buchenwald, Germany, 1945,” Miller has created a feeling of entrapment by using fragmentation to produce an abstract expressionist form, filling the entire frame with random, merging shapes of body parts to ensure that the viewer absorbs the whole scene through the confrontation of detail. Using creative composition, Miller purposefully controls the viewer’s gaze by immediately directing it towards a distorted blood-smeared face in the centre of the frame. By focusing on that face and registering the features, the corpse is immediately transformed into a human being among the anonymous, faceless dead. This reading is all the more poignant if we consider that Miller would deliberately search among the faces of the dead in an attempt to locate her Parisian friends who had been captured by the Nazis. In turn, the viewer is encouraged to look around that central face at the surrounding jumble of body parts and hanging skeletal limbs. In this highly evocative photograph, Miller effectively captures just one fragment of a much larger atrocity by using carefully organized artistic composition to navigate, and often manipulate, the viewer’s gaze, thus forcing an interpretation from the photographer’s view-point or even from the prisoners’ perspective. Miller’s approach appears to avoid the inclusion of complete bodies in her photograph choosing instead to only focus on fragments of bodies, to *suggest* rather than show the true extent of the horror. As John Berger writes, “Every time we look at a photograph, we are aware, however slightly, of the photographer selecting the sight from an infinity of other possible sights,” and this idea is certainly the case in the majority of Miller’s concentration camps photographs where the extent of the devastation was too immense, indeed impossible, to capture in full (10).

It could be argued that, as part of her creative methodology, Miller was also combining a need to inform with a propensity to shock or to evoke an emotional response from the viewer. As Gallagher describes this process:

The photographs are close-up, clearly focused images with virtually no spaces between the figures of the bodies and the frame. The corpses occupy completely the field of vision, leaving no space of escape or relief for the viewer’s line of sight, eliminating distance from what must have evoked (and certainly still does evoke) reflexes of revulsion, of looking away, of disbelief, and a desire to distance (87).

This description of a scene that “must have evoked...reflexes of revulsion” conforms to Julia Kristeva’s theories on the abject. However, in contrast to Kristeva’s belief that “The corpse (or cadaver: *cadere*, to fall), that which has irremediably come a cropper, is cesspool, and death; it upsets even more violently the one who confronts it as fragile and fallacious chance” (3), Susan Sontag believes that when confronted with images of death and destruction the natural human response is not to *look away* from the scene but to *look at* the scene. Curiosity draws our attention to the horrible or the taboo. As Sontag explains, “It seems that the appetite for pictures showing bodies in pain is as keen, almost, as the desire for ones that show bodies naked” (36). There is a sense of shame or guilt in looking at a dead body as much as a sense of shock or curiosity, which raises further ethical debate about the role of the atrocity photograph in addition to its importance and justification as an historical record and visual memorial to the war dead.

In Miller’s *Vogue* photo-essay “Germans Are Like This,” published in June 1945, photographs of healthy, well-fed children and idyllic, orderly villages were cleverly juxtaposed with images of the furnaces and charred remains at Buchenwald. In a photograph entitled “Men contemplate charred bones, Buchenwald, Germany, 1945,” Miller’s eye for creative composition and form is again apparent. Miller approached the scene by dividing it diagonally and using the two halves to symbolize the thin line between life and death. The bottom left half of the image contains the charred remains of murdered prisoners while the top right half reveals the legs of four camp survivors observing the sight before them. Although the heads of the prisoners were included on the original negative, in the cropped version of the photograph chosen for publication only the men’s legs and bottom half of their torsos are present within the frame—an omission which immediately alters the meaning and interpretation of the photograph and permits the viewer to imagine the reflective expressions on the men’s faces. It is perhaps a more difficult task to imagine the look on Miller’s face, an observer who only sees the result of the persecution and not the persecution itself. Like the viewers of these war photographs today, imagination must inevitably replace knowledge when viewing some scenes of war; only those who were there at the time and bearing witness to the event could possibly have produced anything close to an accurate representation of the scene. Therefore, the viewer is never able to observe the full picture, only one individual’s representation or interpretation of it. In this respect, Berger’s theory of “absence versus presence” might be applied to Miller’s “charred bones” image. For example, in Miller’s photograph she purposefully removed an important part of the scene through her use of composition and cropping, therefore, allowing the viewer to *imagine* what the emotions and expressions might have been. As Berger writes in his 1968 essay “Understanding a Photograph,” “A photograph is effective when the chosen moment which it records contains a quantum of truth which is generally applicable, which is as revealing about what is absent from the photograph as about what is present in it” (*Look of Things*, 181). However, according to Roland Barthes, a photograph proves little more than the event has actually happened. He believes that any other meaning is superfluous and that in order to know

more about what happened the viewer should not solely consider the photograph and what it represents but must look beyond it (82).

In a photograph entitled “Liberated prisoners with newly dead bodies, Dachau, Germany, 1945,” Miller applied the same diagonal composition and effectively made use of the available light and shadow to represent the polarization of life and death. Miller effectively incorporated the shadow in the bottom left half of the scene to symbolize death by photographing the bodies submerged in darkness. In contrast, the photograph indicates a line of living prisoners in the top left of the frame bathed in light symbolizing life, rebirth, freedom and survival. Here, Miller used the Surrealist principle of polarization not only to indicate a relationship between life and death, but also between the negative and positive, past and future, despair and hope. Unlike the “charred bones” image, Miller included the faces of the prisoners. However, the faces appear void of expression thus suggesting that this vision of carnage was a common sight in the camp and no longer evoking feelings of fear, shock or revulsion for those who had witnessed the horror first-hand. Therefore, this second photograph says more about the emotional condition of the prisoners within the camps than the “charred bones” photograph. The viewer’s imagination may *assume* that the expressions on the faces of the prisoners would be the same as theirs when initially encountering these scenes of carnage. In reality, however, there is an absence of emotion on the faces of the prisoners, as Miller’s second photograph documents. As Marianne Hirsch explains, “...the viewer fills in what the picture leaves out: the horror of looking is not necessarily *in* the image but in the story the viewer provides to fill in what has been omitted” (21). However, assumption and imagination often replaces reality, especially when the viewers are only bystanders to the photographs of the scenes and not to the scenes themselves. As Cornelia Brink writes, “A person looking at photographs from the concentration camps today will not for the most part be able to relate what he or she sees to his or her own experiences in the way that a liberated inmate, a member of the SS or a sentry in the camp or a bystander would” (145). This is also the case for the photojournalist who captures the images first-hand for second-hand viewing.

The composition of Miller’s photograph of “liberated prisoners” is very similar to a photograph of Buchenwald taken around the same time by an unknown photographer. In this photograph, which appeared in the *Boston Globe* on 3 May 1945 with the caption “American editors visiting Buchenwald, 1945,” a group of newspaper reporters and editors are positioned in the same part of the frame as the living prisoners in Miller’s photograph. However, the most notable difference is the position of the corpses that appear almost illuminated by light in the bottom right-hand corner of the frame. While Miller had used the contrasting light and shadow to great effect to add further depth of meaning to the situation, the anonymous photographer appears to have struggled with controlling the exposure with the brightness of the sunlight resulting in the bottom half of the image being over-exposed. The viewer’s attention, therefore, is directed towards the reporters and away from the corpses whereas, in Miller’s image, the viewer’s gaze is directed around the image from a prisoner in a grey jacket and cap positioned on the shadow-line in the top-centre of the photograph, and

downwards via his line of gaze to the bodies in the shadows. In contrast to Miller's photograph, in the image taken by the anonymous photographer each man's gaze is directed away from the pile of corpses either in an act of avoidance or with an inability to see the horror before them. Only a cluster of three GIs to the right of the frame are looking at the dead. As Barbie Zelizer observes, "The editors—all white and male—scribbled into notepads while seeming to avoid looking at the bodies at their feet. A few soldiers at the corner of the frame looked at the bodies, standing in for the act of bearing witness" (106). Perhaps the death scene came as less of a shock to the GIs, making their role as bystanders comparable to the prisoners in Miller "charred bones" photograph.

Roland Barthes writes in *Camera Lucida* (1981) that the camera is a mechanism for documenting evidence. However, although this is partly true it is not the camera's sole purpose. John Tagg refers to Barthes' belief in this photographic realism by writing, "Beyond any encoding of the photograph, there is an existential connection between 'the necessarily real thing which has been placed before the lens' and the photographic image: 'every photograph is somehow co-natural with its referent'. What the photograph asserts is the overwhelming truth that 'the thing has been there': this was a reality which once existed, though it is 'a reality one can no longer touch'," unless, of course, the scene has been staged or manipulated (1). Miller *did* use her photographs to document a fragment of history which once occurred but no longer exists; but as many of her war photographs illustrate, documentation and art often merge to produce images that are both aesthetic and horrific and where an element of the reality has been manipulated or removed. Therefore, while in some respects photography can be viewed as "a direct and 'natural' cast of reality" more so than in painting, for example, this belief is debateable (Tagg, 41). Sontag writes, "A photograph is supposed not to evoke but to show. That is why photographs, unlike handmade images, can count as evidence" (42). However, by analyzing Miller's war photographs we can establish that while it is true that some photographs, particularly war images, can be classed as 'straight' documentary photography by providing the evidence that certain events occurred, some war photographs can both "show" and "evoke" through an element of manipulation by the photographer.

John Berger in his 1972 book *Ways of Seeing* writes, "We only see what we look at. To look is an act of choice. As a result of this act, what we see is brought within our reach—though not necessarily within arm's reach" (8). Lee Miller's photographs, which, due to her artistic background, can be interpreted as examples of surreal documentation, often omit an element of the "reality". However, the result is often a conscious process of audience participation that allows the viewer to use their mind's eyes to fill in the gaps. In some cases, Miller's use of omission acts as a defensive shield for the viewers, safeguarding them from the authentic full-scale horror of war. Of course, photographs cannot capture all aspects of the war scene—the smells, the sounds, for example—and perhaps some of the more disturbing sights that Miller would have inevitably experienced were intentionally left undocumented. After all, the viewer is only able to see what has been captured by the photographer within the photograph and therefore can only *imagine* what is absent or being consciously omitted by

the photographer; viewers remain ignorant of, or must use their imaginations to establish, what horrors lie beyond the frame. So, while what Berger says is essentially true, that it is the viewer's choice whether to look at a photograph or not, it is also the photographer's choice to decide what the viewer is allowed to see within that photograph and what should be left to the imagination or open to individual interpretation. In other words, a photographer, like a painter or writer, has the power to manipulate, to restrict and to direct the viewer's gaze, thus emphasizing that an element of artistic control is invariably involved. As the theorist Walter Lippmann stated in 1922, "Photographs have the kind of authority over imagination today, which the printed word had yesterday, and the spoken word before that. They seem utterly real. They come, we imagine, directly to us, without human meddling, and they are the most effortless food for the mind conceivable...The whole process of observing, describing, repeating, and then imagining has been accomplished" (92). The process of remembering might also be added to this list. However, omission and manipulation have always been common factors within photography, even within the genres of war and documentary photography, and as Sontag writes, "Photographs tend to transform, whatever their subject; and as an image something may be beautiful—or terrifying, or unbearable, or quite bearable—as it is not in real life." By incorporating the Surrealist practice of fragmentation it could be argued that Miller was using a selective vision and was therefore being sympathetic towards, even *protective* of, the viewers of her photographs by providing them with smaller insights rather than subjecting them to the full impact of the complete picture, if this result is indeed possible. Miller's main objective, therefore, was not necessarily to *shock*, as her Dadaist predecessors strived to do during World War One, but more so to *inform* and to *evoke* interpretation by the viewer. As Webber writes, "Like memory, photographs are ephemeral, subject to change according to whom the memory belongs. But unlike memory, a photograph is evidence that a moment in time did indeed exist. As people learn to interpret photographs, they can also learn to interpret memory...Photographs, like memory, can reveal evidence of a moment-in-time but they can also conceal the story that lies outside the image" (212).

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Transmission and Actualization of Memory in Nazi Camp Testimonies: The Role of the Reader

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This year, 2015, marks the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II. Now seven decades in the past, this war, and everything about it, is slowly settling into History. Today, we approach the subject from a different perspective than in 1945. At the time, there was a sense of urgency to understand, to comprehend, the breadth of it all, but the people involved had to come to terms with their own personal experience of the war: their physical and psychological wounds had not yet had time to scar, had not achieved the distance that time and history provide. In 2015, the distance that enables objective reflection has now been reached, but an inverse and formidable problem has emerged as a result of the passing of time. Do people today believe that the lessons that we thought had been learned from World War II still concern us? Can we still approach the subject of the Nazi concentration and extermination camps and absorb a profoundly human lesson? Can we still understand and relate to the people behind the testimonies even though they belong to another era? I believe we can, and that is why the reader of the Nazi camp testimonies has a very important task. This article will address two aspects of the role concentration camp testimonies can play today. The first part will focus on selected elements revealed by those testimonies. The second part will examine the reader's role today.

About testimonies written in the post-war years

After they were liberated, some Nazi camp survivors felt the need to write about their experience right away. Published in the post-war years (approximately from 1945 to 1952), these testimonies are what Dr. Alain Goldschläger of the University of Western Ontario calls the second period of testimonies,³⁶ which follows the first period which includes texts written during the incarceration of the prisoners (1933-1945). The main characteristics of the second period of testimonies are as follows: the author is driven to write by the urgent need of telling the experience, the author speaks for those who didn't survive but who are still very present in the mind of the survivor, the narrative is written in the past tense, the text has a mourning tone and has a retrospective point of view in which the future holds no place (Goldschläger). In addition to the understandable personal reasons that explain the survivor's resolve to tell of his or her experience, the period in which the author decides to write also plays a part. An

³⁶ In total, it is possible to distinguish five periods of testimonies, that differ from each other by the years of their publication, as well as by their narrative styles and the goals of their authors (see Goldschläger, *Les Témoignages Écrits de la Shoah*, to be published).

author who published during the second period of testimonies overlapping the post-war years was voluntarily entering into a dialogue with the contemporary discourse that was trying to make sense of what had just happened and to learn from the mistakes made so that such an event would never occur again in the future. But the fact that a testimony was part of the social discourse doesn't necessarily mean it had a strong influence. Though it is true that people wanted lessons to be learned from the war so that their children could live in a better world, paradoxically, they also wanted to forget about the years during which they suffered. Indeed, some survivors tell of how difficult it was to find someone who was ready to listen to what they had experienced in the camps: "We often hear that the prisoners wanted to forget and chose to remain silent... If I take my own experience, I was always ready to talk, to testify about it. But no one wanted to hear us,"³⁷ Simone Weil told French historian Annette Wieviorka in a personal interview (170; my translation). People wanted to move on, and they were more inclined to try to do so by keeping silent instead of speaking up, by forgetting instead of remembering and hence understanding how things had gotten to that point. Tzvetan Todorov adds:

Even at the time when the camps still existed, the stories surrounding them were not lacking, in the neutral countries or amongst Hitler's opponents... And yet people refused to believe them, and hence to listen to them, because if they did, they would be forced to radically rethink their own lives. There are sorrows we prefer to ignore.³⁸ (273; my translation)

Even with people who were willing to listen, the survivors felt there was an extraordinary gap between them and their interlocutors, as an ex-prisoner tells Annie Luran:

What hit me when I came back? Kindness, of course, and also a terrible incomprehension. People were way off reality. I spoke a lot to bear witness to what happened, people were listening, some didn't dare ask questions, others put forward idiotic questions, always: were you raped, questions that were that stupid.³⁹ (qtd. in Huglo 78 A; my translation)

³⁷ Original version of the translated passage: "On entend souvent dire que les déportés ont voulu oublier et ont préféré se taire. [...] Si je prends mon cas, j'ai toujours été disposée à en parler, à témoigner. Mais personne n'avait envie de nous entendre."

³⁸ "Au moment même où les camps existent encore, les récits les concernant ne manquent pas, dans les pays neutres ou chez les adversaires de Hitler [...]. On refuse pourtant de les croire, et donc finalement de les écouter, car si on le faisait on serait obligé de repenser radicalement sa propre vie. Il est des peines qu'on préfère ignorer."

³⁹ "Ce qui m'a frappée quand je suis rentrée ? De la gentillesse, bien sûr, et aussi une terrible incompréhension, les gens étaient à côté de la réalité. J'ai beaucoup parlé pour témoigner et les gens écoutaient, certains n'osaient pas interroger, d'autres posaient des questions idiotes, toujours : est-ce que vous avez été violée, des histoires aussi stupides que ça" (Annie Luran. *La Casquette d'Hitler, Ou le Temps de l'Oubli*. Paris: Français réunis, 1974, 45 ; qtd. in Huglo 78).

It seems those who wanted to hear the stories about the camps were expecting tales of pure horror, not stories of “bread and wild sorrel”,⁴⁰ as Micheline Maurel recounts (qtd. in Huglo 78 B; my translation). In most testimonies, in fact, the authors describe in great length the obsession that had haunted them: hunger. But the testimonies published during the post-war years also contain impressively rich lessons. For instance, the testimonies demonstrate that the hatred was not only taking place physically, but linguistically. This becomes clear when one starts to pay attention to the dehumanizing words recorded in the testimonies: derogatory terms do appear in the direct quotes survivors attribute to the Nazis and other prisoners living in the camps, but they are also found, and this can at first be surprising, in the sentences reflecting the narrator’s own thoughts.⁴¹ Indeed, we can observe nouns, adjectives, determiners and comparisons – that often create subject clusters such as those about slaves or animals – referring to the survivor and his or her fellow prisoners. In Léon Halkin’s testimony, for instance, it is possible to read: “On November 2, the forced labor began. It is on that day that we started to experience, in its grim reality, the life of the herd that is taken to the plow or the slaughterhouse” (111; my translation).⁴² The link between the dehumanizing words appearing in both the quotations and the narrative is quite obvious: they come directly from each other, and constitute a speech act for which John Langshaw Austin has coined the term “perlocutionary act”: it is an act performed *by* the fact of saying something. In the context of the Nazi concentration and extermination camps, the fact of using degrading words to address the prisoners had the effect of humiliating them, and it can be observed as an after-effect in the author’s own testimonies. Of course, Halkin’s use of animal terms to describe himself and his fellow prisoners in the example above was, for the author of the testimony, a way to show that they were treated like, or worse than, animals. Referring to a Kapo, a prisoner who had privileges over other prisoners, Enea Fergnani writes (204; my translation): “He is not a boss, he is the ruler. The ruler who can kill his beasts when he wants to, how he wants to”.⁴³ But the use of terms referring to animals is also a remnant of the verbal violence to which they were exposed. Once this is observed, a lesson can be deduced: verbal violence leads to physical violence. This fact has been explained by the French-Bulgarian intellectual Tzvetan Todorov:

The enemy is the great justification of terror. The totalitarian state cannot live without enemies... Once identified, they don’t deserve any pity... In

⁴⁰ “Elle s’attendait à quelque chose sur la torture, le meurtre et le viol, et je ne faisais que parler de pain et d’oseille sauvage” (Micheline Maurel. *Un Camp Très Ordinaire*. Paris: Minuit, 1967, 92 ; qtd. in Huglo 78).

⁴¹ I have previously made an analysis of the dehumanizing self-nomination in the testimonies in an article that is yet to be published (see Santerre, « L’auto-nomination déshumanisante dans les témoignages concentrationnaires de Robert Antelme, Primo Levi et Léon Halkin », to be published).

⁴² “C’est le 2 novembre que nous avons connu les travaux forcés. Ce jour-là, a commencé pour nous, dans sa réalité sinistre, la vie du troupeau que l’on conduit à la charrue ou à l’abattoir.”

⁴³ “Egli non è il capo, è il padrone; il padrone che può uccidere le sue bestie quando voglia, come voglia.”

order to facilitate the task, the first step is to dehumanize: the usual epithets given to them are “vermin” or “parasite”.⁴⁴ (457-458; my translation)

Verbal violence was indisputably a tool that the Nazi regime used to control the way people behaved towards the so-called enemies of the regime. In the camps, the same technique ensured that the tormentors would execute their tasks without remorse. The fact that the prisoners were called names was definitely a way to demonstrate that they were not equal, that they were not even worthy of being treated as humans. For a reader today, this kind of information can be seen not only as a historical fact, but also as a lesson for the human race: this is not only the way people behaved in the 30s and 40s, it is universal human behaviour. Language does dictate how we see the world, and we must be aware of its power. This is why today’s reader of Nazi camp testimonies can play a more conscious role.

The role of the reader

A lot has been said on what survivors who decided to write about their experience brought in terms of information, about their role and their aims, but little has been said about the role of their reader. And yet, the authors of testimonies write precisely to be read and understood (despite the difficult task of having to use everyday words to get the reader to grasp such an extreme situation – what is often referred to as the “unspeakable”). This is particularly evident if one takes the time to observe the stylistic devices the authors use in their testimonies: the most prevalent one is comparison. This is not an insignificant detail, as comparisons help the reader better understand a reality by drawing a parallel with another reality that may be better known to the reader. For example, Marcel Conversy wrote in his testimony about the horrible situation of the transports, before even arriving in the concentration camps. The feeling of being in those train wagons is compared to that of being trapped in a submarine: “In many overpopulated wagons, asphyxia inexorably rises, like in a submarine in distress” (25; my translation).⁴⁵ A similar phenomenon observed is the use of intertextuality, the presence of a text within another text. A great number of testimonies make references to literary authors to better describe the atmosphere in the camps. This is how Aldo Pantozzi narrates his arrival at the Mauthausen camp by quoting Dante Alighieri:

At the entrance of the camp... an SS officer met us with a few soldiers. He greeted those who were not quick enough to take off their hat with a hailstorm of punches and kicks. A coarse sniggering burst out of their

⁴⁴ “L’ennemi est la grande justification de la terreur ; l’État totalitaire ne peut vivre sans ennemis. [...] Une fois identifiés, ceux-ci ne méritent aucune pitié. [...] Pour se faciliter la tâche, on commencera par le[s] déshumaniser : les épithètes habituelles qu’on [leur] accole sont ‘vermine’ ou ‘parasite’.”

⁴⁵ “Mais dans beaucoup de wagons surpeuplés, l’asphyxie monte inexorable, comme dans un sous-marin en perdition.”

group at the sight of the falling friar who was walking next to me. Thus we crossed the infernal door.

“... Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch’entrate” (Abandon all hope, you who enter here).⁴⁶ (43; my translation)

For an Italian writer, a direct reference to Dante is a way to include the reader, as most Italians have read him in school. It is therefore possible for a survivor to give his or her reader a better sense of the experience of the camp by evoking a book that the reader may have read. The evocative power of fiction can often better illustrate a reality that is particularly hard to grasp. Since it is clear that survivors write for their reader, we can then ask ourselves a question: what is the role of the reader? Dr. Thomas Trezise of Princeton University has theorized about this problem in his book *Witnessing Witnessing*:

The witnesses of witnessing are required to maintain a balance of empathy and reserve, to tolerate a tension between identification and estrangement, to recognize and respect the irreducible otherness of survivors while... welcoming them back into the larger community. ...[W]e may wonder whether this exigency should not be reframed as the moment approaches when the last Holocaust survivors will have disappeared and it will no longer be possible for the exercise of a tempered empathy to do them any good... [W]e may draw on an apprenticeship in witnessing the witnessing of Holocaust survivors in order to listen better to survivors of subsequent genocides, not to mention survivors of other, especially man-made traumatic events... [A]ttunement to the difference between ourselves and survivors of the Holocaust should encompass the difference between one Holocaust survivor and another and as such can facilitate, in principle, efforts to understand the survivors of other traumas. (224-225)

In practice, the question remains: how can a reader today actualize the memory and wisdom contained in the Nazi concentration and extermination camp testimonies? The reader indeed has an active role to play in order to apply the lessons learned from the suffering experienced by the survivors. Since there is precious information about the significance of language imparted by the testimonies, we can ask ourselves: how can that lesson be useful today? When we read the testimonies, we can clearly see that words can lead, and have in fact led, people to believe that other human beings are not really human. Peer pressure was certainly pervasive in the camps, as member of the French Resistance and Ravensbrück survivor Germaine Tillion explains:

At their first contact with the camp, the novices [Aufseherinnen (SS women guards)] generally looked aghast, and it took them some time to get to the same level of cruelty and debauchery as the experienced ones. It

⁴⁶ “All’ingresso del campo [...] ci accolse un ufficiale delle SS con alcuni militi. Dette il benvenuto con una gragnuola di pugni e calci a chi non era più che rapido a togliersi, passando, il cappello. Alla vista del frate cadente che mi stava vicino partì dal gruppo uno sgangherato sghignazzo. Varcammo così la porta infernale. / ‘... Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch’entrate’.”

was, to some of us, a bitter game to time how long it would take a new Aufseherin to reach the chevrons of brutality. For a little twenty-year-old Aufseherin who, on her first day, was so uninformed of the good manners of the camp that she was saying “excuse me” when she walked in front of a prisoner, and who had visibly been frightened by the first brutalities she saw, it took her exactly *four days* to adopt the same tone and the same behaviour, which were however, in a very clear way, new for her... As to the others, it is safe to say eight to fifteen days, a month at most, constituted a very normal average time to adapt.⁴⁷ (140)

Again, as we were able to see through the Tzvetan Todorov quotation earlier, the mental structure of an individual can also be modified through language. So the question remains: how can a reader today actualize the lesson conveyed by the testimonies about the significant influence of language over someone’s actions? Verbal violence in the form of dehumanizing words is a widespread contemporary problem. The testimonies from the Nazi camps can shed light on this problem due to the extreme nature of their circumstances. And they show us that there are troubling linguistic factors today that we should be aware of in the current social discourse, because verbal violence can easily, unsurprisingly, even logically, pave the way to physical violence. When verbal violence, such as dehumanizing words addressed directly to a person or to a general group of people, can be detected in someone’s speech, it must be taken seriously as it could potentially lead to physical violence.

In conclusion, testimonies from the Nazi camps written in the post-war years contain important lessons that were part of a bigger social discourse aiming to understand the horrors of World War II to ensure they would not happen again. But the lessons are not only directed at the reader of the post-war years as they also shed light on universal human traits. The lessons to be learned by reading the testimonies can be useful for anyone, whatever era he or she lives in. The examples of the process and power of dehumanizing words described in the testimonies are thus still relevant today. Alerted by what he or she learns about the extremes in which language can shape someone’s mindset, a conscious reader of testimonies will more easily make the connection between what happened historically and what is still going on today. The reader of the Nazi camp testimonies can, in that sense, be seen as a mediator. Schematically, the reader of testimonies can be placed between the survivor and people living today. In that way, the reader as mediator appears between History and its present day lessons.

⁴⁷ “Les débutantes [Aufseherinnen (gardiennes SS)] avait l’air généralement effarées à leur premier contact avec le camp, et elles mettaient quelque temps avant d’atteindre le même niveau de cruauté et de débauche que les anciennes. C’était, pour certaines d’entre nous, un petit jeu assez amer que de chronométrer le temps que mettait une nouvelle Aufseherin avant d’atteindre les chevrons de brutalité. Pour une petite Aufseherin de vingt ans, qui, le jour de son arrivée, était tellement peu au fait des bonnes manières du camp qu’elle disait « pardon » lorsqu’elle passait devant une prisonnière, et qui avait été visiblement effrayée par les premières brutalités qu’elle avait vues, il a fallu exactement *quatre jours* avant qu’elle ne prît ce même ton et ces mêmes procédés, qui étaient cependant, d’une façon tout à fait nette, nouveaux pour elle. [...] Pour les autres, on peut dire que huit à quinze jours, un mois au plus, représentaient une moyenne très normale d’adaptation.”

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Representation of Traumatic Memory in the Narrative: Traumatic Pathologies in Virginia Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway*

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The dilemma in representing trauma not only raises questions about the personal traumatic accounts of the traumatized survivors but also complicates the narrative representation of trauma. Since language becomes insufficient and the victim keeps his silence after the catastrophic event, narrating trauma is not an act of remembering but an act of repeating or acting out. Freud in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* writes that “the patient does not *remember* anything at all but rather *acts it out*. He reproduces it not as a memory, but as an action; he *repeats* it, without of course being aware of the fact that he is repeating it” (36; emphasis in original). The trauma becomes a “speechless terror” for the survivors because it is impossible to get across the traumatic event with the language they use (van der Kolk and van der Hart 172). Many trauma theorists like Cathy Caruth, Dori Laub, Shoshana Felman, Bessel A. van der Kolk and Onno van der Hart support this idea of the insufficient language in that “The experience cannot be organized on a linguistic level” (van der Kolk and van der Hart 172). Therefore, recapturing the traumatic past of the victim becomes almost impossible because there is not an effective way to describe the terror that the victim experiences. Instead, the victim repeats the traumatic scene in his dreams, nightmares or hallucinations, and re-enacts the traumatic feelings. In this sense, remembering means acting out and repeating the traumatic scene involuntarily.

Since it is hard to reach the traumatic past of the victim, as he is not able to delineate the experience, its being represented through writing seems much more difficult. Writing fiction about the trauma, thus, poses a problem about narrating the traumatic truth. As Laurie Vickroy states in *Trauma and Survival in Contemporary Fiction*, “Trauma narratives go beyond presenting trauma as subject matter or character study. They internalize the rhythms, processes, and uncertainties of traumatic experience within their underlying sensibilities and structures” (3). Then, organizing the text in accordance with the traumatic and traumatizing events and feelings, the narrative not only tells the stories of the victim but also authenticates the traumatic model. Upon knowing that the victim repeats the traumatic event, is haunted by it, and interrupted by the flashbacks, the text may follow a traumatic topology in which the text reflects traumatic symptoms such as flashbacks, repetitions, fragmented memory, etc. By making up a similar and parallel traumatic structure, the fiction gets closer to a more genuine and authentic representation of the traumatized and his trauma.

Mrs Dalloway gives an account of Septimus Warren Smith's trauma and its effect on Lucrezia and Clarissa. Representation of his trauma involves his traumatic repetitions in the dreams and hallucinations, his fragmented memory,

constant wish to die and suicide. His traumatic identity, however, is not narrated by himself but described throughout the fiction. Woolf's novel wittingly replicates the traumatic topography of Septimus Warren Smith in that the novel foregrounds the flashbacks, repetitions and interruptions along with a metaphorical and symbolical diction. Also, it correlates the relationship between Septimus's trauma and the text so interestingly and well that it reflects the parallel structures of trauma. Moreover, the narrative leaves gaps and keeps silence when needed, like a traumatized soldier who refuses to narrate his trauma. Within this context, my focus point in this paper is to analyze the ways how and to what extent *Mrs Dalloway* represents trauma through its narrative dynamics and in which ways the narrative of trauma becomes the trauma of the narrative at the very end by constructing a parallel traumatic topography.

To begin with, *Mrs Dalloway*, as a modernist novel, employs the stream of consciousness technique where the complex flow of thoughts and feelings which constitute human consciousness is narrated (Parsons 56). The stream of consciousness requires the unbroken and continuous flow of thoughts, which is also described by "river" or "stream" metaphors. The progressive accounts of thoughts give way to the interior monologue where "the characters' unspoken thoughts are represented" (Baldick 127) or free indirect speech by which the first-person point of view is blended with third-person narration. The shifts from one character to another whose thoughts are reflected and narrated are parallel to the shifts from chronological time to internal time when the character visits the past by the use of memory. The unbroken and perpetual thoughts that pass through one's mind, in fact, display fragmentation. The jumping from one consciousness to another problematizes the flow and therefore causes fragmentation because the narrative unconventionally depicts the thoughts and feelings of the characters as amalgamated into each other. Such an integration and co-narration of the characters' thoughts like the ones of Clarissa, Peter, Sally and Miss Kilman show the anomalistic sides of them.

Apart from the fragmentation created by the character shifts, the ambiguous transitions between the past and the present cause another effect of disunity or disconnection. With the shifts and disunities, the textual and literary fragmentation in *Mrs Dalloway* demonstrates the similar fragmentation of trauma. In "The Intrusive Past: The Flexibility of Memory and the Engraving of Trauma," van der Kolk and van der Hart point out that the traumatic event distorts the structure of ordinary memory and makes it fragmented: "Who can find a proper grave for the damaged mosaics of the mind, where they may rest in pieces? (L. L. Langer)" (158). The fragmented structure of the novel involves multiple internal monologues, the flashbacks of the characters, their complex flow of thoughts and the shifts between the past and present. Because we know that Septimus Warren Smith's memory is traumatic and distorted by the fright and shock in the traumatic event at war when his friend Evans was killed, his memory is fragmented at the same time. He is between the fragmented pieces of the past and a dissociating present. The novel's deployment of fragmentation through the use stream of consciousness and interior monologue shows a similar traumatic symptom. In the novel, for instance, from the first page to the last, we see how the narrative reveals the unspoken and internal thoughts of Clarissa,

Peter, Septimus and Lucrezia. The beginning of the novel, for example, manifests the internal monologue, stream of consciousness and the fragmentation:

Mrs. Dalloway said she would buy the flowers herself. For Lucy had her work cut out for her. The doors would be taken off their hinges; Rumpelmayer's men were coming. And then, thought Clarissa Dalloway, what a morning – fresh as if issued to children on a beach.

What a lark! What a plunge! For so it had always seemed to her when, with little squeak of the hinges, which she could hear now, she had burst open the French windows and plunged at Bourton into the open air. How fresh, how calm, stiller than this of course, the air was in the early morning; like the flap of a wave; the kiss of a wave; chill and sharp yet (for a girl of eighteen as she then was) solemn, feeling as she did, standing there at the open window, that something awful was about to happen; looking at the flowers, at the trees with the smoke winding off them and the rooks rising, falling; standing and looking until Peter Walsh said, "Musing among vegetables?" – was that it? – "I prefer men to cauliflowers" – was that it? He must have said at breakfast that morning when she had gone out on the terrace – Peter Walsh. (*Mrs Dalloway* 5)

The quote is an example of interior monologue and free indirect discourse, which are the basic components of stream of consciousness technique generally. In the quote, Clarissa's present action of buying the flowers and her flashback about Peter Walsh reveal the stream of consciousness. Her present narration, then, is interrupted by the past. This shows the fragmented thoughts. Moreover, third-person narration is parallel to the first-person point of view in that Clarissa is depicted talking to herself whereas a third-person narrator is narrating her thoughts. Her nostalgic memory or the internal time in which she and Peter talk is blended with the chronological or temporal time. These shifts and shattered memories mean that the past is repeated and therefore illustrate the fragmented memories. Likewise, throughout the novel, *Mrs Dalloway* exemplifies innumerable illustrations of interior monologues and free indirect speeches. Again, what they suggest is the fragmentation due to the fact that there is not a direct, step by step, ordinary or chronological plot-line which is narrated by a single particular narrator. The mix of the voices, thoughts and narrations shows the stream of consciousness and the fragmented memories of the mind. Therefore, mirroring the fragmented mind through the use of stream of consciousness, *Mrs Dalloway* represents a traumatic mind of a trauma survivor: Septimus.

The flashbacks in *Mrs Dalloway* are connected to the mechanisms of repetition and acting out in that they work as intrusions. Freud's distinction between remembering and repeating/acting out is linked to the idea that the traumatic sensibility is based on repeating the traumatic event or feelings. Instead of remembering, the traumatic event is repeated or acted out by traumatic flashbacks which disrupt the temporal process of the victim. The sudden and frightening return of the traumatic event via dreams, nightmares and hallucinations emerge without the will of the victim. They interrupt the afflux,

ordinary and chronological phase of narration. *Mrs Dalloway* replicates a similar model in which the chronological and ordinary narrative telling is interrupted by the flashbacks. The chronological time, which starts around 10.00 am in 15 June 1923 and finishes around 3.00 am in 16 June 1923, is interrupted by several constant flashbacks. Most of the time in the novel, narration of Clarissa's party preparation is cut off by the flashbacks concerning Peter Walsh, Sally Seton and Richard Dalloway, along with other minor flashbacks related to Miss Kilman, Hughs, Brutons, Septimus Warren Smith, Lucrezia, Bradshaws and Elizabeth. For instance, in the very first page, when we suppose that we are reading about Clarissa's start of the day, the narration is interrupted by the flashback about Peter Walsh. Suddenly Clarissa's thoughts in the morning are interrupted. Her past relationship interrupts the present: "... looking at the flowers,... until Peter Walsh said 'Musing among the vegetables?' – was that it? – 'I prefer men to cauliflowers' – was that it? He must have said it at breakfast one morning when she had gone out on to the terrace – Peter Walsh." (*Mrs Dalloway* 5). The number of flashbacks concerning Peter is over twenty, which both intrude into the narration and repeat the past where Clarissa's happy, enjoyable and youthful states are re-enacted and represented. Likewise, flashbacks concerning Sally Seton and Richard Dalloway also have a striking place in the narrative because they are also intrusive. The present account of Clarissa's party story reminds us of her love, friendship, happiness with Sally Seton: "But his question of love (she thought, putting her coat away), this falling in love with women. Take Sally Seton; her relation in the old days with Sally Seton. Had not that, after all, been love?" (*Mrs Dalloway* 37). The quote interestingly shows that the action at present is narrated in parenthesis while the past is narrated fully and normally. The past captures the present in this way. The flashbacks, therefore, even if related to the other characters, evidently interrupt the temporal progression of the novel. The narrative's use of unplanned and intrusive past in the present shows the intrusive side of trauma. The pattern of the novel, in fact, persuades us that it is not a narration of a day in which Clarissa is getting prepared for the party but a heap of intrusive memories and flashbacks.

Repetition, in *Mrs Dalloway*, is not only provided by the flashbacks which repeat the past but is also displayed by the repetitive style of the linguistic elements. The novel's repetitive use of linguistic elements corresponds to the trauma narrative of Septimus Warren Smith in that the repeated phrases and sentences display one of the significant symptoms of trauma: death instinct. Most strikingly, "I will kill myself," is repeated over twenty times in different speech genres. The utilization of this sentence throughout the narrative in distinct versions, in fact, manifests the death drive. Freud, in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, suggests that "we posited a death drive charged with the task of causing animate organisms to revert to an inanimate state" (130). The traumatized survivor, who experiences the death of his friends in war, changes his ideal to live into the ideal to die. It means self-destruction as Freud points out. Witnessing a traumatic event "unbinds" the death drive and therefore pushes the victim to self-destroy (Leys 29). *Mrs Dalloway*, interestingly, draws upon death drive which is a significant topic in trauma. The sentence, "I will kill myself," is used directly four times by Septimus himself. His trauma narrative includes his wish to die,

which is fulfilled by his tragic suicide in the end of the novel. Besides, it is repeated four times indirectly by Lucrezia as manifested in “And it was cowardly for a man to say he would kill himself”(27), which means that Lucrezia is affected by his traumatic state. Considering the different speech acts which include the imperatives like “The whole world was clamouring: Kill yourself, kill yourself, for our sakes” (102-103), interrogatives like “But why should he kill himself for their sakes?” (103), answers like “Did he threaten to kill himself? Oh, he did, she cried” (107) and the tense variations, “I will kill myself” not only delineates Septimus’s trauma but also displays the representational symptom of trauma in the narrative. Therefore, death drive or the issue of death in trauma is embedded into the novel via repetitive use of “killing” linguistically. It shows the narratives fixation to death, because not only Septimus and Clarissa wish to die but also the narrative seems to.

Saul Friedlander in the introduction to the *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and “The Final Solution,”* points out that one of the means of representing trauma is the filter of “narrative margin which leaves the unsayable unsaid” (17). Woolf’s fiction interestingly leaves a narrative margin, which means that the narrative does not explicitly narrate the details of Septimus’s trauma, but leaves gaps and silences so that Septimus’s trauma is represented. His filtered traumatic details can be regarded as a narrative margin through which the narrative avoids dealing with a total and thorough delineation of Septimus’s traumatic state. The novel allows readers to get into the details of his trauma partially and to a certain extent. We only know that Septimus loses his friend Evans at war in Italy, which seems to be the traumatizing shock and fright. On the other hand, there are not many evidences and details of the traumatic event supported by Septimus’s narration. Evidently traumatic memory is mostly “wordless and static” (Herman 175), and that is why Septimus does not tell how, when, why and with whom the traumatic event emerges; as a result, the text declines fictionalizing these details. Septimus’s refuses to narrate the expected striking details in which we are to observe Evans’s close tie to Septimus, his role in the army, their positions at the trenches, how Evans is killed, the other reactionary feelings and emotions of the friends, other traumatized friends and soldiers at war, the psychosomatic effects, etc. This refusal, in fact, features the silence in the narrative. That is why the narrative arouses suspense about the gaps that the reader is supposed to fill. These gaps are to be filled with the touching and disturbing images as the traumatic aura of the novel assigns melancholically. Dori Laub writes in “An Event Without a Witness: Truth, Testimony and Survival” that “... survivors who do not tell their story become victims of a distorted memory, that is, of a forcibly imposed ‘external evil,’ which causes an endless struggle with and over a delusion. The ‘not telling’ of the story serves as a perpetuation of its tyranny” (79). Septimus does not tell the traumatic story that made him the involuntary victim and witness. The text, by narrating pieces of the traumatic event as Septimus does and leaving gaps in order to create a parallel traumatic state, is an example of the distorted memory, as well. As aforementioned technique – stream of consciousness – of the novel explains the fragmented mode of narrative, the gaps and the silences that the text leaves

centralize the traumatic state and therefore seemingly follow a traumatic pattern in itself.

Mrs Dalloway, by weaving a metaphorical and symbolical network, enlarges the traumatic representation in the narrative and contributes to the “distorted and traumatic memory” connotations. As Laurie Vickroy argues in “Representing Trauma,” symbols and metaphors as the traumatic literary language which represents the narrative of trauma (32) are significant in that they psychologically create links between the trauma of the victim and its narrative representation. In Woolf’s fiction, Septimus’s traumatic memory is crystallized by the metaphor of the “attic” since the attic connotes the resemblance between the head of an individual and the top of the house. It stores and archives the things as our memory [the head] registers the narrative memories or [un]registers the traumatic ones. In the novel, for instance, when Clarissa leaves for the attic as she learns of Septimus’s suicide at her party, she journeys into a memory metaphorically. By going to the attic, she is also accompanied by the traumatic memory of Septimus because she visits the attic upon hearing his suicide. Therefore, the attic becomes a shelter for traumatic memories. It is a shared place in that it archives the flashbacks, past memories, and at the same time traumatic traces of Septimus’s death. Interestingly, since the attic – the memory – is a shared place of/among memories, it is also the place where Clarissa thinks of his death and her own desire for death. She empathizes with Septimus in the attic. As a literarily well-attested interpretation by many critics, the attic is a metaphor of mind and particularly of Clarissa’s. Shalom Rachman states that “In the attic of her house, we get a glimpse of the ‘attic’ in her personality where her true being is locked up. It is here that her consciousness opens into depth and she has a moment of vision, a moment she is her true self” (10). The meaning of the attic, therefore, also involves Septimus’s trauma entering Clarissa’s mind. This vicarious effect explains that the attic as a symbol of the memory and as a metaphor connoting the archive and registration of memories is the complete construction of mind.

In the novel, the place of the party, which is being held at Clarissa’s, is significant in order to examine the link between the metaphorical and the symbolical language and the narrative representation of trauma. The attic symbolizes Clarissa’s memory and its being affected by Septimus’s suicide. Similarly, the novel constructs the attic metaphor in accordance with Clarissa’s house, by linking the doors, windows, curtains, rooms and walls altogether. These domestic symbols and images, which are used in the last ten pages in *Mrs Dalloway*, give way to an explanation of memory. If the house is taken as a whole which stands for the memory as the attic does, the doors, windows, curtains, rooms and walls can be regarded as the doors of the memory. Inviting the guests, opening the doors of the house voluntarily and sharing the house with them metaphorically mean that Clarissa willingly visits her memories and shares these with them:

Was everybody dining out, then? Doors were being opened here by a footman to let issue a high-stepping old dame, in buckled shoes, with three purple ostrich feathers in her hair. Doors were being opened for ladies

wrapped like mummies in shawls with bright flowers on them, ladies with bare heads...What with these doors being opened, and the descent and the start, it seemed as if the whole of London were embarking in little boats moored to the bank, tossing on the waters, as if the whole place were floating off in carnival. (*Mrs Dalloway* 180)

The scene that Clarissa imagines surely signifies that there is a rush of memories. Everybody is there to remind her of something from the past. It is the carnival of memories. She remembers the past with Peter, Sally, Richard and others. On the other hand, she does not invite Septimus to her party, which means that the news of his suicide interrupts her narrative memory that involves flashbacks and reminiscences of the past. Septimus, with his suicide and trauma, intrudes in Clarissa's house. When Clarissa says, "What business had the Bradshaws to talk of death at her party? A young man had killed himself" (*Mrs Dalloway* 202), we clearly see that she is disturbed. Her opened doors, windows and curtains of the house, which resemble to the consciousness or memory open to register, show that memory is vulnerable. It is open both to the narrative images, anecdotes and ordinary events to inscribe and to the traumatic stories that disturb it. This network of domestic images metaphorically and symbolically shows how memory works. Septimus's sudden testimony of the traumatic event shocks him as his suicide frightens and shocks Clarissa at her party. This parallelism clarifies the narrative representation of trauma via metaphors and symbols in the novel.

In conclusion, the representation of trauma and traumatic state in *Mrs Dalloway* shows a parallel reconstruction of Septimus's trauma. The stream of consciousness technique which reveals the flashbacks repeatedly and the traumatic repetitions, "I will kill myself," represent the traumatic mind of a survivor. The possibility of representing Septimus's trauma in the novel is provided with the traumatic topology in which flashbacks, interruptions, fragmentation and repetitions are amalgamated into the filter or the narrative margin and the metaphorical and symbolical language. By distancing the text from an ordinary and chronological narration via the elements aforementioned, the text comes to internalize the trauma of Septimus, which shows that the text also demonstrates traumatic symptoms. It is in this point that Vickroy's statement about representing trauma should be remembered: "[T]rauma narratives raise questions about how we define subjectivity as they explore the limits" (2). It means that the novel leaves the space for us to draw the resemblance between the trauma and the text, experience the limits and see the differences. In brief, it is true that *Mrs Dalloway* is traumatic in the sense that it imitates and represents the trauma of the survivor: Septimus. The novel, then, performs how a day may be adorned with several ordinary and traumatic stories along with their being registered into the memory. It represents an ordinary mind which is open to register both the traumatic and narrative events. Woolf writes in "Modern Fiction:"

Look within and life, it seems, is very far from being "like this." Examine for moment an ordinary mind in an ordinary day. The mind receives a myriad impressions – trivial, fantastic, evanescent, or engraved with the sharpness of steel. From all sides they come, an incessant shower of innumerable atoms; and

as they fall, as they shape themselves into the life of Monday or Tuesday, the accent falls differently from of old; the moment of importance came not here but there ... Let us record the atoms as they fall upon the mind in the order in which they fall, let us trace the pattern, however disconnected and incoherent in appearance, which each sight or incident scores upon the consciousness. (qtd. in Kohler 16)

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THE PEDAGOGY OF MEMORY

**Memory in Action: Undergraduate Archival Research
At Lincoln University**

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At Lincoln University, a historically Black college, the archives are a critical means by which students reclaim, recollect, and revitalize memories of the African American past. Through intensive work in the university archives, students participate in creating what sociologist Elizabeth Rauh Bethel has identified as “corporate memory” (ix). When students come together to review, discuss, analyze, and ultimately write about the university’s archival holdings, they actively formulate their individual and collective memories in a dynamic process. African American literary history, as discovered through the archives, is the center of the curriculum and students discover a literary history previously unknown to them. As noted historian and political scientist Manning Marable has emphasized, “The greatest struggle of any oppressed group in a racist society is the struggle to reclaim collective memory and identity” (“Escaping from Blackness: Racial Identity and Public Policy”). In this article, I show how student work in the archives serves to reclaim memory. More specifically, the work in the archives becomes a crucial avenue for students of the historically Black universities and colleges (HBCU) to formulate their individual and collective identities as Black people, Black communities and, equally importantly, as scholars.

The primary sources found at Lincoln University’s Special Collections make it a valuable repository of memory for undergraduate students. The collection houses a nearly complete collection of the single-author poetry books from the first African American owned and operated poetry press, Broadside Press. The significance of this press and thereby this collection is multi-fold. The Broadside Press collection embodies the central principles of the Black Arts and Black Power Movements of racial pride and self-determination and therefore the archives are an important site in which to examine how these ideas and values circulated. The press changed the American literary landscape by providing a venue for Black writers that was previously unimaginable. Up until 1965, African American poets’ work had been largely shut out of the American literary scene, a trend that Broadside Press transformed. As Melba Joyce Boyd explains in her seminal work, *Wrestling the Muse: Dudley Randall and Broadside Press*:

From 1945 to 1965, only thirty-five poetry books authored by African Americans were published in the United States, and only nine of those were published by presses with national distribution. By contrast, between 1966 and 1975, Dudley Randall's Broadside Press published eighty-one books, seventy-four of which were poetry, including single collections by forty poets, and of those forty, fifteen authored two or even three titles. Each printing was at least 5,000 copies, and where there was a second or a third printing and a demonstrated demand, there were print runs of 10,000 (Boyd 3).

Equally importantly, the press, and the collection as a whole, captures some of the most influential and well-regarded voices in African American poetry including Sonia Sanchez, Etheridge Knight, Nikki Giovanni, and Haki Madhubuti. Dudley Randall's efforts were essential in providing a venue for Black writers and introducing them to the American literary scene.

My use of the archives in an upper-level literature class, Studies in Afro-American Literature, significantly enriches the learning experience of the class. As Mitchell, Seiden, and Taraba write in the introduction to their edited volume, *Past or Portal: Enhancing Undergraduate Research Through Special Collections and Archives*, "Special collections and archives engage and empower undergraduates as well as enhance their learning experiences. These materials are far more than mere survivors of the past; they are truly portals to a new way of learning and thinking" (ix). This encounter with primary source documents is particularly important for students who, born in the 1990s, have no personal experience or memories of the 1960s and 1970s, so even this recent past can seem distant and unfamiliar. Access to this collection allows students to conduct research that was identified as important in the Boyer Report on undergraduate research. While the report was directed at research universities, the findings are relevant for liberal arts institutions, too. According to the report, undergraduate research should "deal with topics that will stimulate and open intellectual horizons" ("Boyer Report" 20). At Lincoln University, I use the archives to expose students to these new intellectual horizons and as an essential tool in establishing and maintaining collective memory. It is meaningful for a largely African American student population at an HBCU to have archives focused on the Black experience, as these archives demonstrate the significant contribution African Americans made to build their own institutions and to celebrate their own cultural forms.

In the Lincoln University collection, these portals of the Broadside Press are primarily contained in two central sub-collections of Special Collections, the Special Negro Collection and the Therman B. O'Daniel collection. The Therman B. O'Daniel Collection is the personal library of Mr. O'Daniel, a Lincoln University alumnus, and is comprised of approximately 5,000 books. O'Daniel was a professor at Morgan State University and editor of the College Language Association (CLA) Journal whose collection was donated in the late 1980s (Sotilleo, "Personal Interview"). The Special Negro Collection has existed since 1972 and has grown from 3,800 books and periodicals to 25,000 items across a wide variety of disciplines including the sciences, social sciences, and the

humanities (Sotilleo, “Personal Interview”). There are also a few Broadside Press books in the Larry Neal, the *Lincolniana*, and the *Africana* collections, as well as, finally, in the library’s general holdings. Lincoln University’s collection includes nearly sixty Broadside Press poetry books and offers a valuable repository for upper-level undergraduate researchers to engage primary sources in order to understand the Black Arts Movement.

As artifacts, both individually and as a whole, this collection is particularly rich and an informative resource on the Black Arts Movement period. These unique books are mainly soft-bound and range from just a few pages to full-length books. Every element (front and back cover, dedications, illustrations, poems, etc.) of each book is a crucial artifact of the times and a vital example of how poets and publishers created Black identity through their work. Seeing these books as a whole, rather than single poems reproduced in an anthology, gives the students a much deeper understanding of the historical and literary significance of the work. For example, the covers showcase the values of the Black Arts Movement project and the poems included in each book showcase the central themes and elements of African American poetry during that period. These primary sources demonstrate what Black Arts Movement scholar Howard Rambsy has identified as “Black Arts discourse,” which he defines as “expressions of militant nationalist sensibilities, direct appeals to African American audiences, critiques of anti-Black racism, and affirmations of cultural heritage” (11). These poems are memory devices in and of themselves because they catalogue important icons, incidents of racism and oppression, and the daily personal and collective experiences of African Americans throughout the country. These books also allow students to understand, through analysis and critique, how artists employed elements of the Black aesthetic in their work, as a whole, or in particular expressions.

Course Design and Major Research Assignment

In this upper-level literature course, students are ready for a significant academic challenge. In order to fully facilitate students’ success in the final assignment, I carefully scaffold this course. The first half of the course helps students learn a new field of study and thereby build the necessary memory they will need for the second half of the course, which focuses on applying their knowledge to the Broadside Press books. Although students might have a superficial understanding of this time period through previous exposure to the story of Martin Luther King or Rosa Parks, few students will have analyzed the ways in which institutional personnel and structures actively advocated and carried out violence. Nor will they yet know important vocabulary or concepts such as self-determination, Black Nationalism, cultural revolution, and the Black Aesthetic. In order to build the appropriate vocabulary of key concepts, figures, and events, I have students engage a wide variety of non-fiction materials—documentary film clips, manifestos, speeches, and first-person accounts from the last few years of the Civil Rights Movement and the onset of the Black Power Movement. My presentation of this historical trajectory allows students to trace the shift from a discourse of non-violence to a discourse of Black Power. I believe that Malcolm

X's exhortation to "stop singing and start swinging" can best be understood within the context of the immense state and locally sanctioned violence that Civil Rights workers faced. The materials we watch and discuss together include *Freedom Riders*, *Eyes on the Prize*, the 1973 documentary *Malcolm X*, and *Free Angela Davis and All Political Prisoners*. We read Civil Rights workers' first-hand accounts of the struggle, Malcolm X's "Message to the Grassroots," and "The Black Panther's 10-point Plan," among other texts. The emphasis on first-hand accounts of oppression and the struggle for freedom combined with the manifestos highlights the political goals of the movement and the conditions that required expedient action. By the time then that we get to the discussion of the Black Arts Movement, it becomes easier for students to understand the political and cultural goals of the Black Arts Movement and to appreciate the necessity of the movement. By viewing, reading, and discussing these materials together, the class engages memories in order to build their individual understanding and the corporate memory of the class. As one of the students commented in her self-reflection on the class, "the most important thing I learned from the class was the beauty that my people truly have."

In the second half of the class, I shift towards an interpretive view of the Black Arts Movement, and we rely on Larry Neal's treatise on the Black Aesthetic. His manifesto becomes this lens through which students interpret the Broadside Press books. In his artistic paradigm, Neal invokes memory as an essential tool in building Black consciousness. Specifically, Neal calls for "radical re-ordering of the western cultural aesthetic... [and a] separate symbolism, mythology, critique, and iconology" (1). This "radical re-ordering" required artists to mine their ancestral past and the present experience of Blacks in America to lift up new heroes, stories, and values. In addition, to examining how each work carries out the Black Aesthetic, students also pay attention to what Jerome McGann has identified as "bibliographic codes" which signify how "price, dedication, page format, and type face" interact (cited in Ramsby 6). As James D. Sullivan emphasizes in his book *On the Walls and in the Streets: American Poetry from the 1960s* "how graphic design and text interact to produce literary meanings" are essential to understanding the Broadside Press texts (21). In their research papers, I ask students to bring the Black Aesthetic to bear on a poetry book from the Broadside Press and to focus on analyzing the book's bibliographic codes, visuals, and poetry.

For these research papers, I ask each student to do a seemingly straightforward task: locate a Broadside Press book within Special Collections, and write a 10-page essay in which they apply the principles of the Black Aesthetic. However, the tasks of the paper require considerable sophistication. These include: applying a theory, analyzing visuals, prose text, and poetry, incorporating primary and secondary sources, and utilizing appropriate poetic terms. The assignment challenges students to fully articulate how each aspect of their chosen artifact embodies elements of the Black Aesthetic. Through this process, students begin to gain a deeper understanding of how and why Black Arts Movement artists constructed their identities both as Black individuals and as a Black community. Ultimately, this work informs their understanding of Black identity formation and provides a nuanced, sophisticated perspective on

Black identity that also then shapes and influences their evolving sense of their own identity and its relationship to a larger community.

Many of the covers of Broadside Press offer an opportunity to consider how essential memory was to the Black Arts Movement project and show how Black artists and poets used images to remind Black people of a regal African past and to construct Black identity. One of the covers that best exemplifies how Black artists used visual imagery to convey ancestral memory is the cover of Sonia Sanchez's *We a BaddDDD People*. I use her book in a series of in-class exercises to demonstrate to students how I want them to execute their final research paper. The beauty and complexity of this cover in particular allows students to really begin to understand how to build observations into analysis. As a class, we observe the cover that I have enlarged and showcased on the classroom projector and students simply toss out ideas of what they see on the cover. Because the cover is of a mask that also incorporates the symbols of a crown, a fist, a sun, and the image of an open, shouting mouth, and angry eye, there is much for students to identify, observe, and ultimately analyze. We see this image together and we make meaning of it through a series of open-ended questions. Since not all symbols are obvious and different students notice different aspects of the composite image, a knowledge and understanding of the cover is built collectively over the course of the exercise. I also ask students to reflect on the fact that the mask is a non-representational image and consider why the artist chose this image as a representation of the black experience and what this choice means. I also ask students to discuss how the meaning of the individual symbols and how this might contribute to our understanding of the message of the image. Additionally, we discuss the significance and meaning of the title, *We a BaddDDD People*. The title allows me to introduce what scholar Brittany Hull has identified as the "eye vernacular" of Black Arts Movement poetry "the elaborate spelling of words with added letters or uncommon capitalization" to effectively convey the vernacular of the community (46-47). The juxtaposition on the cover of the title and the image, especially as it relates to two different components of African American identity, also provides a rich point of discussion. Into our conversations, I weave comments and questions to help students consider how this cover displays the Black Aesthetic. We discuss how this picture relates to the larger objectives of the Black Arts Movement to create art for the community and to generate symbols relevant to the community. We close this aspect of the exercise by having students formulate a thesis or argument for the message of the cover.

In order for students to fully appreciate how Black poets sought to use Black speech patterns to speak directly to concerns of Black people, we recreate a poetry reading of *We a BaddDDD People* by reciting a selection of the poems aloud. I have students volunteer to read, so we can grapple with how different spellings, line breaks, punctuation, and other elements translate into how the poem sounds. Since the oral elements of this poetry were an essential aspect of this poetry, this exercise demonstrates to students how the Black Arts Movement poets were using poetry as a tool for communication with their communities. From this reading, we then segue into a larger discussion of the messages and themes that Sonia Sanchez conveys in her poetry. As important as the Black

Aesthetic tenets are to the books, so is understanding the poetry within the book from the technical perspective of literary devices. Students learn the poetic terminology including stanza, lines, metaphors, similes, rhyme, etc. so that they can apply this vocabulary to their close readings of three of the poems within the book. Students are asked to pay attention to theme, message, and audience, too. We discuss who her audience seems to be and what she seems to want them to know about her experience as a Black person in America.

Finally, we also look at material aspects of the book including the price, the dedications, and the back cover. We discuss how these elements inform the larger book project. When we discuss the price, we discuss issues of accessibility to the larger community. When we discuss the dedications, we note the explicit way that Sonia Sanchez gears her work toward a community of women and how she creates and invokes a Black female community through her call to Black women.

Besides deepening students' knowledge of the formal, rhetorical, and political contexts of these texts, this project offers a special opportunity for learning in information literacy. This project becomes an excellent way for me to continue to deepen students' understanding of how to use the library, particularly the Special Collections resources. The American Association for Colleges and Universities defines information literacy as "know[ing] when there is a need for information, [and being] able to identify, locate, evaluate, and effectively and responsibly use and share that information" ("The National Forum on Information Literacy"). Specifically, this gives me an opportunity to discuss the difference between primary and secondary sources and when we enter the archives, to outline the practices for maintaining the collection through careful handling of the materials. At this moment, a brief lesson on the delicate nature of the material objects includes a reminder to handle them with care and to not nick the pages or mark the books and making sure to keep them safe distances away from food and beverages, and so forth. Once students have selected their books, they complete a second set of in-class exercises aimed at having them brainstorm and free write on the significance of each aspect of their books. At this point, students will also identify ways in which they can integrate secondary research into their projects to further illuminate the meaning and significance of these books to the Black Arts Movement. Students are encouraged to use a wide variety of strategies and sources to further extend their own immediate analysis. Students might up meanings of specific words or names to develop more nuanced appreciations of particular word choices, or they might examine the author's biography or history for clues to their particular perspective and concerns.

An overview of how to successfully use sources is also a crucial part of the class. Students draw upon critical sources to further contextualize the author's work. This integration of sources allows for a review of academic integrity and plagiarism as a core aspect of the assignment. We review the university's academic integrity policy, rules about how to cite both text and visuals (since students will be referencing the graphic design of the books), and how to cite from different genres. For instance, how to cite prose lines from a critical work versus how to cite poetry lines. Students are required to complete this unit by taking the plagiarism quiz available on-line via Cornell University's website.

Through this quiz, students develop a deeper understanding of the nuances of plagiarism that are essential to fully grasping academic integrity.

Finally, the research project demands full engagement with the recursive writing process, and builds upon all that is known about the link between writing, critical thinking, and learning. This project requires continuous reflection, fine-tuning, and revision, all of which are necessary to ensuring that this project is meaningful and impactful on the students' development as researchers, writers, and thinkers. In order to facilitate this dynamic process, I integrate a drafting process as a key opportunity for the students, as scholars-in-training, to work closely with me to receive guidance and feedback that helps them strengthen their thinking and their work. Students draft their papers to present to me during a half-hour conference. Drafts are reviewed with me so that we can have a generative discussion about what is working and not working in the paper. During these half-hour long one-on-one conferences, students have a chance to articulate both what they feel is working and what is not working within their paper and to receive further suggestions and guidance from me for revision and expansion.

Pedagogical Reflections

Contemporary African American identity, especially for students who are in their late teens and early twenties, is not synonymous with African American identities of the 1960s and 1970s, so students have to actively engage with how African Americans in the 1960s and 1970s constructed their identities in their poetry and the visuals that accompanied them. Through studying the works of this time period, students get to experience first-hand how a group of artists and intellectuals enacted Black consciousness into their work. Students must move from declaring "the poet has an afro" or "the poet is wearing a Dashiki" to placing these observations into a larger socio-political-cultural context. The student must reflect on the conditions that caused these poets to declare that Black is beautiful, and to understand why that might have been so radical at the time. Since students cannot remember a past they never experienced, they must do the next best thing, which is to engage with a past in a deep and meaningful way in order to create memories in the present of a past that was before their time.

Ideally, encountering these past objects with their emphasis on Black political agency, Black independent thought, and Black self-determination will allow the students to engage a model for Black identity that can enhance, transform, or solidify their own Black identity in new ways. Ideally, these past models of Black identity can serve as powerful critical lenses for contemporary Black identity, so that students may more freely and openly question aspects of Black identity that they take for granted, especially in popular culture and media that is particularly saturated with particular stereotypes of both Black femininity and masculinity. Viewing the Black Arts Movement poetry books allows African American students to see images of Blacks that critique American paradigms that are often taken at face value and taken for granted, including the American Dream, the notion of equality within and by American institutions, and so on. Ultimately, the goal of the project is to produce critical thinkers who can assess

these images in meaningful ways and see beyond superficial aspects—simply as a fashion statement, for example, by grounding these images in the political-historical realities of their time.

Imagining the future includes envisioning students, who can speak in insightful ways about Black identity and create identities for themselves that are not dependent on commodified Black culture. These critiques might include images of Blacks in popular culture and how these images are being deployed in the mainstream media. But they might also include more personal and communal levels of understanding. For instance, how college students on Lincoln University's campus are formulating and deploying their own identities. The present and the future needs citizens who are able to intervene effectively into local, regional, and national conversations on race in ways that promote positive Black values within the family, school, and community.

Paired with careful pedagogies informed by national conversations on student learning, the Broadside Press archives at Lincoln University offer a rich and valuable opportunity to examine Black identity and its construction during a specific time period. While much is written about pedagogies of engagement, few scholars have applied this research in the context of the African American literary archive, and the particularities of learning as a student at an HBCU. The archives provide an essential way for students to encounter primary documents, to become interpreters of history and to create memories. This reconstruction of history contributes to the building and valuing of collective memory that is so essential to maintaining the memory of the community and an understanding, of the values essential to the community. Furthermore, the example of Broadside Press, with its emphasis on individual and collective empowerment serves as an important reminder of how and why these types of institutions came about. A renewed reminder of the intellectual history embedded within the African American literary heritage is important for this new generation because it has the possibility of shaping their future actions. Pride in where one comes from and what one's community has accomplished, is essential to maintaining traditions and creating a still stronger community in days and years to come. While relatively few of us will teach in an HBCU, we all work with students whose identities are being shaped by forces outside of their awareness, and who will need nuanced understandings of history if they are to participate effectively and ethically as citizens.

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The Writing on the Wall: The Founding of Lincoln University and the Teaching of Writing

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Entering under the stone and iron gates announcing Lincoln University is a moving experience that prompts reflection on the historic memory of the university—the first degree granting institution of higher education for African Americans that counts a Supreme Court justice, a Harlem Renaissance poet, and two presidents of African countries among its alumni. The memories of the history and famous graduates are often used in the marketing of the school, but how can this historic memory play a role, if any, in pedagogy, specifically in the teaching of writing? Using the legal strategy devised by Thurgood Marshall to connect the Jim Crow theme of a text to Lincoln University or using the Hosanna Church at the edge of the campus with its graveyard of Hinsonville residents who helped found the university as the subject of a descriptive writing exercise may bring this memory to life to provide content for a course. But the historic memory of the university can be used to provide a much deeper role in how we approach the teaching of the students of today's Lincoln University. The school's history is that of a gateway, creating an opportunity of higher education for African American people when most institutions had their draw bridges raised and gates closed, a symptom of the surrounding contempt and enslavement of African American peoples in the country at that time. Remembering stories of the university's founding and examining how the gateway theme of those stories applies today can inform the teaching of writing.

Imbedded in the wall behind the altar in the Mary Dodd Brown Memorial Chapel is a white marble stone with the inscription, "The Night is far spent, the day is at hand." Originally, this stone was placed above the entrance of one of the first two buildings on campus that were both dedicated on December 31, 1856, the day before instruction began at the Ashman Institute, which would later be called Lincoln University. This stone is one of two that Horace Mann Bond, an alumnus and the first African American President of Lincoln University, recounts in his history of the university, *Education for Freedom*.

According to Bond, the significance of the symbolism of this quote from Romans 13:12 on the lintel stone is further illuminated when read in its context:

11. And that, knowing the time, that now it is high time to awaken out of sleep; for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed.
12. The night is far spent, the day is at hand; let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armor of light. (238)

The metaphor of light is commonly used within the Christian religions as a sign of wisdom, power, and creation and would be known to the founder of Lincoln

University, John Miller Dickey, a Presbyterian minister. The book of Genesis 1:3-4 says that after God created the heavens and the earth, the earth was formless, empty, and dark: "And God said, 'Let there be light,' and there was light. God saw that the light was good, and he separated the light from the darkness." The light marks the beginning of the creation story. The dedication of the buildings on the last day of the year before the first day of instruction marks the success of a long journey to create the institution.

Further, Bond connects this inscription with the sermon by Dickey when he first announced to his congregation his project to create what Bond refers to as "the first institution founded anywhere in the world to provide a higher education in the arts and sciences for 'youth of African descent' " (3). Bond contends that Dickey concluded his sermon with the theme of "the educative process as an agent of liberty," and Dickey looks toward the future by creating an institution dedicated to educating African American people:

Finally, what effect may such efforts have upon the condition of the whole race among us as to their personal liberty? In answer, we say, a race of men enlightened in the knowledge of God, will eventually be free—but their liberty will only be attained in consistency with law and love; more by the action of those who witness their piety, than their own: *Kindle the lamp of religious knowledge, it will surely light them to an elevated position, social and civil, among the people of earth.* (qtd. in Bond 222; emphasis in original)

Dickey draws from the religious notion of light as power, knowledge, and wisdom, as well as the creation of a new path of liberty through education.

In the context of Dickey's professional and personal life in the antebellum period, the founding of the Ashman Institute represents his own emergence from darkness to a new, lighted path. In the wake of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, tensions rose in the communities along the Pennsylvania-Maryland border. One episode that brought Dickey closer to the black community started with the kidnapping of the Parker sisters, both free-born, African-American teenagers. First Elizabeth, the younger of the two sisters, was kidnapped by Thomas McCreary, a slave catcher from Elkton, Maryland. Within a few weeks, she was auctioned to a slave owner in New Orleans where she lived as a slave for six months and was often beaten because she insisted she was free (Russo and Russo 89). Two weeks after Elizabeth's kidnapping, her sister Racheal Parker was taken by McCreary from the home of her employer Joseph Miller. Miller followed McCreary to Baltimore, managed to have Rachael moved from the slave pen to detainment in jail, and had McCreary arrested until McCreary could show cause as to why Rachael should not be free.

On Miller's return trip to Pennsylvania, he mysteriously disappeared and was later found hanging from a tree. Despite Maryland authorities' ruling of a suicide, Chester County physicians north of the Mason-Dixon Line found evidence inconsistent with suicide, such as arsenic in his body. While the slave catcher McCreary was released from jail, Rachael and Elizabeth remained

incarcerated in Baltimore awaiting trial to argue their rightful position as free women.

For his part, Dickey led efforts in the local Oxford community to fundraise and build a defense for the Parker sisters. With testimony from nearly eighty citizens including doctors who attended their births, teachers who educated them, and employers who hired them for housework, both girls were eventually released to regain their status as free persons.

This event had an effect on Dickey and the “question of slavery.” As a colonizationist, Dickey had earlier argued to ignore the issue of slavery in the South in favor of repatriating blacks in Africa. However, Russo and Russo argue that this episode “lessened Dickey’s aversion to antislavery sentiment. That is not to say, however, that he abandoned his cause of colonization. Instead, the ideas began to manifest themselves in new ways for him, eventually leading to the founding of the Ashman Institute” (92). Personal tragedy struck Dickey a month after Rachael Parker’s trial ended when Dickey’s own 15-year-old daughter died. According to a Dickey biographer, Dickey “was never in the same spirit” but “it was from the ‘valley of the shadow of death’ that he entered upon his monumental life undertaking” (qtd. in Russo and Russo 97). This life undertaking was the lighted path that led to the creation of Lincoln University.

Concurrently with these tragic events in southern Chester County, a local resident, James Ralston Amos, who would help found Lincoln University and become one of the Ashman Institute’s first students, along with his brother, sought help from Dickey. According to Bond, a reason for Dickey’s passion that led to the founding of the university was “an application made to him in 1852 by a ‘very superior colored man,’ James Ralston Amos, for advice as to how he might perfect himself in the Christian ministry” (209).

The story of Amos is another important sign post in the history of Lincoln University, retold in Bond’s words:

The ever-generous John Miller Dickey first responded to James Amos’ appeal for help by volunteering his own services as instructor. The very first legend of Lincoln University relates that Amos, then living with his widowed mother in a house close by the African Union Methodist Protestant Church house, walked each day the four miles to and from Oxford for an hour’s instruction in the pastor’s study. At the beginning of his walk he would stop in a grove, a hundred yards from his house, later the site of Ashmun Hall, to spend a period in his daily devotions of Bible reading and prayer. He knelt at a certain stone that provided a convenient altar. Four years later, when Ashmun Hall was being built on the same site, he noted that the stone of his prayers had been placed in the foundation of the edifice. (210)

The stone in this story is sometimes confused with the inscribed lintel stone now embedded in the chapel wall. However, both stones carry the symbolism as part of the foundation for Lincoln University. The real importance of Amos’ narrative for the founding of Lincoln University commences when Amos attempted to continue his education beyond Dickey’s home.

Dickey and Amos sought a theology school for Amos and inquired at the Princeton Theological Seminary, which had previously accepted black students. However, Amos was not accepted for the stated reason in the rejection letter that “it would be a waste of time to set him to study Latin & Greek. It would ... be far better to give him a good English education—then let him study Theology” (210). Bond, while considering political and social reasons for the rejection, postulates that “the simple fact was that James Amos could not qualify for admission to the Princeton Seminary on the basis of his limited academic qualifications ...” (211).

Few institutions at the time would enroll an African American man for the necessary course of study sought by Amos. According to Bond, “It was late in 1852 or early 1853 that John Miller Dickey said that he finally conceived the idea of establishing an academy for colored men, after ‘trying vainly almost every school in the Union that he could hear of as entertaining views at all liberal toward the colored race’ ” (211). On April 29, 1854, the governor signed the bill granting charter to the Ashmun Institute. On January 1, 1857, the day after the dedication of the building with the white marble stone inscribed, “The Night is far spent, the day is at hand,” James Ralston Amos began attending class. A barred gate had become a gateway.

The creation of the Ashmun Institute was an act of creating a gateway—a lighted path where one had previously been blocked. The stories of John Miller Dickey and James Ralston Amos leading to the founding of Lincoln University evoke dark elements of the enslavement of freed women, of untimely death, and of exclusion based on both prejudice and level of education—an education level that had been difficult to obtain. These men were instrumental in creating a new path—one that cleared the barriers to create a gateway toward higher education.

The metaphor of gateways and gatekeepers is not new to education. Many professions require passing a test as entry into the professional ranks, such as the bar exam for the field of law. Other professions, such as social work, use faculty oversight through a more holistic process of evaluation and advising to “guard the gate of the profession . . . and improve quality control in educational programs, protect clients, maintain community sanction, and enhance the status of the profession” (Moore and Urwin). Medical and engineering programs often have difficult courses to “weed out” less academically proficient students or to ensure those who continue in the program have a strong desire to continue.

At the undergraduate level, required first year math and English courses are often called gatekeepers because students have to take these required classes as prerequisites before moving into other general education courses or major emphasis courses. According to Dowd, community colleges are often referred to as gatekeepers by enrolling a “lion’s share of students,” many of whom are classified as underprepared for higher education. Given the lower cost associated with community colleges, this function is fiscally pragmatic if a student is unable to get past the gate. In this way, community colleges are also gateways, as open-access, lower cost institutions offering general education credits that are transferable to four-year colleges.

Gatekeeping may have its role when ensuring a high standard. However, gatekeeping becomes problematic and divisive when it used to limit down rather than foster education, especially for marginalized demographics. The rejection

letter from Princeton to Amos is an example of systematic gatekeeping of a marginalized population. While Bond readily admits that Amos did not meet the educational standard, there was little chance outside of a benefactor such as Dickey that Amos could attain the high level of learning to satisfy requirements. Dickey's response was to open the gate to foster the education that Amos sought by creating the Ashmun Institute.

In the teaching of writing, a classic example of gatekeeping versus creating gateways concerns assessment. Nagy points out that assessment has three roles, the historically longest of which is gatekeeping to determine who is "granted a privilege such as admission or graduation" (262). The second role is that of accountability. The standards that are upheld with these first two roles are generally for an outside audience, which are often at odds with Nagy's third purpose: "to find out what students do and do not know, and what to do about it" (262). From the perspective of an internal audience, assessment is the opportunity to learn about student learning, seeking what the teaching and learning is doing well, and how it can be done better. Astin and Antonio argue that "*the basic purpose of assessing students is to enhance their educational development*" (5, emphasis in original). The theme of learning and improvement is a similar goal to many education researchers who discuss assessment (e.g. Walvoord; Suskie). Huot equates assessment to a value added commodity: "Instead of envisioning assessment as a way to enforce certain culturally positioned standards and refuse entrance to certain people and groups of people, we need to use our assessments to aid the learning environment for both teachers and students" (8).

In the field of composition, an example of assessment as gatekeeping versus assessment as a gateway is with feedback. Mike Rose has made a career theorizing and writing about what he calls "a deep belief in the abilities of the common person." An example he gives about the use of standards in composition feedback is with a student named Vince:

Vince received a PhD from a prestigious psychology department, so he tells his story from the enviable position of one who has succeeded in the academy. Coming from a working-class, Mexican immigrant background, Vince learned his first English from a television set, but with his parents' encouragement, he worked hard at his second language, and by high school, he was taking college-preparatory English classes. (Rose)

Vince's high school English preparation was geared more toward the SAT and other standardized tests. A consequence was that he was ill-prepared for a more authentic writing assessment in which he had to write an argument essay for placement; as a result, he landed in a remedial course. As Vince describes his experience, the markers of standards within gatekeeping emerge:

"The teacher seemed very distant and cold. I'd get my papers back graded with a C or lower and with red marks about my style all over them." Vince couldn't figure out what the teacher wanted: "I kept trying, but I kept getting the same grades. I went through this routine for four or five weeks,

becoming more withdrawn. Finally I said, 'Forget this,' and stopped going to class." (Rose)

Beyond the issue of teaching toward a test, Vince's story reveals how the feedback of the red marks communicated that he was not meeting the standard, but the feedback did little to clarify for Vince how to improve. Rose's analysis shows the problem:

In Vince's case, the teacher seemed to value a literary style and rejected as inadequate Vince's more straightforward prose. Such teachers match student work against an internalized model of excellence and find the work lacking, rather than using their knowledge of genre, rhetorical strategy, and style to assess the ways a paper could be improved, given what the writer seems to be trying to do. This kind of teacher functions more like a gatekeeper than an educator. Standards used this way become a barrier to development.

The teacher was acting as the outside audience upholding a standard but doing little to help Vince to understand and meet the standard. Much like the story of Amos, Vince's story has a happy ending as he later encounters a teacher whose feedback serves as gateway to improved writing through both encouraging and useful feedback. Vince also finds solace in on-campus tutoring services as his path toward his academic career begins to brighten.

In the present, Lincoln University's composition program exhibits both gatekeeper and gateway tendencies. For example, the Writing Proficiency Program embodies the dichotomy of gatekeeper and gateway. As a three pronged program, the first and most gatekeeper-esque aspect is a writing exam in the first year composition course of English 101, a response to a Board of Trustees resolution that students must pass a writing proficiency exam in order to graduate. To the best of my knowledge, this decision was based on feedback from employers who were complaining that graduates of Lincoln University could not write. This is upholding standards of an outside audience. Students are given at least four chances to pass this exam, determined by a minimum grade of B-. Inherent in such a writing examination are issues of both reliability and validity. Can a 50 minute, in-class, often handwritten essay be an accurate measure of a student's writing ability for such a high stakes, gatekeeping measure? A student could potentially score a C+ on these writing exams, improve these essays through revision based on gateway methods and feedback, have a relatively high average in the class, but ultimately fail the course due to the gatekeeping standard.

The other two aspects of the Writing Proficiency Program, which are outside of the purview of the composition program, have more potential to serve as gateways. A requirement of four writing intensive courses allows for students to develop their writing over time while the writing proficiency portfolio potentially provides a reliable and valid assessment of student writing within the discipline. Students not found to be proficient can then receive assistance for improvement, meeting Astin and Antonio's argument that "*the basic purpose of*

assessing students is to enhance their educational development" (5, emphasis in original).

Turning towards the future, we can use the biblical inscription from the lintel stone "The Night is far spent, the day is at hand" and the founding vision of Lincoln University to continue to enhance the learning opportunities of our student writers. One potential method is the developing composition model of "teaching for transfer" that asks us to question the role of the composition program within the larger university curriculum and how best to position students for future writing situations.

In an attempt to focus the broad understanding of transfer, Wardle, drawing from Prior and Shipka and Rozen, has defined transfer as "creative repurposing for expansive learning" or simply "repurposing" to create a framework to view the phenomenon. One aspect of transfer defined by Perkins and Salomon is low-road (or reflexive) transfer versus high-road (or mindful) transfer. For example, low road transfer is taking the skills from knowing how to drive a car and applying that knowledge to driving a truck. Although there are some differences in turning radii or braking distance, the two tasks are quite similar. High road transfer is exemplified by taking the knowledge of driving a car and applying it to skiing. The context is completely different, but the concepts of braking distance and centrifugal force still apply.

While the focus of the in-class essay writing exam in ENG 101 may prepare a student for an essay in World Literature, the question is, are students able to transfer that knowledge to writing a lab report, a personal statement, or the other tasks of the writing proficiency portfolio? A case study by Yancey, Roberston, and Taczak found that a teaching for transfer curriculum in first year composition can better aid students in high road transfer contexts. The teaching for transfer curriculum uses a writing about writing framework, and makes writing instruction more explicit than other frameworks. Students become engrossed in the study of rhetorical vocabulary and application, use reflection as a means of examining prior knowledge, gain experience to apply in a future setting, as well as develop a personal theory of writing:

Without discernible content, students fill in their own content; without a theory on which to build and apply knowledge, Carolina turned to models and Darren turned to process. In cases like this—when content or theory is absent or indiscernible, and especially when it is perceived to be at odds with writing in other university sites—models of writing become the teacher and the curriculum. . . . Too much "floating" content—content unmoored to specific writing theory or practice—resulted in a lack of cohesion, a common thread absent throughout the course design that students could discern or use as a guide or passport. (87-88)

The teaching for transfer curriculum's grounding in writing's key terms helped students build ways of thinking about future writing contexts, and students were more likely to build on those writing theories while engaging in those various writing contexts after first year composition. In other words, students, having walked through the gate, were able to build and light their own path.

While gatekeeping has its role to play within any institution, our memory of the founding of Lincoln University as based in creating gateways can and should play an important role. We need to be mindful of measures that limit rather than foster education. When possible, we, like Dickey, need to create gateways that enhance the development and education of Lincoln students. Ultimately, the gateways that we create may become the foundations for success, as James Ralston Amos' prayer rock became the foundation for Lincoln University as an institution. As the writing on the stone on chapel wall proclaims, "The Day Is At Hand."

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ABSTRACTS

ARGHA BANERJEE, Memory and Remembrance: Women's Elegies of the First World War (1914-18)

During the years of the Great War, hundreds of elegies were written and published by British women on the home front. Central to the female experience of the war was the unenviable task of grieving. My paper tries to explore the complex psychodynamics of the mourning female psyche as revealed through verse written during the war years. The psychological exploration of women's war elegies revolves round a Freudian analysis of mourning and melancholia and other relevant critical theories of elegizing. Considered problematic during the years of the violent war, these elegies were marginalized, as the patriarchal state did not wish to dampen the morale of the fighting combatants at the Front. The lyrics involve a wide range of strategies –exploring religion, pastoral or chivalric motifs—to negotiate with the trauma and loss in personal lives. The complex motley of themes and motifs in this large body of verse makes an absorbing cultural study of the period. Beyond their apparent simplicity in form and content, these elegies provide a fascinating insight in to the deeper psychology of women's mourning of the war generation. My paper tries to explore the deeper layers of psychodynamics of grief underlying these elegies. Denial of public display of grief and mourning by the state led to the emergence of verse as an effective cultural space for expression of grief. It provided an effective means to mourn, remember and commemorate the deceased near ones.

ALEJANDRO SANTAFLORNTINA, A Genealogical Approach to Memory and Identity: Strategies of Remembering in Amin Maalouf's *Origines*

"How does a literary text become a medium of memory?" (Erll, 144) The capacity of literary texts to function as medium of Cultural Memory rests on their narrative processes and strategies of remembering and forgetting. It is the object of literary criticism interested in memory to explore these processes. *Origines* (2004) is a family memoir by Amin Maalouf with a very particular methodology for looking at the past. In this non-fictional novel, memory is closely connected to identity and genealogy. The author conceives genealogical relations as a rhizome in which identities are constantly reconstructed and renegotiated through affective bonds. His reflective style generates a narrative that looks at the past through a genealogical approach. He challenges historicism and he rethinks identities in relation to narratives of modernization and globalization. His particular conception of identity also permits him to understand memory as a tool for shaping identity in the present. This paper analyzes Maalouf's narrative and his use of mnemonic material as a genealogical approach to memory and identity. Through the use of oral testimonies and visual documents that always remain incomplete but necessary, the author of *Origines* fills the gaps of his archive with a reflective style that establishes a constant dialogue between past and present.

Keywords: Memoir; Genealogy; Identity; Cultural Memory

BRYAN MEAD, "Jesus Been a Long Time Gone": Differing Memory Aesthetics in O'Connor's and Huston's *Wise Blood*

Although most scholarship devoted to John Huston's film version of Flannery O'Connor's *Wise Blood* praises the film as a faithful adaptation, one major distinction between novel and film is in regards to memory. Whereas Huston's film fits into what Lewis P. Simpson has termed the "aesthetic of memory," O'Connor's novel fits more closely with what John F. Desmond has labeled "metaphysical memory." This distinction is crucial in understanding why most scholars see these two versions of the story as coming from "different places." These different places are based on differing memory aesthetics. In the novel, memory is utilized to highlight the importance of a spiritual realm effecting main character Hazel Motes above and beyond physical circumstances. In the film, memory remains based entirely on physical remembrance, void of the spiritual. Whereas the novel portrays Hazel as a man seeking to ignore and escape the spiritual reality of Jesus Christ, the film depicts Hazel as a man trying to ignore and reject the earthly, religious dogma of his grandfather. This essay explores the aesthetic uses of memory in both the textual and filmic versions of *Wise Blood* both to highlight the importance of memory in both versions and to show that these differing memory aesthetics create vastly different thematic worlds.

NANCY ALI, Collective Memory as Political Instrument

Because of the strong mobilizing force that collective memory has, memory has become a major instrument of political power. In totalitarian regimes, collective memory is manipulated when the need arises to rewrite the past to meet present goals. In democratic states as well, as the example of postwar France shows us, collective memory can be subject to willed amnesia for the sake of present and future political objectives. Moreover, because of the powerful sociopolitical function it serves, collective memory often becomes an area of contest between groups in conflict.

Since the memory boom of the 1970's in Europe, collective memory has gained its place as a strong mobilizing force in society. Furthermore, the importance given to collective memory across the different disciplines of human and social sciences since demonstrates to what extent memory has been institutionalized. Collective memory is sustained and kept alive through formal and informal efforts by both the group and the individual.

If it was history that traditionally provided us with knowledge of our past, today it is what Pierre Nora calls the "memory model" that has triumphed. While history is constructed and disseminated by an elite group of specialists - historians -, memory is democratic and belongs to no one. The surge in autobiographical writings that occurred in the decades since the Shoah has placed the individual at the center as a producer of knowledge.

Many historians in France and elsewhere have pointed to the Shoah as the main instigator of this renewed importance in collective memory. More importantly, the Shoah has inspired many survivors of different collective atrocities around the world to revisit dominant History and tell their stories. For many, the process through which the Shoah was established as a *lieu de mémoire* has become a model or a template to follow.

CHERYL RENÉE GOOCH, By Divine Providence: Remembering Lincoln's Founding and Reimagining Its Legacy

"Ethiopia Shall Soon Stretch Out Her Hands Unto God" was a favorite biblical text used by 19th century supporters of the emigration of Blacks to Africa, and, in particular, the training of Black ministers to Christianize native Africans. Presbyterian minister John Miller Dickey proclaimed in 1853 that "the colored people of this country seem to have been sent here by Divine Providence" to fulfill this purpose. Soon Ashmun Institute (later renamed Lincoln University) was chartered and began training Black men to serve

as Presbyterian missionaries in Liberia. Two of those men, brothers James Ralston Amos and Thomas Henry Amos, were among the first graduates to serve in Liberia. The Amoses' stories captured in more than 70 letters that they and Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions colleagues wrote between 1859 and 1869 reveal experiences in many ways different from constructed narratives of Lincoln's founding ideals. Building on original research by the author, this essay uses primary source documents to further illuminate facts and views about Lincoln's founding that historical and institutional narratives often obscure or under explore. Historical and current efforts to reimagine Lincoln's legacy are discussed.

PETER SCHULMAN, Remembering Next Year: The Brooklyn Dodgers as "*Lieu de Mémoire*"

"The passage from memory to history has required every social group to redefine its identity through the revitalization of its own history," Pierre Nora writes in his groundbreaking historical work, *The Realms of Memory*. "The task of remembering makes everyone his own historian" (Nora, 638). If, for Nora, "places of memory" (*lieux de mémoire*) within a nation are made up of "the events, holidays and monuments that give people their identity," (634), what place does the old Brooklyn Dodgers baseball team hold within the American psyche? With only a small plaque at the gates of a housing project where the endearing Ebbet's Field once stood, are there sufficient monuments to memorialize a team that reflected the scrappy working-class culture of Brooklyn? Indeed, from Doris Kearns Goodwin's memoir *Wait 'till Next Year* to Don DeLillo's *Underworld*, from Tim McLaughlin's *Brooklyn Noir* to Pete Hamill's *Snow in August*, the Brooklyn Dodgers have emerged as a recurring chronotope for nostalgia and loss in contemporary American letters. While the "collective memory of a nation" in Maurice Halbwachs' typology, "is represented in memorials [...] Whatever a nation chooses to commit to physical or more significantly what *not* to memorialize is an indication of the collective memory" (Halbwachs, 172), the surge of Brooklyn Dodgers literature, museum exhibits and testimonials starting in 1997 and leading up to the fiftieth anniversary of the Dodgers' pennant in 1955, point to a certain craving for lost "traces of memory" within a gentrifying Brooklyn. This paper will examine why the Brooklyn Dodgers had suddenly reemerged as literary and historical icons in order to determine if indeed they can be considered a "place of memory" within Nora's typology of history.

NETTY MATTAR, The Power of Looking: Trauma and the Photograph in W. G. Sebald's *The Emigrants* and Alain Resnais' *Muriel*

Theorists of trauma have asserted the absolute unknowable nature of trauma. The unknowable moment of trauma translates into a constitutional failure of linguistic representation. The preoccupation with this unknowable nature of trauma has contributed to a critique of photography that focuses on absence and the failure to represent trauma. At the same time, however, trauma studies consistently returns to the notion of the traumatic event as that which urgently demands representation. This essay attends to how art can actualize a response to the photographic image that moves beyond the concept of absence. I argue that the recognition of the 'divisibility' of the photograph, that is, its simultaneous assertion of the concrete world, and, freedom from any specific referent, allows for re-engagement with history. This simultaneous recognition and repression enables the image to be remediated, opening up the possibilities of meaning. I will demonstrate this through an analysis of W.G. Sebald's *The Emigrants* (1993) and Alain Resnais' *Muriel, or, The Time of Return* (1963), two texts that explore the relationship between the trauma and its material remains. I will show how archival

images are revealed to be sites of tension where contradictory meanings co-exist. This is a critical move that allows for the possibilities of new meaning to come into view through deconstruction, appropriation and re-signification. In these two texts we recognize that the power of the photograph lies in the performative rather than in the constative, thus moving the practice of bearing witness beyond the singular burden of veracity.

LYNN HILDITCH, Representing the Holocaust: Lee Miller's Concentration Camp Photographs as 'Modern Memorials'

On 8 May 1945, American-born war photographer Lee Miller sent a telegraph to Audrey Withers, the editor of British *Vogue* magazine, along with a collection of negatives taken during the liberation of the concentration camps at Buchenwald and Dachau in April and early May 1945. In her telegram she demanded, "I IMPLORE YOU TO BELIEVE THIS IS TRUE!" Through this series of explicit and harrowing images of war, Miller wished to appeal to *Vogue's* readers, particularly in the United States, to be aware of, if not totally comprehend, the true extent of the Nazi genocide. Her photographs, she hoped, should not only act as historical evidence and visual reminders that the slaughter of millions of innocent people in camps across Europe had actually happened; the images should also place the readers in direct view of that evidence in an attempt to provoke as well as inform.

In this paper I will explore how Lee Miller's images not only have great worth as historical documents; they also give expression to testimony, experience and memory of the Holocaust. I will also consider how Miller, once the muse and apprentice of the Dada-Surrealist artist Man Ray, applied her 'surrealist eye' and artistic knowledge to create aesthetic representations of one of the most horrific periods in human history; using artistic methodology to visualize and capture the inconceivable. In addition, I will apply the work of writers such as John Berger, Susan Sontag and Walter Lippman and, in particular, their views regarding the visual representation of the Holocaust, in order to theoretically examine how photographers, like Miller, were able to incorporate their artistic skills to effectively frame the horrors of war and preserve those images as a form of 'modern memorial' for future generations.

ARIANE SANTERRE, Transmission and Actualization of Memory in Nazi Camp Testimonies: The Role of the Reader

The year 1945 marks the end of a crucial chapter in the History of Humanity. It is also the start of yet another chapter, one of necessary reflection: what can we learn from this terrible experience? Throughout Europe, some survivors of the concentration camps began writing their testimonies right away, not only revealing the inconceivable cruelty of mankind, but also entering into a dialogue with the contemporary essential discourse taking place around the world. A scrupulous reading allows one to see, for instance, that signs of hatred appear first in the language, verbal violence leading to physical violence: the prisoners are called dehumanizing words, and they are legion in the testimonies. Most of the testimonies written in the post-war years have today been forgotten. This article aims to uncover some of the answers contained within these testimonies. As a second part of this article, the role of the reader will be examined in a way that will not so much provide answers as ask questions. How can we actualize the lessons and wisdom that can be found in testimonies? What are the troubling linguistic factors that we should still be looking out for in the current social discourse, and why?

Keywords: Testimony, Nazi camps, language, verbal violence, reader

ERKIN KIRYAMAN, Representation of Traumatic Memory in the Narrative: Traumatic Pathologies in Virginia Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway*

A trauma survivor is surely incapable of representing his trauma in his post-war life because of several reasons: firstly, the language is insufficient to describe his terror; secondly, he denies re-traumatization through telling; and lastly, his time perception is not chronologically designed as his psychic time is distorted. If the trauma survivor denies narrating the traumatic event, is the trauma fiction able to deal with these problems and sort out the handicaps of narrating? In trauma fiction, the representation of trauma becomes almost impossible as the aforementioned reasons demonstrate. Within this context, writing about trauma and trauma victims does not totally foreground an authentic representation of traumatic mind. On the other hand, mirroring the traumatic mind of the victim into the fiction seems quite effective in that a trauma novel can resist telling, leave gaps in the narration, reflect the fragmented story through several narrative strategies (i. e. stream of consciousness), weave a symbolical and metaphorical diction in relation to traumatic memory and repeat like a victim whose repetition compulsion is a must in his post-traumatic life. *Mrs Dalloway* (1925) by Virginia Woolf follows a pathological traumatic model in which one can follow the parallelism between the narrative and Septimus who evidently repeats the traumatic event in his dreams, resists talking about the trauma and Evans, and thus is alienated from the society and life. The narrative similarly draws upon Septimus's traumatization and designates the narrative traumatic as the dynamics in the narrative works to reflect the model of the trauma survivor's mind. The aim of this essay is to explore Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway*, mapping the traumatic model in the narrative by pinning down the parallelisms between the traumatic mind of the survivor and traumatic pathologies in the narrative utilizing the theories of trauma and memory.

PIA DEAS, Memory in Action: Undergraduate Archival Research

Archives are an essential resource for undergraduate student researchers to learn the fundamentals of research and they serve as a particularly exciting repository for understanding the past. At Lincoln University, the Broadside Press archives are an important way that students grapple with the complex narratives of the Black Arts Movement. Students use the Broadside Press poetry book series in order to apply the central principles of the Black Aesthetic and to ascertain how individual artists accomplished or deviated the central principles as articulated by Larry Neal. Through a carefully scaffolded research assignment, students produce research papers that seamlessly integrate primary archival sources with secondary sources. This research projects helps students gain the confidence and skills that lead up to their capstone courses and projects in the final semester of their senior year. Ultimately, the project seeks to preserve history, create memory, and help the students formulate a stronger sense of Black identity and cultivate a sense of Black community.

WILLIAM DONOHUE, The Writing on the Wall: The Founding of Lincoln University and the Teaching of Writing

The central argument of the essay is that the gateway theme from the narrative of the founding of the university has a place in the current teaching of writing. The creation of Lincoln University is centered on the need for a *gateway* to a higher education degree for students based on both race and academic ability during a time when other institutions were *gatekeepers* for black students. The gateway theme is present in the narratives of the founding of the University through the stories of John Miller Dickey and James Ralston Amos. Both of these men overcame personal obstacles and hardships that led to the founding of the university. Symbolic of the founding of the university are

two legendary stories of rocks—one that was a prayer stone which became part of the foundations of the first building and the other has a biblical inscription that speaks to creation. The inscription on the rock and the gateway theme of the historic beginning and founding principle can be used to guide the current pedagogy of teaching writing at the university. With a curriculum focused on the understanding and transfer of writing knowledge as well as a nurturing and supportive assessment environment, the university can continue to be a gateway true to its historic mission and strong through its graduates.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Nancy Ali holds a doctorate of comparative literature from the Sorbonne University in Paris. Her dissertation explored the relationship between violence and fiction in the contemporary novel written in English, French and Arabic. She is currently a Research Associate at the Centre de Recherche en Littérature Comparée.

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Pia Deas is an Assistant Professor of English at Lincoln University, a historically Black college outside of Philadelphia, where she teaches African American Literature, American Literature, and Creative Writing. Her research interests include African American satire, neo-passing narratives, and 20th and 21st century African American fiction and poetry. Most recently, her research has focused on the Black Arts Movement with a particular interest in Broadside Press.

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Erkin Kıryaman. After earning his B.A at Ege University in 2011, Erkin Kıryaman completed his M. A at Yaşar University with the thesis entitled "Psychoanalysis, Trauma and War: A Comparative Study of Virginia Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway* and Pat Barker's *Regeneration*" in 2015 with a full educational bursary. He taught English at Dokuz Eylül

University for a year and worked as a Research Assistant at Ege University in 2013. He is now writing another M.A thesis focusing on late Victorian novel and New Woman. He has presented several papers in Scotland, Poland and Turkey. His fields of interests include Trauma Theory, Feminism and Gender Theories, Late Victorian Novel, Contemporary British and Turkish Novel.

Netty Mattar teaches English, most recently at the National University of Singapore, where she completed her PhD. Her research interests include literary representations of trauma, speculative fiction, world literatures in English, and literary representations of technology and posthumanism.

Bryan Mead is currently a Ph. D. Student and Graduate Teaching Assistant at Northern Illinois University. His research interests are in film studies, particularly in film history, film and literature, and theology and film. Bryan has previously published articles related to these research interests in academic journals such as *The International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies*, *Socrates Journal*, and *The Apollonian*. One of Bryan's papers will also be included in an upcoming book on J.R.R. Tolkien and the arts.

Alejandro Santaflorientina graduated in Fine Arts with specialization in Cultural Pedagogies, from the Universitat de Barcelona (Spain). As a graduate student in the Erasmus-Mundus Programme "Crossways in Cultural Narratives", he studied in Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan (Poland), University of Guelph (Canada) and Université de Perpignan Via Domitia (France). His research focuses on Visual and Cultural Studies and their connections with Critical Pedagogy.

Ariane Santerre is a PhD candidate under the co-supervision of the Department of French Literature at the University of Montreal and of the Department of French Studies at the University of Western Ontario, where she works on Nazi camp testimonies published in French and Italian in the after-war period. She previously wrote a Master's thesis on French author André Gide, and published articles on the importance of literature in extreme situations, on francophone literature and on linguistic evolution. She has spoken at different colloquiums, mainly on concentration camp testimonies, but also on francophone literature, on French poetry and on Montreal newspapers of the interwar period.

Peter Schulman is the author of *The Sunday of Fiction: The Modern Eccentric* (Purdue University Press, 2003) as well as *Le dernier livre du siècle* (Romillat, 2001) with Mischa Zabotin. He has edited a critical edition of Jules Verne's *The Begum's Millions* (Wesleyan University Press, 2005) and recently translated Jules Verne's last novel *The Secret of Wilhelm Storitz* (University of Nebraska Press, 2012) as well as *Suburban Beauty* from poet Jacques Reda (VVF editions, 2009) and *Adamah* from Céline Zins (Gival Press, 2010). He is currently co-editor in chief of a new journal of eco-criticism, *Green Humanities* and has co-edited the following books: *The Marketing of Eros: Performance, Sexuality, and Consumer Culture* (Die Blaue Eule, 2003); *Chasing Esther: Jewish Expressions of Cultural Difference* (Kol Katan Press, 2007) and *Rhine Crossings: France and Germany in Love and War* (SUNY Press, 2004). He is currently translating *A Thousand and Second Night and Other Plays* by Jules Verne for the Palik Series published by Bear Manor Fiction.

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Articles that do not conform to the following guidelines are automatically returned. They will be rejected from any further consideration if they are returned twice for incompleteness of information or formatting issues.

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1. Include name, professional affiliation, phone number, and email address in the cover e-mail.
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3. Include an abstract of 200-300 words.
4. Include a biographical note of 50-250 words
5. The article should be 3500-6000 words, including the abstract, the footnotes and the works cited.
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Formatting Guidelines

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9. Do not number pages.
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Once a submission is accepted for publication, the author will be asked to provide the following to the Editor by e-mail to maazaoui@lincoln.edu.

- A final, fully revised version of the article; font Georgia # 12; no spacing.
- A final, fully revised abstract (in English).
- A final, fully revised biographical note of 50-250 words.

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Call for Papers

Panopticon: Surveillance, Suspicion, Fear

Saturday, April 2, 2016

The College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania is requesting proposals/abstracts for its fourth international conference, to be held on **Saturday, April 2, 2016**. The conference theme is "*Panopticon: Surveillance, Suspicion, Fear.*"

Abstract deadline: December 1, 2015.

With the advent of WikiLeaks and its disturbing revelations about the systematic and global surveillance conducted by the United States, Surveillance, Suspicion and Fear have permeated the public sphere in an unprecedented manner, spread to everyday life, and affected popular culture, fiction, society, communities, and politics. This interdisciplinary conference will examine the reality and representations of Fear, Suspicion and Surveillance in the social and natural sciences, mass media, pedagogy, visual arts, literature and popular culture.

All academic disciplines in the arts, humanities, social sciences, and sciences are welcome. Topics include but are not limited to:

- Discipline, crime and punishment,
- Spy fiction, drama, mystery, detective & crime fiction
- Representations of fear in cinema, television, theater, the news media and the creative arts
- Trust, mistrust, privacy, voyeurism
- Fear, insecurity
- Truth, deception, and (ab)use of power
- Panopticism, surveillance and social control
- Phobias, suspicion and paranoia
- Technology of surveillance (cameras, cyber surveillance, facial recognition systems, etc.)
- Closed Circuit Television and Social Control
- Whistle blowers; undercover operations
- Marketing fear and surveillance
- Politics of fear, anniversaries, memorials, political discourse, media, films
- The bad guy, the villain, Big Brother
- Foucault and panopticism
- Experience** of fear, surveillance and terror
- Case studies in anthropology, criminal justice, history, sociology, philosophy, psychology, gender studies, postcolonial studies, psychiatry, etc.

Proposals/abstracts should be no more than 200 words. Please include with your abstract a short biographical note (name, work affiliation, publications, etc.), the title of the proposal, and your full contact information (e-mail, address, and phone number). **Submission deadline: December 1, 2015.** Please send your proposal to Abbes Maazaoui, at maazaoui@lincoln.edu.

A selection of papers (subject to the normal reviewing process and standards) may be published in the *Lincoln Humanities Journal*. See <http://staging.lincoln.edu/node/5404>



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