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# LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Welcome to the sixth volume of Lucerna. In an effort to catapult Lucerna to a new level of success, this year we made a few changes to the overall process of Lucerna's publication. The changes created an enormous challenge for our student-led staff and I am grateful for their dedication and hard work. The staff worked countless hours to ensure a successful year for Lucerna as we expanded our "Getting the Lucerna Word Out" campaign. I am both humbled and blessed to have served with such an incredibly talented staff. Many of them, including Jacquelyn Hoermann, James Comninellis, Alexander Lewis, Sara Tucker, Heather Inness and Chelsea Scott, were among those honored for their exemplary work at Lucerna's First Annual Awards Luncheon earlier this spring.

To offer the opportunity for more scholarly essays, we allowed early submissions this year. The response from the students was overwhelming. We also entered a new partnership with Egghead Student Design, a UMKC Graphic Design company led by Professor Paul Tosh and his graphic design students. His team did a remarkable job with our Journal this year. We thank them for their excellent work. Additionally, we encouraged more student involvement and were featured in U-News for our efforts.

In addition to publishing the exceptional essays from UMKC students, we also feature students from the Honors Program who successfully completed their senior honors theses. These students spent one year under the supervision and counsel of a faculty member completing their scholarly research, and we honor their commitment to excellence not only to offer accolades, but to inspire other students to pursue the same. We are thankful to Drs. Jennifer Phegley and Jane Greer of the English Department; Drs. Shona KellyWray, Jessey

Choo, Miriam Forman-Brunell and Carla Klausner of the History Department; Dr. Melisa Rempfer of the Psychology Department; Dr. Felicia Londré of the Theatre Department; and Dr. Michael Ferrari, formerly of the School of Biological Sciences for offering their time and effort toward the successful completion of the honors theses.

It has been my privilege to serve as Editor-In-Chief of Lucerna this academic year. And I truly appreciate the support and leadership of Dr. Gayle Levy, Honors Director; Dr. John Herron, Associate Honors Director; Dr. Frances Connelly, Honors Faculty Fellow/Lucerna Advisor; Dr. Melisa Rempfer, Honors Faculty Fellow; and Ms. Sally Mason, Honors Program Secretary. They allowed me the freedom to introduce and incorporate my ideas into their vision for Lucerna. We are excited about the work the Lucerna staff accomplished this year. As I pass the privilege of leadership to the next Lucerna Editor-In-Chief, Ms. Taylor Barton, I know that she and her staff will continue the tradition of excellence we began in 2005.

A special thanks and congratulations to the students of UMKC, whose scholarly works now grace the pages of Lucerna. I wish you all success in your future endeavors. And I know you will enjoy the fruits of your labor as you now join the distinguished list of UMKC students whose essays were published in this celebrated journal. May you also enjoy perusing the featured essays from your colleagues.

Very truly yours,

**Michele D. Smith**

**2010-11 Editor-In-Chief**

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<http://cas.umkc.edu/honors/lucerna.asp>

# EDITORIAL BOARD

## EDITOR IN CHIEF

Michele D. Smith

---

English with a Creative Writing emphasis was Michele's chosen major as an undergraduate. Her long-term goal is to become a successful crisis counselor as well as a family law attorney. Since she knew that the admissions process for graduate school as well as law school would be competitive and that she wanted to be accepted into excellent programs, she designed and implemented a plan intended to make her a compelling candidate. Michele improved her grade point average while a student at Penn Valley Community College and was inducted into Phi Theta Kappa, the National Honors Society for two-year colleges. When she transferred to UMKC, she wanted to continue that effort by joining the Honors Program. Becoming part of the Lucerna staff as a Managing Editor in 2009 and later the Editor-In-Chief in 2010 was her contribution to the Honors Program as well as an opportunity to remain focused on writing. In her free time, Michele enjoys reading books about theology, African American history and politics. She also enjoys listening to music, with an emphasis on jazz, gospel and spirituals. Michele graduated with her Bachelor of Arts Degree and as an Honors Scholar in the summer of 2011. She is now a graduate student at the School of Social Work here at UMKC where she is pursuing her Masters of Social Work to become a crisis counselor. Later she will apply to law school continuing her long-term goal of becoming both a crisis counselor and a lawyer.

## SECRETARY

James N. Comninellis

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James' chosen major was History. He has a passion for Medieval History and came to UMKC because the University had several professors specializing in the area. He participated in the Honors Program because he was looking for a way to get involved that centered on academics. He joined Lucerna because the experience would aid his academic future. James enjoys reading, playing the violin, and boxing. James graduated in May with his Bachelor of Arts Degree. He is currently pursuing his master's work in Humanities.



# EDITORIAL BOARD

## TREASURER

Sara J. Tucker

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Sara Tucker is an Urban Education major. Because she was in the Honor's Program at her high school and loves to be challenged academically, she decided to become a part of the Honor's Program at UMKC. She also wanted to have the chance to interact and engage with people who share similar goals and a drive for success. She is a firm believer that if you are going to be a member in something, you should put work into it. Because of this belief, she decided to volunteer with Lucerna (this being her second year). It was also a good way to stay connected with the program when her class schedule did not permit Honors courses. Sara is currently a senior at UMKC. After she graduates in the spring of 2012, she plans to teach mathematics at a middle school in the Kansas City Missouri School District.

## PUBLICRELATIONSCOORDINATOR

Heather M. Inness

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Heather Inness was an English Literature major who chose to apply for Honors for the opportunities it provided. She has worked with Lucerna for the past four years to get an idea of the process of maintaining a scholastic journal. In her spare time, Heather enjoys being a huge geek and also enjoys fandom-related pursuits. Heather graduated with a Bachelor of Arts Degree with Honors in May 2011. She is currently pursuing a career in publishing.

## MANAGINGEDITOR

Jacquelyn E. Hoermann

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Jacquelyn graduated from UMKC in May 2011 with a Bachelor of Arts in English Literature and two minor concentrations in Communication Studies and Political Science. She worked as an editing and publishing intern for New Letters Magazine and BkMk Press. She also worked as a composition tutor at UMKC's Writing Center and as a staff writer for UMKC's student newspaper, U-News. Jacquelyn now attends graduate school and she is currently pursuing a Master of Arts Degree in rhetoric and composition studies.

# EDITORIAL BOARD

## ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITOR

Amy G. Johnson

Amy Johnson is a biology major on the path to pursuing a career as a pediatric surgeon specializing in endocrinology or cardiothoracics. She enjoys reading, even though her biggest pet peeve is grammatical error. As part of the Honors Program and Lucerna, she seeks to bring entertainment and academic excellence to both herself and her peers. Amy is currently a sophomore, and she will serve on the Lucerna 2012 Essay Review Board.

## GRAPHIC DESIGNERS

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RYAN CAIN

AMBER JENNINGS

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# H O N O R S T H E S E S

During the 2010-11 academic year, the following Honors students from the **UMKC Honors Program** completed a senior honors thesis:

NICHOLAS T. **CALE**

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Melissa Rempfer

MAJOR: **PSYCHOLOGY**

(CJC AND CLASSICS MINORS)

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THESIS TITLE: **EXAMINING LEARNING POTENTIAL  
IN UNDERGRADUATE COLLEGE STUDENTS**

**SUMMARY:** In this study, I look at the relationship between test anxiety and learning potential in undergraduates. Students completed an array of cognitive tests to see how test anxiety and learning potential influence each other.

JAMES N. **COMNINELLIS**

Faculty Advisors: Dr. Shona Kelly Wray,  
and Dr. Jessey Choo

MAJOR: **HISTORY**

(GERMAN AND CLASSICS MINORS)

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THESIS TITLE: **THE BOY WHO ATE BOOKS: THE POPULARIZATION  
OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS THROUGH THE LEGENDA AUREA**

**SUMMARY:** My research explores St. Thomas, the philosopher and professor at the University of Paris in the mid-13th century, as he was reconstructed into a saint after his death. I argue that the "legendary" sources addressing his life show parallels with *The Golden Legend*, one of the most important pieces of saintly literature in the later Middle Ages. These sources and their parallels with the *Legend* take St. Thomas out of the ivory town and make him a figure more accessible to a general audience, both elite and popular.

PHILIP L. **HAWKINS**

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Michael Ferrari

MAJOR: **BIOLOGY & CHEMISTRY**

(PHILOSOPHY MINOR)

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THESIS TITLE: **A SCREEN FOR NONDISJUNCTIONAL MUTANTS**

**SUMMARY:** My research focused on the role of the transverse filaments in the synaptonemal complex during meiosis. In order to better understand this role, it is important to isolate new mutants. For these reasons, a screen was performed on a large quantity of *Drosophila melanogaster* that had been mutagenized using ethyl methanesulfonate (EMS). This screen yielded three nondisjunctional mutants. To determine whether or not these nondisjunctional mutants were transverse filament mutants, their DNA was isolated, the gene responsible for the transverse filament was amplified via PCR, and sequenced to identify what mutations existed.

JACQUELYN E. **HOERMANN**

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Jane Greer

MAJOR: **ENGLISH LITERATURE  
& LANGUAGE**

(COMMUNICATION STUDIES  
& POLITICAL SCIENCE MINORS)

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THESIS TITLE: **SPEAKING WITHOUT WORDS: SILENCE AND  
EPISTOLARY RHETORIC OF CATHOLIC WOMEN EDUCATORS  
ON THE ANTEBELLUM FRONTIER, 1828-1834**

**SUMMARY:** My study analyzes the deployment and impact of rhetorical silence and speech used by Catholic nuns in antebellum America. I have tracked the periods of silence as well as the epistolary correspondence of two nuns in St. Louis, MO and Bardstown, KY. For this undertaking, I conducted research in the archives of the Missouri Historical Society and the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth.

ALEXANDER T. **LEWIS**

Faculty Advisors: Dr. Miriam Forman-  
Brunell and Dr. Carla Klausner

MAJOR: **HISTORY**

(FRENCH MINOR)

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THESIS TITLE: **THE KAHINA AND KATEB YACINE: MYTHOLOGY  
AND FEMINIST POLITICS IN POST-REVOLUTIONARY ALGERIA**

**SUMMARY:** My thesis aims to show the cultural forces that influenced the life and work of Kateb Yacine, an Algerian-Berber author writing in the mid-20th century. By examining factors such as his family background, education, and relationships, I will describe particularly how his views on women and women's rights were formulated and how these views impacted his written works.

THESIS TITLE: **POLITICAL CENSORSHIP AND  
20TH CENTURY RUSSIAN THEATER**

**SUMMARY:** The performing arts are vital to Russian culture, and the artists are highly revered. In the 20th century, this recognition brought oppression from the authorities, killing some and forcing others to leave the country. This thesis explores the effects of censorship on art, culture and the Russian artists at home and abroad.

THESIS TITLE: **THE ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION OF MARY PRINCE:  
A CLOSER EXAMINATION OF HOW BOTH SLAVERY AND THE  
ABOLITION MOVEMENT MANIPULATED SLAVES**

**SUMMARY:** My thesis analyzes the first British female slave narrative and her plight as a slave. This thesis expounds on the argument and develops a linking argument that Mary Prince, along with other slaves/former slaves were not only economically exploited as slaves, but were also exploited by the abolition movement in that individuals allegedly posing as abolitionists used the testimonies of fugitive slaves and newly freed slaves for profit, with an emphasis placed on the events which occurred in England.

# MOLLYKROKSTROM

IDENTIFYING AND ANALYZING THE  
CHALLENGES OF TEACHING WRITING  
IN THE SECONDARY CLASSROOM

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Teaching is not an easy profession regardless of what subject is being taught. Therefore, teaching English on the secondary level is especially challenging due to unique issues that can make themselves apparent, in and out of the classroom. To successfully teach English at the secondary level, the instructor must be well-versed themselves, highly educated on foreign and American literature, as well as being able to sharpen and develop the reading comprehension and writing skills of their students. If a teacher feels comfortable with those skills, they have only won half the battle as the major challenges can often be found outside of the classroom. These outside issues are usually with regards to the student's parents, home life and level of interest in the subject of writing. If a student is withdrawn while in school because of family issues, overbearing parents or lack of relevance in their personal lives, it can be very difficult for the teacher to convey the importance of what the student will learn in their high school level English courses.

When teachers feel underprepared or are unsure of their own writing, it can also have a negative effect on their enthusiasm for their students' writing. Other challenges that can negatively impact secondary English teachers are lack of time for instruction, pressure by the administration to effectively complete the curriculum, as well as lack of experience when it is a teacher's first year of professional teaching. Overall, there are many challenges in and out of the English classroom. So in order to be a successful teacher with well-rounded students, all of the challenges need to be addressed in order for the teachers and the students to succeed.

Teachers who have a lack of confidence in their own writing can be deterred from assigning writing assignments as well as being able to complete the writing assignments with their own students. The lack of confidence can be due to low self-efficacy in their abilities to provide quality writing, or due to lack of experience with writing instruction resulting from their education being focused more on literature or reading comprehension. In the article, "Model for Teaching In-Service Secondary Teachers to Write," Chris Street

and Kristin Stang address the idea of teacher self-efficacy: “In the area of writing instruction, the attitudes of in-service teachers are significant because writing is not often an activity that encourages confidence in one’s own abilities” (Street “Improving”, 39). When teachers express doubt about their writing, it can color the students’ attitudes and negatively impact their writing skills and processes. This is a major problem that, if not examined carefully, could create additional problems for the teacher and the students in their immediate future.

While teachers should be confident in how well they teach, it is simple to state for someone who is not a teacher. The pressure of being a positive role model for the students combined with the pressure to succeed and effectively teach the students can be very daunting to a first-year or even an experienced teacher. When education professionals become more confident about their effectiveness as teachers, it can reflect positively on how they view their own professional identities (Street “Improving”40). Writing teachers should view themselves as just that, educational professionals; but some find it difficult to attain the right level of self-efficacy to believe that what they are accomplishing is meaningful. When the students do not seem to want to write can have a negative effect on the teacher; they may feel like they are not motivating their kids to like writing. A common problem in classrooms is that students are intimidated by writing assignments that require critical thinking and original ideas, and therefore do not want to show the initiative towards their writing assignments.

In an article from *The Teacher Education Quarterly*, authors Street and Stang promote the teaching of writing as well as the individual teacher’s comfort level:

**As the emphasis on writing across the curriculum continues in our secondary schools, all teachers will be charged with the task of instructing secondary students to write... it is hoped that as secondary teachers become more comfortable and confident with their own writing they will become more effective teachers of writing (“In What Ways” 89).**

The idea of writing across the curriculum is dominant in Street’s article, which shows just how important the ability to write is to students, not just in the English classroom but also in the world beyond high school. This poses a problem as students who are not college-bound sometimes do not appreciate the skills they are learning and do not comprehend the bigger picture,

including just how vital writing skills will be in their professional careers.

The lack of student motivation because of family pressure, disinterest or other factors can be very difficult for a teacher to break through in order to reignite the student's abilities to write in the English classroom. Students who face poverty, homelessness, or teenage pregnancy can often be disengaged from the classroom because they have larger issues to confront at home than writing an essay on Beowulf. In his 2007 article, "High-Flying Schools, Student Disadvantage, and the Logic of NCLB," Douglas Harris speaks about conditions for low SES students at home, "Within the home, low-income parents have relationships with their children that are, emotionally and physically, less healthy due in part to economic pressures that induce parent-child conflicts" (369). Conflicts including verbal and physical abuse as well as parent's not completing their own high school education often offer students less motivation to attain their high school diplomas. Trying to reach these students is a major challenge on many levels including a personal level, due to the fact that the teacher may not have experienced any of these life altering misfortunes and may find it hard to relate to their students' problems. Teachers should not, however, cease all efforts to connect with their students, especially since there are effective ways to meet the students' needs both academically and emotionally.

Second-year teacher Steve Moore teaches English and reading in Kansas City, Missouri; some of his students are underprivileged, homeless and pregnant and his advice is to get on the student's level and attempt to do what is best for their personal situation. Moore's advice on reaching the poverty stricken children:

**It's not easy, but setting the grounds for meeting all kid's needs is the best thing you can do as a teacher. When kids come in to me days late after not being in school because of child care, homelessness, or whatever, I don't focus on "what's due" or "what they need to do" but rather, on what they can show they've learned and will learn (Moore).**

This can be one of the most frustrating challenges for a teacher because the students could very well have an interest in learning and writing, but there is too much going on at home, or because of a lack of home, that keeps them from reaching their full potential. The task of writing an essay or any lengthy writing assignment can really disinterest students who barely have the time for class, let alone long homework assignments. Mr. Moore specifically



emphasized giving the students plenty of time to write as well as showing the students that the teachers genuinely care about what they are doing; he remarked, "...they [the students] will surprise you with their writing and effort" (Moore). The challenges a writing teacher faces with poverty-stricken students can seem discouraging, but, as Mr. Moore stated, there are clear ways of working with the students, including connecting with them on their level, making the relationship work, and allowing for achievement to occur in the writing classroom.

Students who are disadvantaged economically are not necessarily the greatest challenge to a writing teacher. While the parents of the low SES students are usually absent from the academic life of their children, the other side to that problem are parents who are overly involved in their children's education. These parents, often identified as "helicopter parents," make it their business to e-mail the teacher constantly, show up to class when they feel like it and put extreme pressure on their child and the teacher to do better or stay at a high standard. This is an emerging problem in the twenty-first century with all of the new technology available with which parents can contact the teacher and administration. Students who have overbearing "helicopter parents" can suffer in their work because of the extra pressure placed on them to succeed or as a rebellion to their parents' actions.

Steve Moore, who also taught in a more affluent Missouri school district talks about his experiences with "helicopter parents." He notes,

**Parents can be just as immature as their children—often certain problems you see in the classroom are explained when you meet the parents. There's a lot of psychological baggage that comes with getting to know someone's child and I actually think there's a bit of the strongest trust that is given when a parent expects you to work miracles... (Moore).**

The task of "working miracles" with someone else's child who may not have the ability or the motivation to complete the writing at the expected level is one that many teachers are faced with, including Mr. Moore.

The key to maintaining the relationships on a healthy level with the parents, while also encouraging the child to reach their potential, is to get to know the students and set boundaries with the parents. The administration should always back the teacher when a parent becomes too pushy or overly involved, and keeping the lines of communication open with the principal or other administration about the situation will help as well. The idea

of “helicopter parents” who overly involve themselves in their children’s education is a major problem and can sometimes spill over outside of the classroom. Working through issues inside and outside of the classroom can make a teacher stronger in their problem-solving techniques as well as their communication abilities with the students, parents and administration.

To a first-year teacher right out of college, these techniques and scenarios could seem almost impossible to maneuver through and accomplish. The main challenge a new teacher usually faces is the fear of failing their students because of their inexperience. Veteran teachers may remark that the notion of fear is trivial, but for a first-year teacher who has never taught without a supervising teacher, the classroom may seem more intimidating than exciting. Jennifer Cook addresses the idea of becoming an adult role model and authority figure in her 2009 *The New Educator* article, “It becomes clear... that assuming authority as a teacher is not as simple as merely standing in front of a class of students and delivering a lesson. It is a complex negotiation between students and teacher and between teacher and self” (284). Becoming a positive authority figure and role model does not come easy to every new teacher. The importance of a new teacher establishing him/herself as an authority figure is vital to gaining the students’ respect and can prevent behavioral problems in the future.

A great strategy to gain the students’ respect in the writing classroom is to always write with the students. Completing the assignment with the students helps the teacher understand how challenging the assignment is as well as potential flaws with the prompt or length. Students will really respond when the teacher is writing alongside them and it will help them focus more closely on the task knowing that the teacher cares enough to write as well. Pulitzer-prize winning teacher Donald Murray writes, “If you can’t do them or finish them [the writing assignments] in the time allowed, you’ve just taken a big step toward becoming a good writing teacher” (Murray 179). Murray points out the main challenge writing teachers have to face is the idea that failure can make a better writing teacher.

Assignment revision can also sculpt the teacher into who they will eventually become as a professional. New teachers will naturally fear this exact failure, but it undoubtedly positively reinforces making the lessons better for the next time around. The goal is always to become a better teacher and by experiencing the assignments firsthand, the teacher will thus have insight into what they are really expecting of their students and whether or not they feel the assignment is appropriate lengthwise and in terms of content. When

setting goals as a writing teacher there must be room for variation as issues will come up that could change the path to the selected goals.

The process of identifying and analyzing challenges that will come up in the teaching field can be crucial to the success of the teaching professional's career. It is clear that there are many challenges, coming from all areas, in and out of the classroom, that will need to be addressed and worked through in order to prevail as a more experienced and educated teacher. These challenges stem from parental issues, attitudes of the students regarding school and writing, as well as uncontrollable issues such as poverty or homelessness. The problem solving abilities of the individual teacher, as well as the outside guidance available to the teacher, such as administration and other teachers, can be the best resources for a new teacher working through issues that arise. With growing awareness of these particular problems, the new teachers coming into the schools of America can hopefully feel more prepared to teach writing, as well as excited and fulfilled by the important task of teaching students the art of written expression.

## WORKSCITED

**Cook, Jennifer S.** "Coming Into My Own as a Teacher": Identity, Disequilibrium, and the First Year of Teaching" *The New Educator* 5.4(2009): 274-92. Education Full Text. Web. 14 Nov. 2010.

**Harris, Douglas N.** "High-Flying Schools, Student Disadvantage, and the Logic of NCLB." *American Journal of Education* 113 (2007): 367-94. JSTOR. Web. 14 Nov. 2010.

**Moore, Steve J.** "Helicopter Parents and Other Challenges" E-mail interview. 13 Nov. 2010.

**Murray, Donald M.** “Chapter 12: Teach Writing Your Way” *Adolescent Literacy: Turning Promise into Practice*. Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2007: 179-88. Print.

**Street, Chris, and Kristin Stang.** “Improving the Teaching of Writing Across the Curriculum: A “Model for Teaching In-Service Secondary Teachers to Write.” *Action in Teacher Education* 30.1 (2008): 37-49. Education Full Text. Web. 14 Nov. 2010.

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# JACQUELYNHOERMANN

PHYSICAL AND RHETORICAL COMPROMISE:  
LOUISA CAROLINE TUTHILL CHANGES WOMEN'S  
EXERCISE IN AMERICA, 1839 – 1869

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The nineteenth century is filled with corporeal contradictions for women: physical fitness and lack of physical fitness, frailty and robustness, and even feminine sexual repression and liberation. These contradictions occupy rhetorical spaces throughout the nineteenth century. It is during this period in history when all of the lines of definition start to blur for women who want to understand their bodies, and meanwhile the descriptions of women's physical abilities in Louisa Caroline Tuthill's conduct book chapter on physical education remain unchanged over several decades and a multitude of editions. To a sizeable degree, the manner in which Tuthill characterizes feminine physical education captures nineteenth-century confusion over how women should conduct their bodies, but unexpectedly, Tuthill strays from conservative teachings in support of women's physical education. As a single point of common ground between Tuthill and the radical women's rights activists she disapproved of, Tuthill writes in approval of women's physical education, and actively seeks to reconcile old ideas about women's physical inferiority with new ideas about women requiring physical fitness just as much as men. In a most demure manner, Tuthill argues that women are capable of physical fitness, an activity once deemed unnecessary for their roles as mothers and caretakers.

The rhetorical career of conduct book author and self-culture authority Louisa Tuthill is a peculiar one worth investigating at length. For several centuries, the conduct book held its ground as a literary genre distinct from etiquette manuals or conduct fiction. However, it is only after women's education gains momentum in the nineteenth century that conduct books begin to move to the forefront of women's literature. With an opportunity to self-educate, women consumed conduct books as an alternative educational outlet on personal matters deemed relevant to women's roles as daughter, wife, and mother. According to Sarah Newton, the conduct book was geared to fit the domestic interests of the "inexperienced young adult," and set out to "[define] an ethical, Christian-based code of behavior, and that normally include[d]

gender role definitions” (4). Although Newton touches briefly on the subject of gender roles, it is worth noting further that women’s conduct literature prescribed socially-accepted views of appropriate female behavior, and especially socially-accepted approaches to understanding women’s bodies. Jane Rose discusses at length how conduct books set out “to explore social ideals for women’s roles in antebellum America” (37). In the case of physical education, authors who chose to write about women’s bodies played an integral role in the nineteenth-century understanding of the female body (37).

In order to better understand the historical context Tuthill was writing in, it is important to understand the relevant exercise regiments of her time. For most of the nineteenth century, men and women shared “the prevailing belief” that a woman was born with a “weaker physique” (Banner 90). To be clear, Tuthill was writing to an audience of white, middle- to upper-class women who were not exercising enough, not to the poorer classes of women who were required to exert their bodies in order to supplement the family income, or slave women who expected to engage in brutal physical labor. In comparison to men, the female audience Tuthill wrote to was seen as smaller, less muscular, and their role as matriarchs or caretakers usually eclipsed opportunities for physical improvement. By corresponding exercise with the “unique” situation of men and women, physicians were comfortable allowing men to partake in “vigorous exercise using heavy apparatus,” but women were restricted to light calisthenics (Banner 90). Calisthenics required very light weights and easy movements that did not overburden women with unbearable amounts of weight. With the rise of gymnasiums and other arenas of competitive sport and physical fitness, men would push to the forefront and dominate while women were held back and discouraged. Several feminist scholars have come forward denying that men are solely at fault for women’s discouragement from arenas of physical fitness; rather, social conventions of the time did not permit women to intermingle within realms already predominated by men (Steele 58).

Within the first few decades of the nineteenth century, men’s physical fitness was on the rise. The construction of gymnasiums and other bastions of masculine fitness vitalized the physical education movement for men, but the same cannot be said for the ladies. Physical educators wondered whether women’s bodies would even be able to handle the demands of exercise. When women first began writing during the earlier part of the nineteenth century, it was commonplace to rule women out as the weaker sex (Stanley 36). The majority of Americans deemed women’s bodies too frail and inadequate for strenuous amounts of physical activity. George Kent Stanley highlights the

fact that there were “medical pronouncements [that] served both to reflect and to reinforce the prevailing conservative view of women’s social and domestic role,” that confined them to the home in order to stave off unfeminine behavior (36). Physical exercise was considered exceptionally unfeminine, and young women feared it would lead to unwanted “muscularity while eroding grace and refinement” (Stanley 36, Todd 63). A secondary but equally strong objection to women’s physical fitness is the notion that exercise could irreparably deteriorate the frail female frame, and once destroyed, exercised female bodies would not be able to stand up to their greatest physical challenge: childbearing and childrearing. Questioning whether it would endanger procreative abilities, many physicians were equally unsupportive of women’s physical fitness. Conversely, a few would qualify this social opinion by prescribing light amounts of physical exercise believing that it would enhance maternal abilities.

All of the aforementioned questions contributed to the uncertainties that shrouded society’s understanding of women’s bodies, and especially women’s understanding of their bodies. Yet, as the nineteenth century progressed forward, so too did society’s perception of women’s bodies. The ending of the Civil War in 1865 signifies to scholars the point at which exercise and sport gain leverage in America and improve the supposed declining health of American women; however, this increased understanding of physical fitness did not necessarily generate positive ideas from women about other women who chose to exercise (Stanley 41). For the next forty years or so, women would continue to reject physical fitness and the possibility of developing a robust, healthy body in favor of a weaker, more delicate one. In many cases, women began resisting exercise altogether because they found it “unfashionable” and “unfeminine.”

Tuthill advocates for women’s engagement in physical fitness at a time when young girls turn away from a practice of physical development thought superfluous and unfashionable. Additionally, her take on physical fitness is grounded in the context of matriarchal development. It is very likely that Tuthill followed doctor’s orders strictly. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg has created a formula for perfect maternity by nineteenth-century physicians’ standards that resonates with Tuthill’s chapter on physical education. Smith-Rosenberg’s studies on nineteenth-century conduct reveal that women were instructed to “spend much of their time in the fresh air, enjoy moderate exercise, avoid down beds, corsets, or liquor... Ample rest and a simple diet of unstimulating food were equally necessary” (187). This description almost exacts an outline for Tuthill’s chapter on physical

education. By mentioning the benefits of exercise in regards to marriageability, Tuthill would have an easier time recruiting young girls to the cause of exercise. Throughout this paper I will bring to light how Tuthill—as the model conservative female author—is able to reconcile traditionally conservative positions on women’s conduct with more progressive ideas regarding women’s physical fitness by using rhetorical strategies that promised maternal improvement. Analyzing the strategies Tuthill has embedded in her conduct book chapter on physical education can offer scholars in rhetoric further insight into how conduct authors literally mobilized inactive girls of the nineteenth century.

Born in 1798 in New Haven, Connecticut, Louisa Tuthill probably was not enthusiastic about entering into the ranks of women’s conduct book authors (Allaback 6). After the death of her husband, Cornelius Tuthill, in 1825, Tuthill was left with four children and almost no financial support (Allaback 6). It is believed that Tuthill may have always had an impressive aptitude for writing starting from a very young age, but initially Tuthill was not supportive of women who chose to write. When she was a young girl, she wrote extensively in her free time, but it is reported that she burned all of her youthful writings because of the unfeminine stigma attached to women writers. Many years later she would lift her pen again in order to financially support herself and her four children (Hart 101).

With dozens of books and an estimated one hundred later editions of those books, Tuthill was a prolific writer (Eldred and Mortensen 114). Yet, it is uncertain why Tuthill’s conduct books have been disregarded almost entirely by nineteenth-century women’s rhetoric scholars. On the contrary, two scholars that have acknowledged Tuthill’s prominence as a conduct book writer, Janet Carey Eldred and Peter Mortensen, agree that her conduct books provide useful insight into how women conducted themselves in public and private spaces. Eldred and Mortensen state that “the length of her career, her frequency of publication, and her association with major presses” are all strong attestations supporting the notion “that Tuthill must have been widely known among a popular readership” (114). In and of itself, Tuthill’s popularity indicates that her take on women’s conduct was one her contemporaries appreciated, and the aforementioned rhetorical strategies she utilized influenced thousands of girls who consumed her advice.

Another important point Eldred and Mortensen make in regards to Tuthill’s writing is that she was labeled as conservative, and vigilantly opposed to suffragettes who fought for women’s rights, such as Elizabeth Cady



Stanton or Amelia Bloomer (113). Conduct book scholar Sarah Newton points out that Tuthill spoke against women's rights advocates around the time of the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848, and the brash conservatism she adhered to is most accurately conveyed in her opinion of the women who led the Seneca Falls Convention:

**Alas! Are we to be persuaded out of our best and truest interests by these masculine marauders? Can any one deny that there is a desire to mingle in public affairs, a wrangling in controversy, and a hankering for public applause, unbecoming the dignity and delicacy of woman? (Tuthill qtd. in Newton 93).**

Tuthill uses the feminine body to make her point. She has alluded to the physical inferiority of the female sex in suggesting their "delicacy," but she also attempts to demean women's rights advocates by accusing them of being "masculine marauders." In her justification, she describes the women as criminal in nature because they have stolen an aspect of superiority and strength that is typically associated with the strong male, not the weak female. Tuthill plays on social constructions of women as physically weaker, and consequently unworthy of social equality to men.

A quick, superficial analysis of Tuthill's physical education chapter would strike most readers as drastically more conservative than the writings of Tuthill's progressive, feminist counterparts. Ironically enough, Stanton, Bloomer, and Tuthill were all in favor of the women's physical educational movement. In fact, most women's rights advocates supported this movement long before it was implemented in the American school system, but most conduct authors strayed away from or dedicated a minimal number of pages to the subject of women's physical fitness. United on one front but divided on many others, this marginal point of similarity between women's rights advocates and a conservative conduct author offers a tremendous topic of investigation for scholars in the field of nineteenth-century women's literature. For a staunch conservative like Tuthill to align with women on the other end of the feminist spectrum on the fledgling, but controversial topic of women's physical fitness would have shattered the expectations of her audience.

First published in 1839, *The Young Lady at Home and in Society* adopted novel ideas from competing medical theories that supported women's physical activity. In the very first line of Tuthill's chapter on physical education, she acknowledges that previous modes of thought have been opposed to women's

health and will contradict her recommendations:

It has been thought vulgar to possess health, not that any one would acknowledge herself so ridiculously absurd, yet the old adage in this case is true, "Actions speak louder than words." It is generally believed that beautiful, fragile beings, too delicate to meet the first rude blast without shrinking, are the most interesting to those arbiters whose taste is all decisive on this matter. Man, strong and robust, likes to be the defender and the protector of the weak; he likes, too, that his superiority should be felt and acknowledged. (78)

In this passage, Tuthill depicts the male sex in physically superior terms that resonate with the description set forth by Leslie. In contrast to the "strong and robust" man who enjoys his fair share of "superiority," Tuthill depicts the female sex as "beautiful" but weak and incapable of physical equality. Nonetheless, within the first few lines Tuthill vocalizes her ability to see the other side of the controversy. In discussing how it was once "thought vulgar to possess health," she highlights that this thought is an idea of the past. Tuthill's assertion, that health is now a desirable quality of self-conduct, is further authorized by "the old adage" that "Actions speak louder than words." Here, Tuthill is taking a conservative, moralistic adage and situating it next to a radical idea: that women should exercise and care for their bodies. The juxtaposition of an old adage and a new way of thinking are remarkable, especially when one resigns to the commonly held belief that she laces the pages of her books with conservatism. Although her signature conservative style may hold a stronger presence in other chapters, and though she was opposed to suffrage, Tuthill's chapter on Physical Education begs one to differ from the crowd that claims she is purely conservative in her writings. Louisa Tuthill was neither friendly towards women's rights activists, nor was she willing to push heavy, masculine forms of exercise on her young female readership, but on occasion she was fond of nudging women in a progressive direction. Tuthill ought to be remembered for how her rhetorical style adopted new science and theory on women's health and reconciled it with the conservative genre of the conduct book.

Yet there were those who disagreed. Those who were opposed launched "attacks on any behavior deemed unfeminine," and alleged that women who

exercised would experience heightened levels of “disease and debility” (Stanley 36). Opinion leaders and physicians who opposed women’s engagement in physical education predominated the beginning of the century, but as time passed their arguments would be discredited by a gradually emerging group that supported women’s physical fitness, Tuthill being one of the earliest supporters. She specifically warns the young lady who discredits physical fitness:

Want of exercise. Perhaps you have no regular system with regard to this, and spend whole days in languid inactivity. Occupied with reading and needle-work, days pass without any more exercise than is necessary to take you from one room to another. Your reluctance to move demonstrates the *vis inertia* of matter; the slightest labor becomes an intolerable burden. Beware! The monster dyspepsia is beckoning you for one of his sallow, meager train. Escape for your life! Regular exercise is indispensable. (78)

Alerting the young reader to the importance of caring for her body is the central message, and the peripheral messages attempt to relate to women who feel sluggish and exhausted from the simplest exertion. Tuthill opens channels of physical feeling and attention that will engage young girls who lack fitness, and she lets them know that they can change these feelings. She vilifies the effects of laziness calling it a disease, a bodily intruder, and in doing so she refutes the challenge that women’s exercise would cause “disease and debility” (Stanley 36). This excerpt is also demonstrative of how Tuthill pinpoints a commonly held concern of the time, that “most girls educated at home led unhealthy lives” (Todd 13). At the very end, she reiterates that “active exercise” is imperative to one’s personal health, but in case the premise of personal improvement is not enough, Tuthill takes her argument one step further. At this point, she has addressed women’s concerns about exercising as unfashionable, dismissed perceptions of exercise as dangerous to women’s bodies, and discussed how physical fitness is a cure for laziness. Each of these points builds up to her final rhetorical strategy of playing on the domestic vocations of women. Toward the beginning of the physical education movement, it was common to “overlap” women’s physical education with the study of “domestic science,” that taught girls how to nourish and clean their bodies and the bodies of those placed in their care (Stanley 50). Tuthill takes this overlap and applies it to the maternal, caring duties typically associated with women caregivers:

The natural delicacy and weakness of the other sex are thus fostered. That it should be so, is owing to a refined one, among its evils. But the arduous, imperative duties that in life's progress devolve upon woman call for physical, as well as mental vigor. To hover around the couch of sickness, and smooth the pillow of the dying; to bear patiently with the querulous impatience of the aged, and the petulance of childhood; to lead into the right path the boisterous waywardness of youth; and to soothe, by unwearied kindness, tempers rendered harsh and irritable by intercourse with a cold, unfeeling world;—are not these a part of her humble ministry? (79)

Acknowledging the supposed weakness of the female sex, Tuthill goes on to list commendable maternal duties that will be enhanced with physical strength and health. She urges women to take care of their bodies so they can take care of others. Thus, she legitimizes the feminine role as one that requires physical capacity. Despite the fact that Tuthill is more or less confining women to a certain role, it is essential to recognize that she is redirecting women's attention to the importance of physical fitness, an activity that had previously been unwelcoming to them. If we can recognize how she takes a new idea that is challenged by critics who argue against women exercising their bodies, we can appreciate her attempts to mold it into something that is more comfortable for a skeptical society that expects women to be good mothers and wives and not much else. This distinction was bolstered in the later half of the century when the eugenics movement began to take hold.

Many conduct authors frowned upon women who focused on developing their bodies because these physically-conscious women were accused of redirecting precious maternal efforts away from their children's health and towards exercising and cultivating their own health. Further confirmation comes from Lois Banner, who affirms that "the majority of writers of nineteenth-century advice literature also scorned women who engaged in 'vigorous physical exercise,'" but not for the same reasons as young girls who thought it unfashionable to exercise (91). Instead, conduct book authors advised against women's involvement in sports and other forms of physical activity because physically fit and maternally fit were considered mutually exclusive. In other words, one could not be an exemplary mother if one were vested in a physical fitness regimen. Banner argues that suspicions about the physically-fit female body were probably the norm for physical-education

chapters in nineteenth-century women's conduct books (91).

Equally relevant to the analysis of Tuthill's rhetorical strategies is the coming of physical education activists and reformers later in the century. One activist and contemporary of Tuthill's, Orson Fowler, truly believed that "vigorous exercise" could "increase [women's] brain size, improve their intelligence, and enhance their maternal capacities" (Todd 178). It is very possible that Fowler, like other physical education activists, was influenced by Tuthill's rhetorical strategy of highlighting maternal benefits in order to validate physical fitness to women. Fowler's writings were considered progressive, and they serve as an interesting point of comparison to Tuthill's chapter on physical education. Jan Todd's explanation of Fowler's stance on women's physical fitness demonstrates that his earliest writings included "recommendations primarily centered on manual labor and domestic work," but from mid-century onward he would begin to slowly prod the sprouting women's physical fitness movement in a more vigorous direction (184). Tuthill and Fowler begin on the same terms—encouraging women to train their bodies for the rigors of motherhood—but the same progression is not seen in Tuthill's writing. They adopt radical ideas about what women's bodies need in conjunction with rhetoric about fitness benefits that will improve the maternal capabilities of a woman—a hook for the true woman. Over the course of approximately thirty editions, Tuthill's advice on exercise remains unchanged and illustrates that she was not overtly progressive or conservative. If Tuthill had followed trends toward elevated levels of vigorous exercise, we could label her as progressive. However, her signature conservatism is what prevented her from revising her chapter on physical education to praise girls' participation in sports or strenuous physical exertion. Instead, Tuthill adheres to the following recommendations for over three decades:

**Walking, riding, and in a rainy day, or on other days if it be possible, active employment within doors. If your situation precludes the necessity for assisting in keeping the house in order, you can fill the flower-vases, tastefully arrange the furniture, put the books in their places, keep your own room in the neatest possible order, and find many other things to give you employment, not entirely sedentary. (78)**

Ostensibly, walking and riding do not leave many options for the lazy girl who wishes to play out-of-doors, but when one considers that girls had

been previously discouraged from doing so, it becomes clear that these suggestions were progressive ones. Tuthill is not going to tell young girls that they need to run a marathon, but instead she cautiously recommends mild forms of exercise that match-up with emerging medical theory. This prescription will sail through approximately thirty editions of Tuthill's *Young Lady at Home* unchanged. What is more, these editions are revised and republished after the end of the Civil War, a turning point that marks the rise of organized sporting activity, in which women gained limited participation. Even after many women's colleges were permitting girls to engage in recreational sport during physical education classes, Tuthill makes the decision to exclude organized sporting events as a recommended form of exercise. Considering Tuthill's opposition to suffragettes and radical feminists, it is no surprise that she opposes organized sports that might promote a sense of camaraderie and lay the groundwork for collective actions. Promoting individual exercise over organized sports extinguishes the possibility of collaboration and dissent, and in accordance, she encourages her delicate reader to keep the body busy within the home, performing domestic duties with vigorous enthusiasm.

As a talented rhetor that re-shaped the conservative nature of the conduct book, Tuthill is simultaneously able to prevent women from going overboard with physical fitness. She did not propose that women go out and radically alter their bodies by taking up wrestling, rugby, or other masculine sports, but she is encouraging young women to break with traditional, in vogue ideas about passive delicacy and refinement in order to make a physical change. More importantly, Tuthill's reader must understand that her rhetorical compromise is not entirely unique to her situation; instead, it is better labeled as an undercurrent. Stanley has suggested that there was an undercurrent of "writers [who] used various tactics in reconciling the passive notion of true womanhood with the dynamic image of physical exercise" (44). Scholars should look to Tuthill as a representative of the physical education undercurrent. During Tuthill's career, many writers—herself included—emerged from beneath the assumption that women were physically inferior and must be confined to the safety of the home that would not challenge them. In doing so, writers worked stealthily to persuade the public that mild amounts of physical activity would allow women to become better mothers, maintain their socially-prescribed roles, and meanwhile, transcend the restrictions placed on how they exercised their bodies. Tuthill rhetorically deters skepticism by directly stating that physical training will improve women's domestic capabilities.

Still, the physical education movement would not sink into educational systems until the very end of the century. Lois Banner comments on how this movement “had not gained universal popularity” even in the 1880s, but toward the end of that decade an administrator at the Brooklyn Normal School of Gymnastics would write, “it is now generally admitted by educators that pupils need physical education” (139-140). Tuthill would not be around to see this change take root. Louisa Tuthill’s influential life came to an end in 1878, but the educators of the 1880s and onward would heed Tuthill’s advice. These educators would make advanced strides towards the women’s physical education movement and bolstering a positive image of the strong, physically fit woman (Smith-Rosenberg 262). Once again, Tuthill’s life as a conservative conduct author helped liberate women of the nineteenth century, and ultimately, may have paved the way for the coming of the “New Woman” at the turn of the century.

The debate over women’s bodies persisted throughout the nineteenth century, and in many ways, still exists today. During a time when physicians were just beginning to explore the benefits exercise held for women, Tuthill captures this fledgling debate in the 1869 version of *The Young Lady at Home and in Society* in a single statement: “Who shall decide when doctors disagree?” (80). What is interesting about this sentence is that it is one of the only changes made to her conduct book over the course of thirty years. To an exceptional degree, the addition of this statement is demonstrative of how Tuthill chose to advise young ladies on the importance of actively educating themselves about their bodies. Despite an abundance of controversy over women’s bodies, she openly informs her young reader that doctors can provide no definite answers for the time being. Tuthill’s chapter sets out to deter women away from organized, collectivist sports while also tearing down past assumptions about physical exercise as dangerous to women’s health. Both of these sub-arguments buttress Tuthill’s central argument: women must submit to an exercise regimen that will enable them to become better mothers, wives, and caretakers. After reading Tuthill’s physical education chapter, the reader is left with a blend of old and new ideas about women’s physical culture, and she neatly abridges competing ideas into a conduct-book version that will be palatable to the minds of young ladies.

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# MICHELESMITH

THE ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION OF MARY PRINCE:  
A CLOSER EXAMINATION OF HOW BOTH SLAVERY  
& THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT MANIPULATED SLAVES

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Economic survival was the primary focus for the British colonies during the eighteenth century. The British Slave Trade was essential to this survival. Slaves were purchased for economic purposes; despite the brutal manner in which the slaves were treated, they were nonetheless investments towards economic prosperity for their slaveholders. Until 1831, few people knew about the ill-treatment suffered by African female slaves in Britain. Thomas Pringle brought the abusive life of a female slave, Mary Prince, to the British public to advocate for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies. His publication of *The History of Mary Prince*, the personal narrative of the first black female slave from the West Indies, had a huge impact on the public perception of slavery in England. Pringle, a known poet and abolitionist, loosely validated Prince's experiences by allowing her the opportunity to voice her grievances about the ill-treatment she endured from her slaveholders, especially Mr. and Mrs. John Wood. However, this essay argues that their actions furthered the cause of the Abolition Movement and both the slave masters and Pringle likely exploited Prince's status as a slave to either sustain or further advance their own economic interests. Moreover, as the first female slave narrative in Britain, it is equally important to analyze the false superiority that scholars, like Audrey Fisch, suggested England displayed after abolishing slavery even while the country continued to enjoy substantial profits from the exploitation of American slaves while disregarding its own history in favor of English Nationalism. Given the important reasons for Prince's desire to publish her narrative, one of them being to educate the English audience concerning the brutal conditions of slavery, addressing the posture of England is relevant.

## THE BRITISH SLAVE TRADE

Many scholars agree that the first shipment of slaves to a British colony occurred early in the seventeenth century. Also, American settlers made their first effort to procure slaves with merchant ships from Boston and

that was essentially the beginning of trading goods for slaves. According to Tom Lansford's article, "The British Slave Trade," the slave trade had become an integral factor in the economic and geographical development of British colonialism and geopolitical hegemony. By the later part of the seventeenth century the colonial legislature had institutionalized slavery and restricted the freedom of Africans. To accommodate the growing British Colonies, the Royal Africa Company<sup>1</sup> was granted a monopoly on the British slave trade (Lansford 3).

Throughout the eighteenth century the British were the largest importers of slaves. Molasses was brought from the Caribbean colonies to New England to make rum and then exported to Africa. Rhode Island had more than 30 distilleries, while Massachusetts had more than 60. New England distilleries reduced the cost of production to enable them to produce the product less expensively. A gallon of rum was sold in Africa for ten times the cost to produce it.

Additionally, the price for slaves in Africa rose from £4 to £5. The slaves were then sold in the Caribbean anywhere from £30 to £80. Next to rum, iron products, firearms, blankets, and small goods such as mirrors and beads were among the most commonly traded goods. Throughout the eighteenth century the price of slaves in Africa continued to increase dramatically. By the end of the century a "typical male slave was acquired for two muskets, shot, gunpowder, flints, iron pots, several yards of cloth and other clothing, and beads, as well as rum, knives, and cutlasses" (Stubbs 5).

The population of the British Caribbean colonies exceeded 500,000 and 90 to 95 percent of that population was slaves, which resulted in more restrictive slave codes than in the North American colonies. For example, a slave could be killed or permanently maimed for a minor mistake. The British Caribbean colonies acquired a lot of wealth and it was primarily tied to sugar, with Jamaica being the largest supplier producing 77,000 tons of sugar per year (Stubbs 7).

As the British continued to rise in naval power, settling parts of the West Indies as well as North America, some of the British colonies were known for producing guns in exchange for slaves. Seventy-five percent of the sugar produced via the British Caribbean slave labor was shipped to London, England to supply their very popular and prosperous coffee houses. By the early nineteenth century the majority of the sugar was produced by the British and West Indian sugar was omnipresent in Indian tea (Black History.com).

## THE HISTORY OF MARY PRINCE

In order to properly analyze the plight of Prince<sup>2</sup> and how she was manipulated even in her presumed freedom, it is necessary to briefly address her history as a slave from an economic perspective. Focusing primarily on the economic perspective of Prince's captivity is by no means designed to diminish her personal struggles or the inhumane manner in which she was treated by her slave holders. However, for the purposes of this essay, the focus must be narrowed to the economics of her slave experience. Prince, before being sold to Mr. Wood for thirteen years of slavery, was a chattel to several slaveholders, some of whom leased her services to other slaveholders for profit.

Born into slavery at Brackish-Pond in Bermuda<sup>3</sup>, her first slaveholder was Charles Myners, a farm owner. Since Prince was an infant when Mr. Myners died, she was not used for labor. However, her mother and other slaves were used. Many of the slaves in Bermuda were used not only as servants, but as construction workers and sailors (*The History*: 7-8, 72).

In 1800, Prince's second slaveholder, Captain Darrel, purchased her from the Myners family and presented her as a gift to his granddaughter, whose father was Captain Williams, the master of a vessel. Because he did not have many slaves who could work as sailors alongside him, Captain Williams suffered financial problems and failed to succeed at sea. These economic failures caused him to not only mistreat the slaves (most of whom were children), but his family as well. An inability to turn a profit bankrupted his family and thus Prince's services were leased out to a neighbor, Mrs. Pruden. Sometime later Mrs. Williams died and Captain Williams, in an effort to raise money to remarry, decided to sell the slaves, which included Prince. Captain Williams was a prime example of slaveholders using slaves for economic survival (as opposed to prosperity). When he was unsuccessful at his trade he leased the services of his slaves in order to earn a profit and then eventually sold them in order to support the middle-class lifestyle to which he was accustomed and that his new wife desired. Even slaveholders had a social status to maintain. More importantly, not all slaveholders were affluent. Being slaveholders was a means by which many of them would become prosperous.

Captain Williams offered the slaves at an auction where they were examined as if they were cattle. The other slaveholders bargain-shopped for the best slave(s). Because Prince was young, healthy, a good worker and also prime for breeding, she was sold for a great profit to Captain I. Unfortunately, it was at this point that Prince was separated from her family. Prince, as she

recalled the moment, wrote:

He took me by the hand and led me out to the middle of the street, and turning me slowly around, exposed me to the view of those who attended the venue. I was soon surrounded by strange men who examined and handled me in the same way that a butcher would a calf or a lamb he was about to purchase, and who talked about my shape and size in like words...I was then put up to sale...the people who stood by said that I had fetched a great sum for one so young a slave. I then saw my sisters led forth and sold to different owners...When the sale was over, my mother hugged and kissed us and mourned over us, begging us to keep a good heart...It was a sad parting, one went one way, one another, and our poor mammy went home with nothing (11-12).

As Mr. I's slave, Prince endured hardships that are not relevant for the purposes of this argument. However, some of her duties, which affected the economic status of her slaveholder, included picking cotton and wool. When the slaveholders desired a more substantial profit, they beat their slaves, including Prince, to instill fear and to motivate them to work harder. (11).

After five years as Mr. I's slave, Prince was sold to Mr. D and sent to the Turk Islands to work in the salt ponds. Mr. D was one of the owners and was very well compensated for each slave that he sent to work in the salt ponds. Despite Prince's youth, she was immediately sent to the salt ponds to work for several hours per day. The slaves were compensated with Indian corn, which they used to feed their families. Having several slaves to work in the salt ponds proved very profitable for Mr. D. However, having slaves standing in salt water for upwards of seventeen hours per day had torn away at their flesh and caused illnesses. When the slaves lost their usefulness, they were either beaten to death, shot, or sent out into the woods to die--a process which has been mentioned in many slave narratives, including Frederick Douglas's. Having known this, Prince was reluctant to exhibit signs of diminished capacity. After Prince returned home to Bermuda, she worked planting, among other things, "sweet potatoes, Indian corn, plaintains, bananas, cabbages, pumpkins and onions." These crops proved very profitable for Mr. D. (19, 23-24).

In 1815, Mr. D sold Prince to her final slaveholder, Mr. John Wood who, at the time, was heading to Antigua. Her work began in a domestic capac-

ity or what many have come to know as a “House Negro.” But soon after her arrival she attempted to seek a new slaveholder. Since she was often left to attend to the household in Mr. and Mrs. Wood’s absence, she worked to earn money to purchase her freedom. Mr. and Mrs. Wood, perhaps due to her lengthy service of slavery with them or perhaps due to the publisher’s decision, was the primary focus of Prince’s narrative in that she described the inhumanity of these slaveholders more so than any of the previous slaveholders. Prince had reached a point where she desperately desired her freedom as she grew tired of being ill-treated as a slave.

**Mr. Wood did not then want to purchase me; it was my own fault that I came under him, I was so anxious to go (to Antigua). It was ordained to be, I suppose; God led me there. The truth is, I did not wish to be any longer the slave of my indecent master (25).**

It is not clear if Prince understood that part of slavery included the ill-treatment of slaves. In 1828, Prince accompanied her slaveholders to England where she continued to be beaten and ill-treated by her slaveholders. Prince noted:

**Mrs. Wood was more vexed about my marriage than her husband. ... Mrs. Wood stirred up Mr. Wood to flog me dreadfully with the horsewhip. She did not lick me herself, but she got her husband to do it for her, whilst she fretted the flesh off my bones (30).**

Before leaving Antigua with her slaveholders, Prince had married a free slave. However, Mr. and Mrs. Wood would not allow her to purchase her freedom nor would they allow others to purchase her in an effort to give her that freedom. Prince, believing it was an act of spite and inhumanity continued her quest for freedom not realizing that her slaveholders’ unwillingness to set her free may have not just been about spite and inhumanity, but also about simple economics. In fact, economic stability may have outweighed the act of enslaving Prince. Approximately five years later, England abolished slavery. However, Prince’s family was in Antigua where slavery had not yet been abolished as it was still very lucrative (34).

According to the article, “Hiring of Slaves by British Officials,” the British colonies were expanding so rapidly that there was a major shortage of labor and the colonies were in dispute regarding the exporting of slaves.

Many government officials had even begun to hire slaves, but prohibited other colonies from stealing the labor of neighboring colonies, thus causing their competitors to be at a disadvantage. None of these British colonies was eager to meet England's gesture of abolishing slavery as the process was still very lucrative and it would have been nonsensical to terminate the business of slavery ("Hiring" 211).

Furthermore, according to Tristan Stubbs' article, "The Abolition of the Slave Trade," many people associated reform of any sort with the French Revolution of the eighteenth century. British Caribbean plantation economies benefited from the disruption to French sugar exports as a result of the slave rebellion. By the early nineteenth century American protectionism was abandoned. Merchants later shifted away from sugar in the British Caribbean colonies to cheaper sources in the East. These economic factors motivated slaveholders to oppose freeing slaves and any form of abolition as much of their capital was tied up in land and slaves. Many planters demanded and received large payouts when plantation slavery itself was outlawed in British colonies in 1834. Slaveholders therefore had little incentive to voluntarily abandon the slave trade or free existing slaves (Stubbs 12).

## **EXPLOITATION AND THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT: MEET MR. THOMAS PRINGLE**

Prince was ambiguous about returning to Antigua where her husband and family remained. She knew that she would return as a slave and still belong to Mr. and Mrs. Wood. If she remained in England, she would be free, but without resources for food and shelter as Mr. and Mrs. Wood were not willing to offer freedom in Antigua. She would also not be able to return home to her husband. While slaveholders may have used slavery for the benefit of their families, the economics of slavery destroyed the families of the slaves, including Prince's family. The choice to be physically free yet alone, versus returning to your family as a slave is not a choice any individual should have to make. Unfortunately, not realizing that both slavery and freedom were less about a physical condition may have led to Prince's decision to remain in England, physically free but in emotional turmoil.

That same year, in 1828, Prince solicited support from the Anti-Slavery office in Aldermanbury. Since Prince had depleted her financial resources and had left the employ of Mr. and Mrs. Wood, she was offered a position as a domestic servant for Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Pringle. Pringle had been

employed as the secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society for nearly two years when he met Prince.

In the early nineteenth century there were some evangelicals and humanitarians who were advocates for the abolition of slavery, such as William Wilberforce<sup>4</sup> and Thomas Clarkson, who, Earl Griggs' notes in Thomas Clarkson, the Friend of Slaves, developed a six-step process for abolishing slavery in Britain (39). William Wilberforce, in an appeal to the religion, justice and humanity of the inhabitants of the British Empire in 1823, stated on behalf of the Negro slaves in the West Indies:

If the native intelligence and buoyant independence of Britons cannot survive in the dank and baleful climate of personal slavery, could it be reasonably expected that the poor Africans, unsupported by any consciousness of personal dignity or civil rights, should not yield to the malignant influences to which they had so long been subjected, and be depressed even below the level of the human species? (Eversole 4)

Wilberforce was one of the foremost advocates for the abolition of slavery and was widely known for his bold statements. However, not everyone, critics will argue, who joined the movement for the abolition of slavery had an equal agenda. Pringle, a poet and journalist, had written several poems about South Africa, but was not widely known beyond South Africa. Matthew Shum<sup>5</sup> argues in *"The Prehistory of the History of Mary Prince: Thomas Pringle's "The Bechuana Boy"*<sup>6</sup>, that Pringle had a problem with credibility about the abolition of slavery. He claims Pringle exploited the tragedy of a young African male child who was desperately attempting to avoid being taken into captivity and who, according to Pringle's notes, "accidentally fell under" his protection. The poem Shum cites as an example was one of Pringle's popular South African poems, for which he was well known. It is not clear in reading the poem where the exploitation of the child took place and unfortunately, notes were not provided in the argument attacking Pringle's credibility. The poem, does however, demonstrate some sensitivity towards the plight of Africans. As the storyteller, Pringle brings their issues to light. Perhaps if Shum had argued more towards the motives of exploitation for economic gain, the argument, at least as it relates to publishing the poem, may be plausible. There is irony in implying that there is a credibility problem with a scholar who questions



another's credibility. And perhaps there is credibility in Shum's argument. The example provided here, however, creates confusion without the notes to support the argument.

Stanzas 2-4

With open aspect, frank yet bland,  
And with a modest mien he stood,  
Caressing with a gentle hand  
That beast of gentle brood;  
Then, meekly gazing in my face,  
Said in the language of his race,  
With smiling look yet pensive tone,  
"Stranger— I'm in the world alone!"

"Poor boy!" I said, "thy native home  
Lies far beyond the Stormberg blue:  
Why hast thou left it, boy! to roam  
This desolate Karroo?"  
His face grew sadder while I spoke;  
The smile forsook it; and he broke  
Short silence with a sob-like sigh,  
And told his hapless history.  
"I have no home!" replied the boy:  
"The Bergenaars— by night they came,  
And raised their wolfish howl of joy,  
While o'er our huts the flame  
Resistless rushed; and aye their yell  
Pealed louder as our warriors fell  
In helpless heaps beneath their shot:  
—One living man they left us not!  
(Shum 15).

Mr. Shum further claims that while *The Bechuana Boy* was an anti-slavery poem (his only anti-slavery poem of record), Pringle was not only disinterested in abolitionism, but was likely complicit in the capturing and ownership of slaves. Since Pringle was the head of the Scottish Agriculturalists, he was active in acquiring inexpensive labor, which was usually through slavery (Shum 20). This argument, of course, predates Pringle's tenure with the Anti-Slavery Society, where he may have grown to be more sensitive to the cause of abolitionism.

Furthermore, Pringle struggled most of his writing career; he was forced to move from London to Africa and then back to London due to fi-

nancial struggles as he could not succeed as a writer. In fact, he made his plight as well as his ambitions apparent in the first paragraph of his letter from London on November 27, 1819:

I will only venture to add that I am anxious to be usefully employed, and if any respectable situation (of whatever description might be found most suitable & expedient) could be obtained for me in the Colony or in the new settlement where I might more agreeably reside among my relations, a very moderate income would satisfy my wishes. All I am very ambitious about obtaining is a secure competence for my family dependant only on my own exertions and the approbation of Government. My pretensions are not lofty, indeed I can neither boast of scientific knowledge nor of much experience in affairs - I may only venture to lay claim to some little literary experience, and (what is perhaps of more importance in the present case) to habits of attention and accuracy formed during ten years employment upon the Public Records under the superintendance of Mr. THOMSON the Deputy Clerk Register of Scotland, & in the management of a newspaper and magazine for more than two years.

Tho. PRINGLE  
(South African Eastern Cape L Archives).  
(Pringle 2).

The above portion of Pringle's letter indicates a man's desperation not only to revive his writing career, but a need to provide for his family financially. His desperation is certainly understandable and his desire to work is admirable. However, when desperation is present, individuals often resort to unusual measures to resolve their problems - Pringle's dilemma, income and a writing career. Presumably, Pringle's interests in the abolition movement were genuine on its face, but the reality of the letter's contents unfortunately continues to build upon his critics' arguments of questionable motives. By itself, this letter only speaks to the average concerns of an unemployed husband and father. For his critics, however, this letter joined with other criticisms strengthens their arguments. However, it still does not provide indisputable evidence of conspiratorial behavior.

Because of his South African poetry and an article he wrote about slavery in South Africa, his writing attracted the attention of the Anti-Slavery Society

in 1827 and earned him an employment opportunity as a secretary. This job gave Pringle an audience for his poetry as well as his writing, but still he was not very successful. Moreover, his employment with the Anti-Slavery Society concluded in 1834 when colonial slavery was abolished. While Pringle's primary goal was likely not to abolish slavery, but rather to advance his writing career, his participation was an important part of ending colonial slavery. It is likely that Pringle's motives were questionable, at least according to his critics, but that does not negate his success as an abolitionist.

Having employed Prince as he and his wife's domestic servant, Pringle observed her constant and unrelenting struggle for emancipation and for the abolishment of slavery as a whole. Prince possessed a strong desire to inform her English audience about the atrocities of slavery as she believed that the natives of England were either unaware of how prevalent slavery was and how slaves, especially women, were being treated or they chose to ignore its reality. Pringle published Prince's narrative not only to assist her with sharing her experiences, but as a vehicle to advocate for the cause of abolitionism as well as to advance his career and escape financial despair. He was certainly aware that no other African female slave in Britain had written her narrative and he seized upon an opportunity to address all three issues. Like other publishers of slave narratives, Pringle often contradicted the credibility of Prince's words throughout the supplement by implying on one hand that she was aggressive and argumentative, yet on the other hand she was the victim of horrific circumstances. While appearing to validate her experiences, especially as they related to Mr. and Mrs. Wood, as authentic, he also questioned their validity by suggesting that he could not state the truthfulness of her testimony (Prince 54-55). With Pringle as her publisher, it casted doubt on the legitimacy of Prince's narrative and subsequently led to two libel suits by Mr. and Mrs. Wood and their fellow supporters James Macqueen and James Curtin.

In James Macqueen, Esq.'s letter to Earl Grey, First Lord of the Treasury, he directly references Pringle as a "liar" and referred to him manipulating the words of Prince to suit his own agenda. He accused both Prince and Pringle of desecrating the characters of Mr. and Mrs. Wood whom he deemed to be honorable citizens of Britain. He reserved his most vile remarks for Pringle, essentially labeling him as an opportunist. (Macqueen 744-50). Of course the fact that Macqueen as well as his cohort Mr. James Curtin, who also declared his support of Mr. and Mrs. Wood, were both acquaintances of the accused and staunch supporters for the practice of slavery, may render their

arguments questionable. Perhaps Macqueen hoped to discredit the stories related in *The History* by discrediting its publisher. But their subsequent joint libel suits against *The History* were defeated in 1832, largely due to the overwhelming evidence submitted by Prince on her own behalf and corroborated, in part, by Pringle.

While Macqueen and Curtin's alliances may be deemed questionable, according to A.M. Rauwerda's article, "Naming Agency, and a 'Tissue of Falsehoods' in the History of Mary Prince," other more recent editors, including Moira Ferguson in her 1997 edition of *The History of Mary Prince*, and Sarah Salih in her 2000 edition of *The History of Mary Prince*, also accuse Pringle of changing Prince's voice as well as downplaying the sexual violence that Prince experienced or witnessed. Furthermore, they accuse Ms. Susanna Strickland, Pringle's friend and houseguest, who served as the amanuensis<sup>7</sup>, of twisting Prince's words. (Rauwerda 397-411). Pringle's decision to use Strickland was questionable at best. It does not, however, prove a concealed motive.

It is implied through the many critiques of Pringle by his peers that his motives to assist Prince lacked purity and integrity. They found him to be a desperate man who falsely took up the cause of anti-slavery and used it to advance his career. Arguably, he accomplished this through manipulation and a false sincerity. Despite his motives, which cannot be proven, he published Prince's narrative, helped to abolish colonial slavery and revived his career in the process. If he had not revived his career and profited financially, perhaps there would be fewer criticisms. But then that would imply hypocrisy on the part of Pringle's critics.

## **ENGLAND: THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT MEETS THE GREAT HYPOCRISY**

England abolished slavery in 1833. So it was not a coincidence that approximately twenty years later many African American abolitionists arrived in England. In *American Slaves in Victorian England*, Audrey Fisch examines the people and ideas of the abolitionist campaign in England. She highlights two of the abolitionists, Sarah Parker Remond and Henry "Box" Brown, who are not the most conventional choices for the abolitionist movement. Fisch drew a sharp contrast between the two lecturers, one (Sarah Parker Remond), a light-skinned African American woman who, like her parents, was born free; and two (Henry "Box" Brown), a dark-skinned fugitive slave who escaped from the south to freedom in the north by mailing himself in a box. (72-90). Although Remond wanted to represent the struggling black, uneducated, female slave, none of her predom-

inantly Caucasian female audiences associated her with such an identity. Often, she gained the sympathy of middle- and upper-class white women who detested the poor treatment of white women, which was not Remond's platform. The English Press also wanted to associate her with educated white women. According to Fisch this was "an identity that she often attempted to reject as she was black and that was her individual identity and her platform." Obviously, her unconventional childhood and lifestyle from an upper-class, successful, (free) black family was contrary to that of a black, female, uneducated slave. Brown's lectures were received more along the theme of Negrophilism<sup>8</sup>. And so he and other lecturers joined that long line of typecasting that aided England in its continuing attempt to downplay the atrocity of slavery.

Fisch further directs attention to the reality that the original *Uncle Tom's Cabin*<sup>9</sup> by Harriet Beecher Stowe highlighted problems with slavery in its depiction of the characters and the need to abolish it. "However, after the novel, unprotected, was sent to England, its message was lost and the characters were reshaped" and the cause quickly moved from politics to capitalism, which was always at the heart of slavery (14). Tom's character, after arriving in England became very popular and known as "Tom-mania" (12). Rather than focusing on the abolition of slavery, which was the novel's original intent, England stripped it down to a name brand and created, among other things, new and disingenuous editions of the novel, along with wall paper, card games, table linen, and dish-ware. Englishmen seized the opportunity to capitalize on the slavery just as Pringle may have with the publication of *The History* and the abolition of slavery.

England held up its English Nationalism<sup>10</sup> as the face and voice of freedom and looked down upon America for its role in continuing the practice and advocacy for slavery while it continued to profit from the same process for which it condemned America. England may have abolished slavery in 1833, but the country had not long done so before criticizing America for still practicing the very principles of slavery that were designed to help them achieve economic stability. The difference is that England could likely be accused of doing so behind the veil of a façade. As stated earlier, there was profit to be gained by both the advocacy for slavery and the abolition of it and now, with certain Englishmen, the distorting and sensationalizing of slavery.

England's countrymen had manipulated the system to appear sensitive to the cause of slavery by inviting Americans to lecture while they sold tickets to the events as if it were a minstrel show. They used only the African Americans they could either manipulate or whom they deemed less credible and more entertaining. They encouraged the writing of slave narratives as they profited

by marketing them and thus selling tens of thousands of copies in multiple languages. The wave of slave narratives that moved throughout England began a new literary movement as the theme dramatically changed from sensual fiction to American slavery, which allowed England to reap substantial profits. England promoted the “dumbing down” of the African American fugitive slaves and profited from their accounts of captivity by commercializing it and controlling the process. Furthermore, they continued to do so while distracting from England’s own brutal history with slavery. Hence, English Nationalism.

Simply stated, even though England presumed to take the high moral ground when comparing its country to America, its actions could be construed as disingenuous and some of its countrymen were the epitome of hypocrisy. In the midst of the abolishment of the slave trade and the later abolishment of slavery itself, England managed to successfully lure the American slaves away from a booming American economy (due to its practice of slavery) to England, seemingly of their own volition. Once in England they lectured as well as sold their narratives all while being dismissed as inarticulate, ignorant African Americans who may have not truly experienced slavery as they testified since neither of the qualifiers could genuinely validate the veracity of their personal accounts. Though African Americans were given the opportunity to share their narratives or testimonies on the lecture circuit, being exploited in that manner would not be considered beneficial. The Caucasian qualifiers were only intended to allow slaves and/or former slaves the opportunity to publish their works, not to argue for or attest to their authenticity.

## **CONCLUSION**

Despite the fact that Prince struggled with her plight as a slave and was determined to highlight the horrors of slavery to England’s natives, it is clear that she failed to realize the purpose of slavery. It was not established out of a demented desire to control Africans and deprive them of their dignity – at least not by way of design. The primary purpose of slavery was to gain economic prosperity via the most practical measures. Africans presented slaveholders with the most viable option available to achieve that goal. Slavery was certainly inhumane and many slaves were brutally treated and lost their lives as a result of this barbarity. And although Prince’s testimony was challenged by some of her former slaveholders as well as Macqueen (friend to former slaveholders Mr. and Mrs. Wood), regarding the inhumane manner in which she was treated, no one has or should dispute the economic gains

received as a result of her having been a slave.

It can certainly be argued that both the advocacy for slavery and the advocacy for the abolition of it were more about economics and less about humanity. Both groups profited from the push for and against slavery. Although Prince, via the laws of England, had obtained her freedom, it was only symbolic in its form as Pringle (perhaps inadvertently) deprived her of freedom by tweaking her voice (causing others to question her credibility). Prior to the publication of *The History*, Pringle's career had reached an impasse. However, the testimony of a slave presented him with the opportunity to become widely known as a writer, publisher and abolitionist. Even today, when Pringle's name is mentioned, it is usually directly related to the publication of the aforementioned narrative. Ultimately Pringle skillfully used the British Slave Trade to achieve the economic prosperity that the slaveholders desired. He simply manipulated the process from the other end of the spectrum. It would be hypocritical for his critics to fault him for masterfully working the system designed to enslave. Although he was able to manipulate the system without having to purchase or own a slave, he did, figuratively speaking, accomplish his goals by selling one—Mary Prince (her narrative). He profited by selling a condensed version of her testimony. What is not clear is if Prince was able to discern the reality of escaping one type of slavery only to embrace another. She was likely articulate and certainly capable of advocating for herself. However, unlike other slaves or former slaves, who also wrote their narratives, e.g. Frederick Douglass, it is not evident that she envisioned the concept of what freedom meant for slaves as genuine freedom was not physical, but rather it was mental and unapologetic.

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# TAMARAKAMATOVIĆ

DER RUSSISCHE DISKURS IN DER DEUTSCH-  
SPRACHIGEN LITERARISCHEN MODERNE  
ANLÄSSLICH KAFKAS ERZÄHLUNG 'DAS URTEIL'

## I. Einführung: was ist die Diskurstheorie?

Die Literaturwissenschaftlerin, welche sich der Diskurstheorie bedienen möchte, sieht sich vielleicht versucht, die methodologischen Ansätze und Grundbegriffe von Michel Foucaults *L'archéologie du savoir* mit der grundsätzlichen Weltverblüffung und den Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten des Verstandes, die dem *Untergeher* bei Thomas Bernhard seinen Untergang bescheren, zu vergleichen:

Die ganze Zeit rede ich von Geisteswissenschaften und weiß nicht einmal, was diese Geisteswissenschaften sind, habe keine Ahnung davon [...] Schon gleich, wenn wir etwas angehen, erstickten wir in dem ungeheuren Material, das uns zur Verfügung steht auf allen Gebieten, das ist die Wahrheit. (Bernhard, 96)

War nicht solches Unwissen, die Fähigkeit zur Überraschung, Foucaults heimliches Ziel? Es scheint nötig, sich der Aufgabe der Erläuterung des Diskursbegriffs zu widmen, nicht zuletzt aufgrund des Ausmaßes an geisteswissenschaftlichem Material, das dem Diskurs zugeteilt wird. An dieser Stelle muss es aber klar festgestellt werden, dass es die Aufgabe der Literaturwissenschaftlerin ist, neue Differenzen zu setzen, d.h. diese Differenzen im Spannungsfeld der Literaturwissenschaft neu zu konzipieren. Nachdem der Diskursbegriff und die dazugehörigen Begriffe definiert worden sind, wird es in dieser Arbeit darum gehen, einen „russischen Diskurs“ als Teil einer Vernetzung kulturtheoretischer und literarischer Diskursfelder anlässlich einer diskurstheoretischen Untersuchung von Kafkas Erzählung 'Das Urteil' herauszuarbeiten.

'Diskurs' kann zunächst in Abgrenzung zum klassisch marxistischen Begriff der Ideologie und zur strukturalistischen Analyse von Mythen definiert werden. Im Gegensatz zu dem Begriff der 'Ideologie' können Diskurse nicht

abgebaut werden, d.h. sie werden weder von einem Subjekt noch von einer bestimmten Anzahl von Subjekten - einer herrschenden Klasse z.B. - produziert, noch von einer Basis abgestützt.

Manfred Frank führt die Problematik des Diskurses auf dessen Entstehungsgeschichte bei den französischen Strukturalisten und Poststrukturalisten ‚genealogisch‘ zurück und gemahnt an die enge Verwandtschaft des foucaultschen Diskursbegriffs mit Saussures Semiotik und der strukturalistischen Anthropologie von Lévi-Strauss, insbesondere an seine Aneignung der Zeichenanalyse zugunsten des Mythendiskurses. Diese Aneignung liegt nicht zuletzt an der strukturellen Ähnlichkeit zwischen der linguistischen Analyse und der Mythen-Analyse. Im Gegensatz zu den Signifikanten Saussures, befinden sich aber die Mythen jenseits der „Totalität der linguistischen Regeln“ und sind „solcherart, daß ihre kleinsten konstitutiven Einheiten nicht Phoneme, Morpheme oder Syntagmen, sondern Sätze sind“ (Frank, 29). Den Mythen liegen die „Mythemen“ zugrunde, die konstitutiven, kleinsten Einheiten des Mythos.

Diese Einsicht gestattet Frank, die Verbindung zu der Diskurstheorie Foucaults herzustellen: „Lévi-Strauss nennt die kleinsten Einheiten des Mythos ‚Mythemen.‘ Sie teilen mit den ‚unités constitutives‘ des Diskurses die Eigenschaft, Sätze zu sein (‘il faudra donc chercher au niveau de la phrase’), sind aber von spezifisch literarischen Texten fundamental dadurch unterschieden, daß sie keinen Stil aufweisen“ (Frank, 31). Der Diskurs niste sich außerdem „irgendwo in der Mitte“ der Sprache ein: so seien die Mytheme auch „Ordnungen zweiten Grades [...] zwischen der reversiblen Ordnung der langue und der irreversiblen Anordnung der parole, so wie das Lévi-Strauss von den Mythen Erzählungen gezeigt hatte“ (Frank, 32). Den neostrukturalistischen Hintergrund und die sprachgeschichtlichen ‚Emergenzbedingungen‘ des Diskurses vor Augen, kann man die diskurstheoretischen Einheiten besser in Angriff nehmen.

Die Diskursanalyse beschäftigt sich mit der topographischen Vernetzung verschiedener Signifikanten, deren Kern - wie der Mythos - aus dem Nebeneinander kleinerer Einheiten besteht. Die Bedingungen, die den Diskurs sich herauskristallisieren lassen, sind ihm innewohnend und gehorchen einer allgemein verbreiteten Instanz der Emergenz (Emergenzsysteme). Diesen Atomen

des Diskurses wird ein beträchtliches Maß an Hartnäckigkeit zugeschrieben, da sie überall da auftauchen, wo linguistische Einheiten ihre Zulänglichkeit einbüßen müssen. Diskursive Aussagen bilden weiterhin gegenüber dem Satz, den performativen Aussagen und den logischen Aussagen keine Einheiten, die im Sinne einer zugrunde liegenden Struktur interpretierbar oder aufgrund synchronischer Verhältnisse ausfindig gemacht werden könnten. Die Sprache und die Aussage verkehren nicht auf der selben Ebene der Existenz miteinander : „La langue n'existe qu'à titre de système de construction pour des énoncés possibles; mais d'un autre côté, elle n'existe qu'à titre de description (plus ou moins exhaustive) obtenue“ (Foucault, 113).

Es handelt sich um Entstehungsfunktionen, die die Sprache, den Sprachdiskurs und mündliche und schriftliche Performanzen regeln. Foucault greift das Beispiel einer französischen Tastatur und der beweglichen Lettern der Druckmaschine auf, um zu zeigen wie zeichenhafte, aber nicht sprachlich strukturierte, lokalisierte Verhältnisse die diskursiven Aussagen hervorbringen, die wiederum die Entstehung anderer Aussagen herbeiführen.

Die Aussagen erlangen erst in ihrer Wiederholung und Vervielfältigung Bedeutung, weil sie die Existenz anderer Zeichen damit erst ermöglichen. Foucault deutet auch darauf hin, dass das Verhältnis der Aussage zu dem, was gesagt oder bezeichnet wird, auf keinen Fall mit dem Verhältnis des Signifikanten zum Signifikat gleichzusetzen sei, weil „un énoncé existe en dehors de toute possibilité de réapparaître“ (Foucault, 118). Manfred Frank hebt dies auch hervor:

Mit dem Terminus „énoncé“ ist also jenem nie zu schließenden Abstand Rechnung getragen, der zwischen dem besteht, was nach den Regeln der Sprache (*langue*), der Konventionen (*Pragmatik*) und des korrekten Denkens (*Logik*) gesagt werden könnte, und dem, was tatsächlich gesagt wird. (Frank, 38)

Zeichen treten in einem singulären Modus der Existenz auf und stehen in keiner festen Beziehung zu dem sprechenden oder implizierten Subjekt (wie es der Fall bei dem Satz oder auch der logischen Aussage ist, die Bezug auf einen positiven Referenten nehmen).

Un énoncé, en outre, se distingue d'une série quelconque d'éléments linguistiques par le fait qu'il entretient avec un sujet un rapport déterminé. Rapport dont il faut préciser la nature et qu'il faut dégager surtout des relations avec lesquelles on pourrait le confondre. (Foucault, 121)

Es liegt jetzt auf der Hand, der diskursiven Aussage ihren Platz als dem Wesen des Diskurses und dem Grundstein der diskursiven Formationen einzuräumen: sie ist überhaupt das wichtigste und zu allermeist konstituierende Element des Diskurses. Was noch auf dem Spiel steht, ist die Funktion der Aussage weiter zu bestimmen und deren Beziehung zu den diskursiven Formationen und zu dem foucaultschen historischen a priori herauszuarbeiten, um die Grundkonstellation diskurstheoretischer Begriffe für die Literaturanalyse und für diese Arbeit handhabbar zu machen<sup>1</sup>. Was bedeuten diese Termini für die Literaturwissenschaft? Foucault umreißt das Ziel der Diskursanalyse als auf Grundlage der Aussage ausbauend.

So hat Klaus-Michael Bogdal in seinem Aufsatz über Kafkas ‚Vor dem Gesetz‘ mit einer symptomalen Lektüre angesetzt, die „die Literatur im Blick auf ihre Sinneffekte und Repräsentationsfunktionen für kollektive bzw. individuelle Subjekte im kulturellen Feld erschließt“ (Bogdal, 50). Bogdal verortet einen „Schauplatz diskursiver Praktiken,“ worauf sich die verschiedenen diskursiven Formationen und diskursiven Taktiken abspielen. Bogdal weist auf die folgenden Diskurse „Fremdenverkehr, christlicher Kult, jüdische Exegese und Justiz“ in Kafkas Text (Bogdal, 44) und sucht die Regeln und die Entstehungsbedingungen ihres Mitwirkens zu bestimmen:

[D]aran soll sich in einer gegenläufigen Bewegung eine historische Diskursanalyse anschließen, die dem positiven Befund der symptomalen Lektüre—nämlich der bewußten und unbewußten, intendierten und verschwiegenen, automatisierten und singulären usw. Bedeutungen der Texte und dem Verhältnis der ‚Subjekte‘ zu ihnen—die Aufdeckung jener (materiellen, strukturellen) Prozesse entgegenhält, die grundlegender sind als das Schreiben und die Herstellung von ‚Bedeutung‘. (Bogdal, 50-51)

Er betont genauso die Einmaligkeit oder die „historische Singularität“ des kafkaischen Textes. Foucault treu, sieht Bogdal den kafkaischen Text als eine „leere Nische“, die jegliche autorbestimmende Funktion notwendigerweise verwirft. Friedrich Kittler hat gleichermaßen die Diskursanalyse in einer diskursanalytischen Behandlung von Kleists „Erdbeben in Chili“ mit Blick auf sogenannte Dispositive, deren Sache die Vernetzung ist als „faktisch vergangene Diskurse in einem bestimmten Raum und einer bestimmten Zeit zu Dispositiven organisiert hat“ (Kittler, 24) bezeichnet.

Somit kann man den kurzen Überblick des diskurstheoretischen Vokabulars auf sein Ende zusteuern. Es folgt noch, dieses neu erworbene Vokabular anzuwenden und ihm auch treu zu bleiben. Es muss mit den Worten der Diskursanalyse gezeigt werden, dass es in den Texten der literarischen Moderne einen „russischen Diskurs“ gegeben hat, der bekanntermaßen bei den Expressionisten Zuflucht gefunden hat, und welchem Ausdruck in dem Streben nach einer „neuen Menschlichkeit“ und im Kult des neuen Menschen verliehen wurde. Dieser Diskurs kreuzt aber in anderen Texten der deutschen Moderne auf und teilt letztendlich ihre Koexistenz mit verschiedenen Diskursen. Es handelt sich dabei um das Aufkreuzen des historischen a priori, welches das Schreiben und die Schreibprozesse vieler deutscher und deutschsprachiger Schriftsteller bedingt hat: das Kanzleideutsch und die Verwicklung neuer diskursiver Formationen und Aussagen, die den Familiendiskurs des neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts bedingt hatten<sup>2</sup>. Dabei wird es versucht, den Rahmen eines russischen Diskurses mit Blick auf die Vernetzung und Zerstreung der ebenerwähnten diskursiver Formationen zu setzen.

## **II. Der russische Diskurs in der deutschen literarischen Moderne: „Die neue Sippe kommt von irgendwo/ und lebt das Elend willig wie die Alten“ (Spiridon Dmitrich Drzozhin)<sup>3</sup>**

Der Begriff des „Slawischen“ und der russische Diskurs waren von einer grundlegenden Wichtigkeit für die Schriftsteller, Lyriker und Kulturtheoretiker der frühen literarischen Moderne und des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. Dies lag nicht zuletzt daran, dass das Slawische mit einem gewissen politischen, kulturellen und religiösen Ethos zusammenhing - man denke an die Aufnahme Bakunins bei Emile Zola in *Germinal* oder an Rilkes Übersetzung des „Igorlieds“ (Slovo o polku Igoreve). Dennoch können das Russische und der rus-

sische Einfluss auf die moderne Literatur nicht ausschließlich vom Standpunkt politischer oder historischer Ereignisse und Einzelbegebenheiten aufgeschlüsselt werden, sondern müssen mit Blick auf die Zerstreung der verschiedenen Dispositiven neu problematisiert werden.

Mit den Worten von Karl Kraus zu reden, war das Ziel der russischen Schwärmerei in der modernen Literatur vorwiegend auf „Ursprung“ ausgerichtet<sup>4</sup>. Der Begriff „Ursprung“ führt aber zu der viel kritischeren Trennung von der unausdifferenzierten Gemeinschaft und ausdifferenzierten Gesellschaft, die erst - in seiner frühen soziologischen Erscheinung - ausführlich in Ferdinand Tönnies *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* angedeutet wurde. „Ursprung“ bleibt indes einer der Schlüsselbegriffe des Orientalismus und der Nachfolger Edward Saids, dessen kritische Ausrichtungen die schwärmerische, undeutliche Tendenz der Romantik als Totalität eher einfach umkehren, indem sie die Auffassung des Ostens und des Orients schlechthin als Gegenpol der westlichen, ausdifferenzierten Gesellschaft beibehalten.

Anstatt den Orientalismus als globales Phänomen aufzufassen, das sowohl England und Frankreich wie auch die deutschsprachige Welt einschließt, muss an dieser Stelle eine spezifisch deutsche Variante des Exotischen markiert werden. Denn der Orientalismus berücksichtigt das Aufkreuzen und Durchschneiden der verschiedenen Aussagen - lokalisierte Momente in der Entwicklung eines slawischen Diskurses -, die nur von dem einen historischen a priori vorausgesetzt werden: die wechselseitige Beziehung zwischen dem parasitären Osten und dem Westen. Diese Beziehung war aber im Falle Deutschlands und Österreich-Ungarns eine wesentlich andere, als in England oder Frankreich, den Ländern, denen Saids Aufmerksamkeit am meisten galt - seine Vernachlässigung des deutschsprachigen Bereichs ist schon kritisiert worden.

Russland und das „slawische Element“ wären im Bezug auf den deutschen „Kolonial“-Diskurs in Osteuropa eine Art Hinterland der *kulturellen* (im Sinne der Hegelianischen *Sittlichkeit*), bodenständigen Schöpfungen des Westens. Der Übergang von einem orientalistischen Standpunkt zu einem diskurstheoretischen liegt in der Differenzierung des Begriffes des Ursprungs und in einer Aufklärung seiner historischen und sozialen Entstehungsbedingungen. Um einen deutlicheren Überblick über diese differenzierte Auffassung des

Begriffes „Ursprung“ und dessen Wirkung auf die moderne und frühmoderne Literatur zu verschaffen, soll jetzt zu der Thematisierung russischer Kunst und des russischen Geistes bei Rilke übergegangen werden.

Unter der Leitung von Lou Salomé hatte sich Rilke von 1897 bis 1900 mit der russischen Geschichte, Dichtung und Kunst befasst. 1899 hatte er mit Lou auch zwei Reisen nach Russland unternommen. Das Ergebnis dieses langen Studiums waren einige Übersetzungen russischer Volkslieder und realistischer Dramen und ein paar Gedichte, die er auf russisch niedergeschrieben hatte<sup>5</sup>. Der Einfluss russischer Kunst und Geschichte in Rilkes Werk ist gewiss nicht zu unterschätzen. Patricia Brodsky zeigt das spezifisch „Russische“ in dem *Stunden-Buch*, dem *Buch der Bilder*, den *Geschichten vom lieben Gott* und den *Aufzeichnungen von Malte Laurids Brigge*. In dem *Buch der Bilder* seien die russischen Themen auf drei Hauptquellen zurückzuführen: die Schlacht von Poltava, die *byliny*-Mittelalterliche Heldenepen- und die Geschichte von den zwei Zaren der Rurik Dynastie, Ivan dem Schrecklichen und Fyodor Ivanovich (Brodsky, 85). Ansonsten gilt das „Mythische“ als wichtigste Hauptquelle, der die historischen Quellen zugrunde liegen. Brodsky behauptet, die Interpretation Russlands bei Rilke richte sich auf die uralten, grübelnden und religiösen Aspekte. In den *Geschichten vom lieben Gott* sind der russische Gott (eine Art verlorenen Sohnes), der geduldig, schweigsam und passiv ist - wie im Übrigen seine Anbeter es auch sind - und „Mütterchen Russland,“ welches aus dem Alten Patriarchalen eine Wiedergeburt erlebt haben soll am deutlichsten vorhanden. Ähnliche Themen werden bei Brodsky weiterverfolgt aber das undefinierbare „Heilige“ und „Religiöse“ Russlands bleibt thematisch der Schwerpunkt ihrer Aufmerksamkeit.

Eine Untersuchung der „russischen Elemente“ könnte aber gewiss Licht auf die thematischen Belange Rilkes werfen. Unter anderem behauptet Brodsky, der Haupteinfluss Russlands auf Rilke drücke sich in seiner begeisterten Aufnahme der „geistlichen Energien“ des fremden, anziehenden Riesenlandes am deutlichsten aus. Sie geht den folgenden Spuren Rilkes intensiver Auseinandersetzung mit der russischen Kultur nach: zunächst Rilkes Auffassung russischer Kunst. Rilke habe das „Traditionelle“ an Russland bewundert. Das Konzept des *počvenničestvo* (das erst von Dostojewski entwickelt worden ist) oder des „Verwurzeltheits“ in der Lebensweise des russischen Volkes war ein wichtiger Vermittler seiner russischen Kenntnisse und habe ihm bei der

Niederschrift kunsttheoretischer Überlegungen beeinflusst. Der vergesellschaftete Westen sei auch im Gegensatz zu dem Damm göttlicher Energien und Kunst in Russland unauthentisch. Rilke artikuliert zwei Arten von Zeit: die okzidentale Zeit, geprägt von den raschen Entwicklungen, die von dem technischen Fortschritt angefacht worden sind, und die russische Zeit, die als eine „langsame, geduldige, entwickelnde“ Zeit bezeichnet wird.

Brodsky verfolgt den eigentümlichen Rilkeschen Zeitbegriff in ihrer Auslegung seiner Wahrnehmung des russischen Volkes weiter:

Rilke sees this relation of the Russian people to its traditional forms as a crucial characteristic in its makeup, which, functioning as an anchor, an absolute, allows it to embrace the wildest extremes without losing touch with its identity. He declares, "With this quiet consciousness of the ever-present form is connected the peculiar breadth of the Russian character." (Brodsky, 63)

Hierin sieht man der fatale Zusammenstoß zwei verschiedener Diskurse: einerseits, der Begriff des Fortschritts und des gesellschaftlichen oder gemeinschaftlichen Lebens und andererseits der Begriff eines „russischen Charakters,“ der im Sinne der Religiösität interpretiert wird: Gott als Boden, Grund, Wurzel, Baum und die Dunkelheit (Brodsky, 73) . Russland sei für Rilke: „...a land of legend, vast spaces, humble people ...“ (Brodsky, 82-83)

Diese weiten offenen Räume und die riesige, dunkle Landschaft „rauschend am Rande des Christentums“ (Rilke, 276) hängen in Rilkes Auffassung mit einer orientalistischen Idee des russischen Volkes zusammen. Auch der Vicomte M. De Vogüé hebt die Wirkungen der russischen Landschaft mit Rückgriff auf diese orientalistische Idee auf Tolstoi hervor.<sup>6</sup>

Der russische Charakter, der dem Volk zugrunde liegt, leitet sich aber schwerlichst aus einer strengeren soziologischen Auffassung der Gemeinschaft ab und bleibt problematisch für die Verortung eines russischen Diskurses, dem der Charakter eines lakunenhaften und diskontinuierlichen Dispositivs zugewiesen werden soll. Die Vagheit solcher Begriffe wie: „russischer Charakter“ oder „russischer Geist“ und auch das „Religiöse“ leisten wenig für die Ausarbeitung eines russischen Diskurses und sind ohnedies



auch nicht gerade unproblematisch. In der Tat verdunkeln solche Begriffe nicht nur das Unternehmen der Diskursanalyse, sondern sind für die Politik und die Ästhetik auch nicht von einer geringen oder unterschätzbaren Gefahr<sup>7</sup>.

Bei Ferdinand Tönnies wird aber dieses spezifisch Gemeinschaftliche und das Mystische-Archaische, das bei Rilke als heilig und unbeschreibbar thematisiert wird, von dem Gesellschaftlichen klar abgegrenzt. Der „russische“ Charakter und das spezifisch Russische in den Texten der literarischen Moderne – und vor allem Kafkas „Urteil“ – können somit einer totalisierenden Tendenz des Orientalismus-Diskurses oder der Vagheit religiöser Begriffe entzogen und mit Hinsicht auf die Trennung zwischen Gesellschaft und Gemeinschaft besser erörtert und eingeordnet werden. Genau dieses „Gemeinschaftliche“ war es auch, das den Orientalismus-Diskurs in der deutschen Tradition ausmachte. Der Begriff „Ursprung“ und die Sittlichkeit sind der Gemeinschaft Besitz. Um die Gemeinschaft aber noch auszudifferenzieren, müsste es zur Kenntnis genommen werden, dass es die Familie und das Familienleben war, die „die allgemeine Basis der gemeinschaftlichen Lebensweisen“ bildeten (Tönnies, 284). Hegels Begriff der Sittlichkeit setzt die soziologische Forschung der Gemeinschaft also voraus. Die Sittlichkeit (das gemeinschaftliche Leben) wird bei Hegel mit Liebe, Vertrauen und Fürsorge kodiert, wobei die „bürgerliche Gesellschaft“ durch geregelte Handelsbeziehungen, das Geschäftsleben und die unmittelbaren, äußeren Beziehungen zu anderen gekennzeichnet wird. Gleichermassen grenzt Tönnies zwei Zeitalter voneinander ab und vergleicht sie miteinander, um dieser Trennung auf den Grund zu gehen: das Zeitalter der Gemeinschaft und das Zeitalter der Gesellschaft. Das gemeinschaftliche Leben setzt dem gesellschaftlichen voraus und wird vor allem »durch den socialen Willen als Eintracht, Sitte, Religion« bezeichnet. Die Gesellschaft kennzeichnet sich durch den »socialen Willen als Convention, Politik, öffentliche Meinung« (Tönnies, 289). Der Gemeinschaft werden überdies folgende Eigenschaften zugeschrieben:

**1) Familienleben = Eintracht. Hierin ist der Mensch mit seiner ganzen Gesinnung. Ihr eigentliches Subjekt ist das Volk.**

**2) Dorfleben = Sitte. Hierin ist der Mensch mit seinem ganzen Gemüthe. Ihr eigentliches Subject ist das Gemeinwesen.**

3) Städtisches Leben = Religion. Hierin ist der Mensch mit seinem ganzen Gewissen. Ihr eigentliches Subject ist die Kirche. (Tönnies, 289)

Die Gesellschaft ist hingegen folgendermaßen aufzufassen:

1) Grosstädtisches Leben = Convention.

2) Nationales Leben = Politik. Diese setzt der Mensch mit seiner gesamten Berechnung. Ihr eigentliches Subject ist d e r S t a a t.

3) Kosmopolitisches Leben = Oeffentliche Meinung. Diese setzt der Mensch mit seiner gesamten Bewusstheit. Ihr eigentliches Subject ist die G e l e h r t e n – R e p u b l i k. (Tönnies, 289)

Diese Trennung ist dem modernen Zeitalter jedoch schon sehr bekannt, obwohl auch in Toennies Formulierungen kritisiert worden. Man dürfte sich also an dieser Stelle fragen, was aus dieser Gegenüberstellung noch gezogen werden könnte und wie sie mit einem russischen Diskurs in Beziehung gesetzt wird? Es käme also jetzt darauf an, die Vorgeschichte der Familie und die vorausgehenden sozialen Verhältnisse des gemeinschaftlichen Lebens weiter zu bestimmen. Das einträchtige Leben der Familie hängt nach Tönnies Auffassung von dem *auctoritas* des Vaters ab. Dies wird einerseits mit Liebe und Wahrheit kodiert aber bleibt dennoch eine reine Herrschaft:

So begründet das Vaterthum am reinsten die Idee der H e r r s c h a f t im gemeinschaftlichen Sinne: wo sie nicht Gebrauch und Verfügung zum Nutzen des Herren bedeutet, sondern Erziehung und Lehre als Vollendung der Erzeugung. (Tönnies, 13)<sup>8</sup>

In seinem Aufsatz 'À propos de la famille comme catégorie réalisée' geht Bourdieu der neuen gesellschaftlichen Machtkonstellation der Familie nach. Die Familie wird dennoch als ein a priori des gesellschaftlichen Lebens bezeichnet.

Es sind diese letzteren Ansätze: die Trennung zwischen der Gesellschaft und der Gemeinschaft in der soziologischen Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts, der Hegelianische Begriff der Sittlichkeit, der Begriff des *auctoritas* und dessen

historische Beziehungen zum Russischen und Slawischen überhaupt, sowie das Einstürzen patriarchaler Herrschaft mit der Ankunft der wirtschaftlichen Herrschaft, die einem russischen Diskurs die spezifischen, lokalisierbaren Entstehungsbedingungen erst gewähren könnten. Dieses Lakunenhafte – Russland als eine leere Nische oder als eine Projektionsfläche – und nicht ausgestattet mit kitschigen, schwärmerischen, substanzierenden Beobachtungen über die weiten, russischen Felder – gewährleistet außerdem das Prinzip der Seltenheit (*rarété*), der Pluralität und lässt der Diskurstheoretikerin freien Raum, außerhalb der bevorstehenden Diskurse auskundschaften. Es soll nun gezeigt werden, ob Kafkas Text ‘Das Urteil’ den diskurstheoretischen Ansatz plausibilisiert oder gar widersteht und ob und wie „das Slawische“ bei Kafka verarbeitet wird.

### **III. Das Urteil: ein Stückchen mehr Entfremdung**

Wo Rilke den russischen Geist unendlich romantisieren wollte, wollte Kafka eben das Paradoxe im Begriff des Slawischen herausstreichen und aus der Vermengung dieser Konstellation dieses Nicht-Zusammenhängende herausgreifen, um das Absurde daran bloßzumachen. Seine belegte Scheue gegenüber dem großen Namen und dem großen Ruf Dostojewskis müsste als einen Anlaß zur gründlicheren Analyse seiner Rezeption russischer Kunst aufgegriffen werden. Leider gibt es aber ungenügend Platz dafür, an dieser Stelle auf Kafkas Gesamteinstellung zur russischen Kunst einzugehen. Es möge also zu einer Behandlung des „Russischen“ und des Russischen Freundes in der Erzählung ‘Das Urteil’ übergegangen werden.

Es ist nicht schwer zu erraten, welcher Anlass dieser Erzählung die Diskurstheoretikerin dazu erbringen gemocht hat, einen russischen Diskurs bei Kafka erörtern zu wollen. Gleich am Anfang – in dem zweiten Absatz – der Erzählung taucht der „russische Freund“ Georgs auf. Die rätselhaften Lebensweisen dieses Freundes, die anfangs betont werden und dann dreimal im Verlauf der Erzählung wieder erwähnt werden, verleihen ihm etwas Unverständliches und Unbestimmtes. Die Offenheit des Freundes mag der Grund dafür sein, warum der Freund in der Sekundärliteratur hauptsächlich in Bezug auf Georg oder als eine Projektion Georgs aufgefasst worden ist. Die Diskurstheorie rüstet eine Auseinandersetzung mit diesem Freund mit strategischen Mitteln aus: es ist wiederum das

Aufkreuzen verschiedener Diskurse, die den russischen Diskurs und den russischen Freund konkret und an sich thematisierbar macht. Es handelt sich erstens bei diesem Freund um seinen gesellschaftlichen und privaten Misserfolg: er sei nach Russland „geflüchtet“ – aufgrund seiner Unzufriedenheit mit „seinem Fortkommen zu Hause“. In Russland betreibt er seinen Handel weiter aber seit langem geht es ihm im Geschäft nicht so gut. Gesundheitlich sei er der Arbeit wegen angeschlagen:

So arbeitete er sich in der Fremde nutzlos ab, der fremdartige Vollbart verdeckte nur schlecht das seit den Kinderjahren wohl-bekannte Gesicht, dessen gelbe Hautfarbe auf eine sich entwickelnde Krankheit hinzudeuten schien. (Kafka, 7)

Möglicherweise handele es sich hier um schlechte Ernährung oder eine Wahrnehmung seitens Westeuropäer eines Mangels an medizinischer Pflege in Russland. Ein möglicher Diskurs, der in Beziehung mit der Thematisierung des Russischen bei Kafka wäre somit der Krankheitsdiskurs<sup>9</sup>. Überdies deuten die zahllosen Parallelen, die zwischen Georg und diesem Freund gezogen werden, auf eine moderne Variante eines romantischen Topos des Doppelgängers hin. Der Freund ist ein Ebenbild Georgs: er habe sogar versucht in seinem Beileidsbrief, Georg nach Russland hinzubringen. Das, was sich bei dem Freund zugetragen hat, hätte Georg auch passieren können: das Zugrundegehen an dem Geschäft, in der Fremde und auch im Privatleben. Auch die *Ansiedlung* Friedas und das *Flüchten* aus der Heimat in die *Fremde*, sowie die eigenartige Formulierung der Ausreisemöglichkeiten fremder Einwohner und Russen in Russland:

Der Freund war nun schon über drei Jahre nicht in der Heimat gewesen und erklärte dies sehr notdürftig mit der Unsicherheit der politischen Verhältnisse in Rußland, die demnach also auch die kürzeste Abwesenheit eines kleinen Geschäftsmannes nicht zuließen, während hunderttausende Russen ruhig in der Welt herumfuhren. (Kafka, 8)

beschwören einen Diskurs des *Fremdenverkehrs* herauf. Diese Diskurse: der Krankheitsdiskurs, der Fremdenverkehr, der geschäftliche Handel, sowie der Konflikt zwischen alter patriarchaler Herrschaft – *auctoritas* – und der modernen Stiftung einer Familie tragen zu dem „Russischen“ in dieser Erzählung bei.

Die befremdlichen „Lebensweisen“ des russischen Freundes werden anfangs in Zusammenhang mit seinem „endgültigen Junggesellentum“ erwähnt. Dies möge sich vielleicht infolge seiner Unfähigkeit, sich in die russische Gemeinschaft zu integrieren – er hatte fast „keinen Verkehr mit einheimischen Familien“ – ergeben haben. Der Freund ist ein gescheiterter Orientalist: „Wie er erzählte, hatte er keine rechte Verbindung mit der dortigen Kolonie seiner Landsleute...“ (Kafka, 7). Des Geschäfts wegen sei er nach Russland hingezogen, hat sogar versucht, sich einheimisch zu machen – er lässt sich einen „fremden Vollbart“ wachsen, wie Rilke es übrigens in Russland auch getan hat, aber kann sich letztendlich nicht integrieren und scheitert an seiner Existenz. Er war sogar durch das Scheitern bedeutungslos geworden, jemandem, dem man nicht helfen könnte, sondern nur bemitleiden. Seit dem Weggehen des Freundes gedeihen aber das Geschäftsleben und Privatleben Georgs. Im Gespräch mit der Verlobten, Frieda, geht es wiederum um die merkwürdigen Lebensweisen des russischen Freundes, die ausführlich offen gelassen werden: „Wenn du solche Freunde hast, Georg, hättest du dich überhaupt nicht verloben sollen!“ Und dann wiederholt sie – beim Küssen sogar! – „Aber es kränkt mich doch!“ (Kafka, 10). Was ist an diesem Freund so widerlich, dass sich Georg sogar nicht hätte verloben sollen? Die Lebensweisen des Freundes erscheinen sogar als eine komische Vorahnung dessen, was der Vater Georg später vorwirft. Geht dieser Freund vielleicht mit Dirnen aus? Oder ist es sein verwüstetes Leben in der Fremde, was ihn so unanständig macht? Zum dritten Mal werden diese Lebensweisen im Gespräch mit dem Vater erwähnt, diesmal seitens Georg:

**Du weißt doch, Vater, daß ich ihm meine Verlobung zuerst verschweigen wollte. Aus Rücksichtnahme, er ist ein schwieriger Mensch. Ich sagte mir, von anderer Seite kann er von meiner Verlobung wohl erfahren, wenn das auch bei seiner einsamen Lebensweise kaum wahrscheinlich ist – das kann ich nicht hindern -, aber von mir selbst soll er es nun einmal nicht erfahren. (Kafka, 13)**

Die Unbestimmtheit seiner Lebensweise: seine einsame Lebensweise, sein Junggesellentum und seine (möglicherweise) Unanständigkeit konstituieren das Unheimliche des Freundes. Diese Unheimlichkeit knüpft sich ferner an den romantischen Diskurs des Doppelgängers und auch an die Thematisierung der „Ferne,“ die mittels eines russischen Diskurses dargestellt wird. Dies

dient als eine Überbrückung zu einem anderen Schwerpunkt der Geschichte, die dreimal in der Erzählung auftaucht, die russische Revolution.

Gleich am Anfang wird die „Unsicherheit der politischen Verhältnisse in Rußland“ erwähnt. Da diese Erzählung erst vor der russischen Revolution niedergeschrieben worden ist, muss dies eine Anspielung auf die Arbeiteraufstände und die erste russische Revolution von 1905 sein. Die Revolution habe in erster Linie den Freund daran gehindert, in die Heimat zurückzukehren. Bei der zweiten Anspielung werden die „unglaublichen Geschichten von der russischen Revolution,“ die der Freund Georg und seinem Vater, nach Angaben Georgs, erzählen haben sollte:

auf einer Geschäftsreise in Kiew bei einem Tumult einen Geistlichen auf einem Balkon gesehen hatte, der sich ein breites Blutkreuz in die flache Hand schnitt, diese Hand erhob und die Menge anrief. (Kafka, 15)

Die dritte Anspielung auf die Russische Revolution ergibt sich aus einem Moment in dem Kampf zwischen Vater und Sohn, in dem Moment, wo der Freund in Beschlag von dem Vater genommen wird:

...Der Petersburger Freund, den der Vater plötzlich so gut kannte, ergriff ihn, wie noch nie. Verloren im weiten Rußland sah er ihn. An der Türe des leeren, ausgeraubten Geschäftes sah er ihn. Zwischen den Trümmern der Regale, den zerfetzten Waren, den fallenden Gasarmen stand er noch... (Kafka,16)

Der Zusammenhang zwischen diesem russischen Freund, seinem Scheitern und seinen eigentümlichen Lebensweisen hängen daher innigst mit den Begebenheiten der Russischen Revolution zusammen: die erste Anspielung rückt das gesellschaftliche und gemeinschaftliche Scheitern des Freundes in den Vordergrund, die anderen Anspielungen thematisieren das Einstürzen der alten Macht der religiösen Kirchenväter, sowie die Massenbewegung und die absolute zerstörerische, revolutionäre Macht. Um den Spuren der russischen Revolution in dem Werk Kafkas nachzugehen, würde man sich vielleicht mit der Thematisierung der russischen Verhältnisse in den Prager Zeitungen vertraut machen sollen. Allerdings gibt der Text einige Hinweise auf einen zeitgenössischen „russischen Diskurs,“ was niemanden angesichts des Balkan-Krieges, der 1912 angefang-

en hat, verwundern sollte. Die Thematisierung russischer und österreich-ungarischer diplomatischer Beziehungen war infolge dieses Konflikts sicherlich für Kafka aktuell. Die „Freundschaft“ zwischen Georg und dem Freund weist auf den Doppelgänger-Topos in der romantischen Literatur hin; es wäre aber gleichermaßen möglich, dass der Freund und Georg als Vertreter eines Botschaftler-Diskurses, der in den Zeitungen längst hätte thematisiert und diskutiert werden können, dargestellt werden. Die Frage nach dem russischen Freund sollte sich aber jetzt auf seine Bedeutung in dem Text und in Bezug auf Georg und den Vater ausrichten.

Ein Thema in dieser Erzählung richtet sich nach der Möglichkeit, eine nukleare Familie zu stiften. In dem Brief an den Freund will Georg ihn dazu überreden, in die Heimat zurückzukehren, und bietet ihm sogar seine Braut an - als Entschädigung für sein langes Junggesellentum:

Ich habe mich mit einem Fräulein Frieda Brandenfeld verlobt, einem Mädchen aus einer wohlhabenden Familie, die sich hier erst lange nach Deiner Abreise angesiedelt hat... Es wird sich noch Gelegenheit finden, Dir Näheres über meine Braut mitzuteilen, heute genüge Dir, daß ich recht glücklich bin und daß sich in unserem gegenseitigen Verhältnis nur insofern etwas geändert hat, als Du jetzt in mir statt eines ganz gewöhnlichen Freundes einen glücklichen Freund haben wirst. Außerdem bekommst Du noch in meiner Braut, die Dich herzlich grüßen läßt, und die Dir nächstens selbst schreiben wird, eine aufrichtige Freundin, was für einen Junggesellen nicht ganz ohne Bedeutung ist. (Kafka, 11)

Die nukleare Familie soll auf „Freundschaft“ gegründet werden. Die Beziehungen, die Georg dem Freund gegenüber vorschreibt, sind sogar von einer engeren Intimität, als die, die die „natürliche“ Familie verkörpern. Anstelle der Blutsverwandschaft soll der Freund in der Braut seines Freundes eine vertraute Freundin finden, mit der er in einem ewigen Briefverkehr sogar verwickelt sein könnte. Angesichts Kafkas eigenen Schriftverkehrs sollte dieses Angebot sogar noch problematischer erscheinen: wie will denn Georg eine Familie, die mit Liebe, Herzlichkeit, enger Vertrautheit und sogar intimer Korrespondenz kodieren? Diese Handlung und der darauffolgende Konflikt mit dem *auctoritas* des Vaters erinnern wieder an den Slawischen Diskurs der Gemeinschaft und seine Beziehung zur Gesellschaft. Georg versucht,

eine neue Familie im Sinne der alten Gemeinschaft zu stiften. Dies wird nicht mehr aufgrund väterlicher Herrschaft und Blutsverwandschaft versucht, sondern aufgrund der Liebe und der Freundschaft. Des Vaters Gemeinschaft sei aber eine ganz andere. Er sei sogar, wie Georg es sich überlegt, „anders im Geschäft.“ Die väterliche Herrschaft sei reine Gemeinschaft ohne kitschige Romantisierung des Ursprungs. Sie sei, wie nach Benjamin, eine mythische, kompromisslose und sogar wahrhaftige Herrschaft:

**Der Vater, der die Last des Deckbetts abwirft, wirft eine Weltlast mit ihr ab. Weltalter muß er in Bewegung setzen, um das uralte Vater-Sohn-Verhältnis lebendig, folgenreich zu machen. Doch reich an welchen Folgen. Er verurteilt den Sohn zum Tode des Ertrinkens. Der Vater ist der Strafende. Ihn zieht die Schuld wie die Gerichtsbeamten an. (Benjamin, 411)**

Vor diesem Hintergrund kann der Konflikt mit dem Vater sogar besser herausgearbeitet werden.

Diese imaginäre, nukleare Familie soll mit der Mitteilung des Briefes erfolgt werden. Gewiss gibt es etwas „Giftiges“ an dem Brief – die Verlogenheit Georgs, die erst von dem Vater in Frage gestellt wird und wofür er möglicherweise verurteilt wird, zeigt sich in seiner begeisterten Einschätzung seiner eigenen Situation dem Freund gegenüber: er habe den gesellschaftlichen und gemeinschaftlichen Erfolg zusammenbringen können. Der Freund habe an diesem Unternehmen gescheitert – er ist sowohl ohne Familie, wie auch ohne gesellschaftlichen Erfolg in Russland zugrundegegangen, möglicherweise infolge der Russischen Revolution 1905 – dies wird im Text ja angedeutet. Genau aber dieses „Giftige“ wird in dem Gespräch mit dem Vater wieder problematisiert. Beim Eintreten ins Zimmer des Vaters spürt Georg die unheimliche Dunkelheit des Zimmers: „Georg staunte darüber, wie dunkel das Zimmer des Vaters selbst an diesem sonnigen Vormittag war“ (Kafka, 12).<sup>10</sup>

Die Frage nach dem Grund hierfür wird oft in der Sekundärliteratur erwähnt und als Hauptspannung des Textes betrachtet: weswegen braucht Georg die väterliche Zustimmung für den Brief? Gewiss ist der Übergang aus Georgs Zimmer zu dem Vater der große Wendepunkt der Geschichte. Im Rahmen des Diskurses der patriarchalen Herrschaft ist dies aber keine Frage von sol-



chem Belang mehr: Georg braucht die Absiegelung von dem Vater, um den Brief weiterleiten zu können. Auch die Tatsache, dass dies nicht „motiviert“ oder aus der Innensicht der Figur erfolgt, sollte auf die absolute Notwendigkeit Georgs für die Zustimmung des Vaters (*le oui du père*) hindeuten.

In dem schlecht belichteten Zimmer des Vaters steht ein Andenken an die „selige Mutter“. Dies Andenken deutete also auch darauf hin, dass der Vater Anspruch auf die Mutter erheben kann – weshalb Georg in dem Kampf um die Macht mit dem Vater teilweise scheitert.<sup>11</sup> In dem Kampf mit dem Vater geht es erst darum, die Existenz des Petersburg-Freundes in Frage zu stellen oder gar zu bestreiten. Des Vaters Problem liegt teilweise daran, dass er einer anderen Generation angehört und über eine ältere Geschäftskonzeption verfügt. So erscheint St. Petersburg ihm als ein „Märchenland.“ Georg und der Freund leben hingegen im Zeitalter des international Handels, weswegen der Freund auch aus der Heimat ausgewandert ist. Es geht aber auch zweitens darum, des Freundes Existenz überhaupt zu verleugnen und Anspruch auf ihn zu erheben. Im Moment des großen revolutionären Ereignisses – des ausgeraubten Geschäftes – scheitert Georg völlig im Kampf mit dem Vater; er sieht nicht mehr zu ihm herauf, stockt, kann sich nicht fassen, wird völlig hilflos: „Aber schau mich an! rief der Vater, und Georg lief, fast zerstreut, zum Bett, um alles zu fassen, stockte aber in der Mitte des Weges“ (Kafka, 17).

Die Familie, die Georg hatte gründen wollen – einschließlich des Vaters, der als „Mitbewohner“ mit Frieda und Georg gelebt hätte – scheitert. Dies geschieht aus zwei Gründen, zunächst weil Georg die Differenzierungen zwischen Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft nicht machen kann. In dem Vater erkennt er nicht die unversöhnliche Macht der alten, väterlichen Herrschaft, die sich mit einer Familie, die aufgrund der Liebe, Freundschaft, Vertrautheit, und horizontaler Machtzerstreuung gegründet werden soll, schwer vereinbaren ließe. Georg stellt eine horizontale Ebene von Verkehr dar: er setzt Handel und Menschen in Bewegung. Dies ist mit Sicherheit dem Zeitalter des frühen „Globalismus“ zu verdanken. Der Vater stellt aber die vertikale Macht und brutale Autorität (*auctoritas*) der Herrschaft dar. Er ist eine Art Über-Ich, der außerdem die Wahrheit vertreten soll: „Ich war sein Vertreter hier vor Ort!“ (Kafka, 17), und: „Der Vater nickte bloß, die Wahrheit dessen, was er sagte, betuernd, in Georgs Ecke hin“ (Kafka, 18).

Andererseits müsste man aber eine politische Lektüre in den Vordergrund rücken. In dem Moment, wo der Vater den russischen Freund anerkennt, beziehungsweise in dem Moment, wo auf die russische Revolution angedeutet wird, wird Georg mitsamt Familienpläne zunichte gemacht. Das bedeutet ungefähr im folgenden, dass Georgs Plan, eine neue, bürgerliche, nukleare Familie im Sinne des post-patriarchalen Zeitalters zu stiften in der Revolution zum Scheitern verurteilt wird. In diesem Punkt hat der Vater Georg besiegt. Dies bestätigt ungefähr das Motto jeder Revolution: der Feind der Revolution ist die kleinbürgerliche Familie. Vor diesem Hintergrund kann die Vollendung und Vollbringung des Todesurteils auch nicht verwundern.

#### **IV. Zusammenfassung**

In dieser Arbeit wurde es versucht, die Rahmen eines russischen Diskurses zu setzen und diesen Diskurs im Kafkaischen Werk ausfindig zu machen. Dies müsste als ein Experiment aufgefasst werden und die Entscheidung, Kafkas längst diskutierte und unzählige Male interpretierte Erzählung 'Das Urteil' als Schauplatz dieser diskursiven Formationen zu behandeln, sollte überdies davon zeugen, dass jedes Werk im Blickfeld eines neuen theoretischen Ansatzes neu ausgelegt werden kann. Diese Arbeit sollte aber weiterhin als Anstoß zu einer größeren und umfangreicheren Arbeit dienen, die vielleicht einen Roman oder Romane verschiedener Schriftsteller der literarischen Moderne angesichts eines russischen Diskurses thematisieren würde. Die Autorin dieser Arbeit hofft auf eine solche Anregung und, wenn dies nicht von anderen aufgegriffen wird, dann wird sie es selbst versuchen.

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# ALEXANDER LEWIS

THE KAHINA AND KATEB YACINE:  
MYTHOLOGY AND FEMINIST POLITICS  
IN POST-REVOLUTIONARY ALGERIA

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The mystical Berber queen known as the Kahina boasts a hagiography that stretches all the way back to the time of Ibn Khaldûn, the notable North African historian of the high middle ages.<sup>1</sup> It is in his history of the war-faring Berber peoples that we learn the story of the Kahina, who bravely resisted the onslaught of Islamic warriors who pressured her people to convert. According to Ibn Khaldûn, the Kahina was courageous, brave, and defiant. Though her own religious background is unclear, Ibn Khaldûn suggests she may have confessed Judaism.<sup>2</sup> Although she eventually succumbed to the Arab invaders and her people accepted Islam, she nevertheless contributed importantly to what he refers to as, “the great deeds of the Berbers.”<sup>3</sup> Roughly seven centuries later, the Kahina appeared in the thoughts and fictions of Kateb Yacine, a mid-to late-20<sup>th</sup> century Algerian writer and intellectual. Politicized by the events of both the Algerian revolutionary war, which lasted from 1954 to 1962, and the resulting feminist struggle, Kateb’s Kahina emerged as a feminist. Assuming both literary and historical roles, the Kahina provided an outlet for Kateb’s outspoken commitment to women’s rights in Algeria.

## I

The literary representations of Kateb’s feminist Kahina have been explored in significant detail, though it is my contention that these studies do not provide sufficient evidence to justify interpreting her in this way.<sup>4</sup> Literary theorist Winifred Woodhull explored the feminist undertones of Kateb’s 1956 novel *Nedjma*. Though the Kahina played a small role in her analysis, she nevertheless argued that the legend is the link between Algeria’s uncertain ethnic past and its modern future, observing that the mixed heritage of the novel’s titular character speaks to that of the Kahina and that this ambiguity represented the overall ethnic and colonial tension that was occurring within revolutionary Algeria.<sup>5</sup> The vague, symbolic references to the Kahina do not properly justify interpreting her as a feminist, although the subject of Woodhull’s work undoubtedly attempted to portray her in that way.

Anthropologist Majid Hannoum similarly tied the legend to the titular character of Kateb's *Nedjma*. According to Hannoum, the character of Nedjma in the context of the events of the novel represented a "humiliated" and ethnically uncertain Kahina, one successfully overcome by powerful foreign invaders.<sup>6</sup> In this interpretation, *Nedjma's* literary representation of the Kahina gave voice to Kateb's anti-colonial views and suggested a glorification of the multi-ethnicity of Algeria. In addition, Hannoum described the Kahina's portrayal in Kateb's play *La Kahina*. The play is a dramatization of her final days and suggests that the Arab conquest of Algeria brought with it oppressive treatment of women, as it led to the downfall of the previously powerful Kahina who once held sway over North African society.<sup>7</sup> Again, while Hannoum's description of Kateb's Kahina is posited as being feminist, it is my view that the connection in *Nedjma* is too vague and symbolic and that the association in *La Kahina*, while more direct and historical, was similarly weak in showing the ways in which Kateb portrayed her in this way.

The above research neglects historical contextualization of the Kahina: in other words, these studies fail to see the ways in which Kateb's Kahina might have reflected surrounding historical circumstances. In addition, these studies do not historically justify the Kahina as an actual figure in North Africa, and thus do not give proper credibility to the argument that she was indeed a feminist. Therefore, in being interpreted as a mythical figure, as opposed to a historical one, the Kahina in Kateb's fictional works serves no relevant political or feminist function. Indeed, I argue that many other Katebian sources, such as interviews and correspondences, provide evidence for a historical, feminist Kahina. In my view, it is only by presenting her in this way that she becomes completely politicized as a feminist figure. Furthermore, the above-mentioned fictional works – *Nedjma* and *La Kahina* – can be reinterpreted in light of the Algerian feminist struggle of the 1980s to provide further evidence that Kateb's Kahina was a feminist. Thus, his Kahina emerges to give voice to his views on not only the feminist struggle but also the general status of women in Algerian society as well.

What gave the Kahina such significance in Maghrib society that Kateb would use her as a symbol for his feminist views? The answer lies in the middling seven centuries between the Kahina's first appearance in *Al-Ibar* and her later resurgence in Kateb's work. These centuries boasted

numerous interpretations of the legend, creating a cultural vitality that held relevance for generations to come. Often bridging the gap between myth and history, the Kahina's hagiography – a term borrowed from saintly scholarship – illustrates the breadth of her historical and mythical intrigue and demonstrates her effectiveness as a cultural tool among North African cultural groups. The French and Berbers, Muslims and Jews, and men and women alike used her as voice for their own views, often rewriting both her history and the history of North Africa in the process. It is in this multivocality that the significance of the Kahina lies. She is more than simply a myth; in her role as a conduit for the views and opinions of particular groups, she becomes politicized and transformed into a symbol of the groups' discontent, dominance, or both.

The historical and sociological role of the Kahina legend might be made most clear by employing a framework of cultural hegemony. Coined by Antonio Gramsci, the concept attempts to explain how one ruling group establishes norms that enable them to dominate a culturally diverse society without the use of force. The Kahina was both a tool and symptom of cultural hegemony; she was a symbol for political views that often rewrote history, and her employment by various groups in this way demonstrated the difficulty of achieving cultural superiority in a heterogeneous society like that of North Africa.

While early depictions of the Kahina indicate mild cultural hegemonic goals, the historical circumstances that justified a more valid application of this theory did not arise until the time of French colonization starting in 1830. It was in Algeria specifically, where French presence was most felt, that the Kahina's continual depiction assumed decidedly cultural hegemonic overtones. The myth likewise began to take on special significance, as the overwhelming French presence essentially created a new Algeria. As Kahina scholar Majid Hannoum asserts, the French colonial experience in Algeria effectively cut off Algeria from its history.<sup>8</sup> Thus the Kahina, in being politicized by various Algerian inhabitants in both the native and colonial populations, was evidence of an attempt to create a history that was becoming harder and harder to retain. For the French colonizers, this erasure of history was intentional, and as we will see, provided legitimization for the Algerian colonial incursion. However, for Algerians, the Kahina was used to construct their lost history, at the base of which was a forgone

sovereignty that would eventually come to justify their aspirations for independence from the colonizers.

Informed by these theoretical frameworks, I argue that Kateb's feminist Kahina emerged as a result of several important factors. Kateb stressed the historical existence of the Kahina to justify the feminist views he portrayed onto her. In addition, these feminist views and his politicized Kahina must also be seen within the context of Algerian feminist struggle post-revolutionary decades. Last of all, by reinterpreting *Nedjma* and *La Kahina*, Kateb's two most notable fictional works in which the Kahina is a character, in the context of this feminist struggle, new meanings may be gleaned which further emphasize her portrayal as a feminist figure.

## II

Before recreating Kateb's feminist Kahina, however, it is first necessary to briefly overview her hagiography, as well as provide a brief narrative of the events of the Algerian post-revolutionary feminist struggle. To illustrate the impact of the Kahina legend on Algerian society, it is necessary to examine a basic microcosm of the competing claims portrayed onto her since the time of the French colonial period. Both the colonizers and the colonized presented their own interpretations of her to justify whatever political goal to which they aspired. These often-antithetical renditions of the Kahina legend rewrote the history of Algeria to provide a "factual" background that could validate these political goals. Though the Kahina's hagiography consists of renderings represented across an extremely diverse collection of North African cultural groups, her relevance as a tool for cultural hegemony, and more specifically, one that contrasted with Kateb's feminist Kahina, may be limited to what the following writers have presented.

Ibn Khaldûn's basic narrative of the Kahina, discussed previously, persisted through the centuries, although each successive historiographical account manipulated peripheral details to alter the way the Kahina and the Berbers were perceived and argued for a specific interpretation of their history. This vitality continued into the French colonial period starting in 1830, having become firmly rooted in the Muslim North African imaginary.<sup>9</sup> It was at this point that the Kahina's reinterpretations assumed cultural hegemonic roles. Realizing the importance of history of a tool for establishing dominance, the French coloniz-



ers especially refashioned the Kahina in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In these renderings of the Kahina, the aim was to establish cultural hegemony by politicizing respective peoples to whom the myth had meaning; in other words, the promulgation of these ideologies in the Kahina effectively justified colonial presence. The first significant historical account of the Kahina written during the colonial period comes from Ernest Mercier, a politician-cum-historian who worked tirelessly to establish French colonial rule.<sup>10</sup> The land of the Kahina, North Africa, is portrayed as being “Berber, and no less significantly, Roman.”<sup>11</sup> Having established the supposed European origins of Algeria, Mercier then goes on to suggest that the French occupation of the North African region was not only justified, but bound by historical duty. Mercier’s account of the Kahina and the Berber people was posited to challenge the assumption in Europe and France that North Africa was an Arab land, thus justifying and even necessitating the intervention of the French colonizers. The Kahina, in this version a Jewish queen, while portrayed as humane and intelligent, is significant only because of her resistance to the Arab invaders.<sup>12</sup>

Mercier’s history of the Kahina provides one of the first colonial interpretations of the Berber queen, though many more were to follow. An account by Emile-Félix Gautier portrays the Kahina as a nomadic queen, who ultimately doomed North Africa to its Arab-overrun fate.<sup>13</sup> Again, this view can be seen as an attempt to necessitate French rule in North Africa, as it blames the Berber queen, in this history resembling an Arab in mentality and genealogy, for the destruction of the region, which only the French could mend.<sup>14</sup>

Arab historiography also sought to conform the legend of the Kahina to its own view of history, as evidenced by the works of several prominent Arab historians who wrote during the colonial period. In the 1930s, Algerian writer Tawfiq Madani penned a history of Algeria that portrayed the Arab invaders as heroes who brought peace and civilization to the Berbers.<sup>15</sup> The Berbers, by his account, had been searching for salvation, that is to say, an end to the constant warfare that plagued them. Salvation comes in the form of Islam, and the Kahina, having been fatally wounded by the invaders, asked her sons to accept the religion, which thereby reconciled the tense relations between the Arabs and the Berbers into a single civilized force. Though the Kahina herself did not become a Muslim, as she dies before she can convert, her ignorance of the fact that the Arabs were liberators rather than foreign invaders qualified her

to be rendered, in this account, as an Algerian heroine. What is more, she is believed to have foreseen the societal advances the Arab conquerors were to bring and thus her submission to Islam was evidence of her sagacity. In this account, any glorification of the Kahina is secondary to celebration of the Arab conquest, which was seen to have brought relative stability and development to the North African region. Thus, as the developers of the Maghrib region, the Arabs were seen as its true heirs. This Arabo-Islamic cultural hegemony provided an anti-colonial justification for the emerging revolutionary cause: Algeria belonged to the Arabs and no less importantly Islam, and it was their historical duty to evict the French colonizers.

To properly contextualize Kateb's feminist Kahina, it is first necessary to examine the surrounding historical circumstances that influenced his views, especially those concerning the feminist struggles of post-revolutionary Algeria. Having been colonially occupied by France since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Algeria moved to gain independence in the 1950s, sparking a decade-long conflict that ended with French concession in 1962. The conflict is noted for the extensive use of terrorism by both sides and the objectionable use of torture by the French to punish the Algerian rebels. Important for our feminist discussion, however, is that the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), the predominant Algerian revolutionary body, strategically employed women to achieve its goals. It is only by first analyzing the status of women both during and especially after the revolution that we can find a foundation for Kateb's views.

Algerian women assumed a variety of roles during the revolutionary period, participating actively as combatants, spies, fundraisers, couriers, and nurses.<sup>16</sup> It was reported by the ministry for veterans' affairs that as many as 11,000 women were involved in the struggle for independence in some way, although some scholars regard this as a gross underestimation.<sup>17</sup> Their participation undoubtedly served two primary functions: they not only were aiding in their country's dislodgment from the French colonialists, but also attempting to emancipate themselves from Algeria's tradition of ignorance and servitude towards women. What is more, women participants were not spared by the French military, with some 2,200 combatants subjected to arrest and torture.<sup>18</sup>

To some, this remarkable period ushered in high hopes, as women fought side by side with men, hiding FLN soldiers in their houses, transmitting messages, and carrying bombs in their purses and under their veils.<sup>19</sup>

Optimists envisioned these heroines as the harbingers of a new era of women's liberation and advancement in Algerian society. The FLN even had a policy committing itself to women's equality, creating an atmosphere of promise and hope for future generations of Algerian women - one that persisted through the revolution and into the new country's fledgling independence.<sup>20</sup> Upon Algeria's independence in 1962, women secured citizenship, equals rights to coeducation and health services (both free), and entry to the professions.<sup>21</sup>

However, as the glory of new Algeria faded away and the pressures of carving out a suitable global economic and political niche became apparent, the promise for social and gender equality also began to fade. Some, as literary theorist Zahia Salhi notes, even argue that "the backlash against women's rights occurred during the national liberation struggle," as the FLN had begun to remove women from the real fighting zones by sending them to the borders or overseas.<sup>22</sup>

Nevertheless, despite the FLN government's reaffirmation to women's equality in its 1976 constitution, by the next decade all of the social advances made in theory and actuality had been lost. Misogyny, both institutional and familiar, crept back into Algerian society as the economic and political pressures of carving out a global niche became apparent. The first major protest against this wave of misogyny occurred on December 23, 1981, when women war veterans joined young feminist activists in voicing their rejection of the government's introduction of the Family Code. Despite the outcry, the law was passed in 1984, and it appeared to have sealed the fate of Algerian women in its staggeringly reactive measures. The law made it a legal duty for Algerian women to obey their husbands, and respect and serve them, their parents, and relatives.<sup>23</sup> Many other gendered restrictions were also put in place, including oppressive guidelines for occupations, marriage, divorce, and inheritance.<sup>24</sup> Algerian feminists regarded this as a serious blow to their cause, seeing themselves relegated to a never-before-seen low in Algerian society. Proponents of the law claimed it was based on *Shari'a*, or the Islamic legal code, though opponents believed its roots to have sprung from a tradition of patriarchy and misogyny in Algeria that resumed in the post-colonial era.<sup>25</sup>

In October 1988, demonstrations broke out again, this time calling for

an end to the Algerian government's routine oppression and corruption, and demanding dignity and justice for all citizens.<sup>26</sup> Algerian youth, feminists, and reformers decried the status quo and its repressive structures, triggering protests and demands for change from many other groups.<sup>27</sup> These demonstrations in part sparked a decade-long civil war, which, although noted for the flourishing of women's organizations that took place within it, is unfortunately outside the focus of this study and beyond the life of Kateb Yacine.

### III

As mentioned before, the Kahina's hagiography reveals that she often bridged the gap between myth and actual historical figure. I argue that Kateb stressed her historical presence to give credibility to the feminist views that he portrayed onto her. As an actual historical figure, her discussion gave more weight to Kateb's feminist views. In a 1987 interview, Kateb discussed how the problem of the uncertain religion of the Kahina is evidence of the struggle between myth and history. He wondered, "When the Kahina is presented as a Jew, what does that mean? It is an invention of the Arabs."<sup>28</sup> He went on to say, "If she had entered into history as a Jew, it would be widely known. The Kahina did not enter into history because she fought for Judaism... at least to my knowledge. She entered into history as a nationalist."<sup>29</sup> Kateb suggested that the Jewishness of the Kahina was a creation of early Arab invaders to present her as an enemy of Islam and justify the conquest of her peoples. He argued that it is not because of her Jewish origins that she is remembered in history, as she did not fight for Judaism, and that her refashioning as a Jew illustrates the extent to which she was subjected to a mythical, as opposed to historical, treatment. It is for this, Kateb then said, that "I am against myths. There is still a history!"<sup>30</sup> Thus it can be observed that Kateb was against myths that falsely portrayed the Kahina to suit the ideological goals of their creators because these accounts so often skewed history to advance a political agenda.

Kateb instead preferred historical veracity, as is evidenced in his reference to Ibn Khaldûn later in the same interview. He remarked, "We have a thread that will help us rediscover the truth through all these centuries of lies, and Ibn Khaldûn is important because he was very much an Arabo-Islamist but he had a scientific mind."<sup>31</sup> Kateb then suggested, "It is necessary that Ibn Khaldûn's *History of the Berbers* be taught. It is this history

that concerns us the most. It is a fundamental work. When one reads it, one can arrive at other questions as well.”<sup>32</sup> Thus Kateb proposed that a link to the true past of Algeria and the true history of the Kahina could be found in this work by Ibn Khaldûn.<sup>33</sup> Kateb esteemed this work because it was created with scientific sensibilities, not tarnished or influenced by any kind of political agenda or otherwise nefarious attempt to render its subject a myth. The work provided a historical account of the Kahina, and as we will see, Kateb glorified it to give credibility to the feminist claims he rendered onto her. In this way he also emphasized the Kahina’s actual historical presence as opposed to her mythical one.

But there is yet another mythological creation that Kateb battled, and one that in his eyes had a direct effect in bringing about the contemporary struggle of Algerian women. The myth was that of “the Arabo-Islamic relation: the longest, most rigid, and most difficult to fight against”<sup>34</sup> Kateb noted, “Arabo-Islamic Algeria is an Algeria against itself, an Algeria estranged from itself”<sup>35</sup> Kateb thus saw the idea of Algeria as both fundamentally Arab and Islamic as contradictory, as it belied the historical reality of Algeria. Absorbed by society partially as the result of French colonialism, which as mentioned before, effectively cut off Algerians from their history, Arabo-Islamism came to be seen as the foundation for Algerian society and its peoples. In that vein, Kateb noted in another interview, “...many Algerians believe themselves to be Arabs because they’ve fallen under the Arabo-Islamic myth”<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, he argued, “Political regimes use this Arabness to mask their people from their own identity”<sup>37</sup> Kateb implied that the Arabo-Islamic foundations of Algeria are false, and that the real identity of the Algerian people has been kept from them. Lamenting on the effectiveness of this usurpation of identity, Kateb then said, “We are taken by an ocean of lies”<sup>38</sup> He implies that this myth has left the people of Algeria surrounded by falsehoods that “they believe because they have nothing else”<sup>39</sup> Kateb implied that as a result of the erasure of their history, Algerians believed any myth which might have filled in the gap of their unknown past, and that this deficiency was manipulated by Arabo-Islamists who wanted Algeria to be seen as a North African bastion of the Arabo-Islamic culture. One can see how Kateb rejected the cultural hegemony promulgated by proponents of an Arabo-Islamic Algeria. In rejecting this framework, Kateb demonstrated the importance of actual historical veracity as opposed to false histories created by myths.

Above all, Kateb stressed the importance of history as a way of sifting through the lies and falsehoods imposed on Algerian society through the centuries. He remarked in an interview:

**If we know our history – and it is not about idealizing it, nor is it necessary to create a gallery of perfect heroes - we would better understand its weaknesses and its past life, and we would be able to better demystify the moonshine and the junk that constitutes what has been said about Algeria.**

Thus, to Kateb, the Kahina can be seen to represent a preserved part of Algeria's history. It seems that he wanted to guard her as a relic of its past, and that he wanted to cleanse her portrayal, and by extension, the entire history of Algeria, of the dissident political hegemonies that had been thrust onto her. She represented part of Algerian history that had been formerly lost to centuries of Arabization and colonialism, and thus Kateb saw her as a justification of Algeria's past and a feminist icon for its future. What is more, in emphasizing that the Kahina represents an actual historical aspect of Algeria, Kateb suggested that she might be an example for future generations of Algerians. He said: "The knowledge of our history is thus an urgency for us. For the humans who know their past and the past of their country know who they are."<sup>41</sup> The Kahina can be seen to represent part of that past, and constituted a part of what Kateb saw as the legacy of all Algerians. In the following discussion, we will see how Kateb suggested that this legacy indicated a more hopeful social position for Algerian women.

Having established his regard for the historical figure of the Kahina, it is now necessary to discuss the ways in which her historicized presence was used by Kateb to voice his views on women's rights and the feminist struggle of the 1980s. As discussed previously, the post-revolutionary decades saw a gradual decline in the status of Algerian women. This decline finally met a backlash in the 1980s, when feminist movements broke out in opposition to the increasing societal misogyny. Kateb, whose comments in the following interviews and correspondences were captured primarily during this decade, emerged the Kahina as a feminist, flanked by both historical veracity and political exemplarity.

Continuing in the above-mentioned 1987 interview, Kateb remarked:

Concerning women, how did it happen that this country, this subcontinent, was able to be ruled by a woman? And how did it happen that women got to where they are today? It's not difficult to answer: Arabo-Islamism has resulted in the servitude and degradation of the contemporary Algerian woman.<sup>42</sup>

Here, Kateb referenced both the Kahina and the Arabo-Islamic myth to illustrate the position of women in contemporary Algerian society. The Kahina, as a woman who once ruled over Algeria, is compared to the modern woman, who has, in Kateb's eyes, become degraded to a deplorable point. The cause of this diminished position was the advancement of the Arabo-Islamic myth, which did not reflect the historical reality signified by the Kahina. Kateb remarked similarly in a message dated March 8, 1989, "When one thinks that a woman ruled an immense homeland of which Algeria was the center, and when one thinks of the current condition of the Algerian woman, a great distance is measured."<sup>43</sup> Kateb then pondered, "What became of the Kahina? She is no longer at the head of the country, and that is the least one might say."<sup>44</sup> Kateb again used the figure of the Kahina to contrast her former power with the relative diminishment in position experienced by modern Algerian women. In addition, she is also presented as a foil to women's occupational freedom. Later in the same message, Kateb stated: "A country that prevents its women from working condemns itself to underdevelopment and becomes sooner or later the prey of powerful foreigners. And when women work, the country advances"<sup>45</sup> Here, Kateb directly referenced the Algerian government's Family Code, which had severely restricted women's occupational freedom. Modern Algerian women are contrasted with the Kahina, who once held perhaps the most powerful position that a nation might offer to any of its citizens.

Kateb then implied in this message that the possibility still existed for Algerian women to rule their homeland, using then Pakistani president Benazir Bhutto as an example of a woman in a position of great power in her society. He said: "As if by chance, she was elected president by a majority of Muslims in the biggest Islamist republic in the world, while in Algeria, it is in the name of Islam that women are oppressed..."<sup>46</sup> Kateb seemed to indicate in using this example that he saw the possibility for the majority-Muslim Algerian society to one day uplift its women to the same position that Pakistan had. To that end, Benazir Bhutto represented a "misplaced" Kahina, but one that still signified a definite possibility in Algeria at the very least. Kateb later said in the message,

“Our Kahina of today is no longer, not yet at least, at the head of the State, but she is not only at the center of the foyer either. She shines, even veiled, like a secret star”<sup>47</sup> It is evident here that Kateb envisioned a future in which a woman might again lead Algerian society, just like the Kahina had done before.

Kateb’s discussion of the Kahina with regard to the lowered position of women in Algerian society suggested that women might one day aspire to reach the same level of stature in their society that the Kahina once had. He saw the potential for this rise in position as being part of the legacy of the Kahina, who represented in herself a factual relic of Algeria’s tumultuous, though arguably feminist past. Thus it is observed how and why Kateb stressed the importance of the Kahina as a historical figure in Algeria’s society, rather than simply a mythical one. In retaining an actual historical presence, the Kahina served as a factual example of women’s exaltation in past Algerian society, and thus the historical potential resides in that same society to similarly promote women to those liberated heights.

It is now necessary to examine Kateb’s two fictional works in which the Kahina was most notably represented - *Nedjma* and *La Kahina* - to see the ways in which her representation might have further showed evidence of Kateb’s feminist thoughts. The events that occur within the plot of *Nedjma* do indeed imply, as Hannoum and Woodhull suggest, that the character of Nedjma represents a “humiliated” Kahina.<sup>48</sup> In the novel, she is raped several times by various male characters.<sup>49</sup> These episodes represent the initial conquest of the Kahina, and, symbolically, the successive conquests of Algeria by the Arabs, the Turks, and the French. Her humiliated status is the result of the abeyance of her power, and Nedjma in this personification is similarly stripped of her dignity. Nedjma embodies both Algeria and the Kahina, both of which are implied by the repeated rape of Nedjma to have lost both their sovereignty and history.

Although written during the 1950s during the height of the Algerian revolution, the novel can be reinterpreted in light of the feminist struggle of the post-revolutionary years. The humiliated Kahina, embodied by the ravished Nedjma, is a symbol for all Algerian women and a commentary on the factors that led to the diminishment of their social position. Nedjma is thus not only Algeria and the Kahina, but also all Algerian women. They have been repeatedly conquered by successive foreign forces, which resulted in their dramatically lowered status.

In the previously mentioned 1987 interview, Kateb said: “*Nedjma* is Algeria,



the quest for Algeria. Have we found it yet? In my opinion, no.”<sup>50</sup> He implied here that Algeria was still without an identity, a deficiency that undoubtedly came as the result of the similarly “lost” position of Algerian women.

Is the humiliated Kahina still a feminist? Nedjma remains resilient after each ravishing, a fact that represents the cultural renewal Algeria experienced after each successive conquest. Similarly, the Kahina may have been decidedly conquered, but the historical potential she left behind suggests that Algerian women may be able to rebound from their depressed position and join in a feminist cultural renewal of Algeria. In addition, the resilience implied by Kateb may be seen as a testament to the strength of Algerian women and justification for their liberation.

The 1972 play *La Kahina* features the Kahina, named Dihya, as the main character, and one can find in the events of the play a similarly feminist portrayal. The play dramatizes the moments before she is killed and her people are proselytized by the invading Arab conquerors. She addresses her people as the invaders approach:

**They are surprised to see you all ruled by a woman.  
It is because they are merchants of slaves.  
They veil their woman for better selling them.  
For them, the prettiest girl is only merchandise.  
It is necessary above all that she is not seen too closely.  
They cover her, conceal her like a stolen treasure.  
She is forbidden above all to speak and be listened to.  
A free woman scandalizes them, and to them I am the devil.  
They are unable to understand, blinded by their religion.**

This riveting monologue reflects almost directly similar statements given by Kateb in above-mentioned interviews. The Kahina demonizes the Arab invaders, and through her, Kateb again suggested that it is the Arabo-Islamist culture that they represent that brought with it the dwindled social position of Algerian women. Though the play is fictional, the Kahina is more than simply a symbol of her actual historical self. She indeed represents the history of Algeria as Kateb understood it, and her portrayal in this way gives further articulation to Kateb’s feminist views. In describing all of the ways in which the Arab invaders view women, the Kahina comes to represent their opposite. She is unveiled and speaks clearly to address her people, who listen to her. She is free, and as a free woman ruling a country, represents the opposite

conception of women that the Arab conquerors entertain. She is rational and contrasts herself with the invaders who are instead blinded by their religion. All of these differences constitute her feminist portrayal, and in this way, the goals of the Algerian feminist struggle become embodied in her. The Kahina thus symbolized the aim to which the feminists aspired and the liberation that they saw inherent in both their history and their future.

These fictional portrayals of the Kahina, as reinterpreted in the context of the Algerian feminist struggle, thus assumed more significance with regard to her feminist portrayal by Kateb. She symbolically represented the current diminished status of Algerian women, but also the goal to which they might one day aspire. She was a feminist because she represented the liberation of women from both repressive myths and dominating traditions.

#### IV

Kateb Yacine's feminist Kahina emerged as the result of several important factors. Kateb stressed her actual historical presence by eschewing certain myths associated with her and instead searching for a direct link back to her documented existence, which he finds in the work of Ibn Khaldûn. Having presented her as a historical figure, Kateb explored the ways in which she served as a foil to the contemporary status of Algerian women, but also how that representation demonstrated the potential for women to again reach that level of social stature. He implied that her legacy left behind the inherent capability in all Algerian women to liberate themselves, and that her previous dominion over North Africa is a goal to which women must yet aspire. Finally, Kateb's portrayals of the Kahina in both *Nedjma* and *La Kahina* presented further evidence that he regarded her as a feminist as they provided further outlet for his commentaries on the status of contemporary Algerian women and their liberation from the oppressive yoke of Arabo-Islamist Algerian society.

Kateb's Kahina was clearly posited to provide justification for the elevation of women's position in Algerian society. Politicized by his own feminist views, she came to serve as the example to which Algerian society must strive, and in this way exemplified a dynamic and optimistic future for Algeria. This new Algeria would be free from cultural hegemony, and would celebrate the indigenous diversity that is manifest in all of North Africa. All cultural groups would share in its cultivation, which would result in a modern society that could accurately represent all of its constituents – including women.

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# BRIANNA HOLMES

POETRY AND RACISM: AN EXPLORATION OF POETIC REACTIONS TO RACIAL DIVISION AMONG THE WORKING CLASS IN THE UNITED STATES

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Though no African American poetry was published before 1773, the racial tensions that it often addresses began much earlier, during the early years of Anglo settlement on this continent. The first British colonies in North America were established as trading posts and operational bases for corporations engaged in the business of trading and selling both raw materials and finished goods (Ancel, *Slavery*). Initially, labor for the colonies was provided by poor, white indentured servants (Murolo 7). Being contracted, bought, or sold into indentured servitude was essentially the same as being a slave, except that the servants were eventually freed, usually after three to six years depending on their contract (Murolo 7-9, *Slavery*). The first Africans brought to the colonies were treated more like indentured servants than slaves (*Slavery*). As events in Colonial America progressed, slavery replaced indentured servitude for black people and many Americans were inspired to use poetry to bring attention to the injustice of racial slavery, as well as the continued oppression of black people after slavery ended (Murolo 9-12, *Ubriaco*).

The various poetic approaches to the issue of racial tension explored in this paper include a request for solidarity and inclusion of black people in white society based on appeals to a shared religion (Christianity), an appeal to black people to rebel and run away (also based on Christianity), a shocking description of the horrific results of racism, and finally, a radical appeal to revolt against all the traditional bonds of society in order to achieve true solidarity among all members of the lower class. Because our understanding of these poems can be greatly enhanced by first exploring how racism arose and evolved in the United States, the discussion of specific examples of poetry will follow an examination of why racism exists among the working class in the United States.

Bonding over their shared lifestyles, black and white servants lived, worked, and socialized together, but things started to change in 1640 when three servants, John Punch (black), James Gregory (white), and a man named

Victor (white), ran away from their master in Virginia (*Slavery, Ubrico*). All three men were whipped, “the two white men were sentenced to an additional four years of servitude, . . . and the black man, a man named John Punch, was ordered to ‘serve his said master or his assigns for the time of his natural Life here or elsewhere’” (Virginia). The judges and law makers of the day represented wealthy, white planters and corporations (Ancel). Giving John Punch a harsher sentence than his mates was an intentional act, designed to assist elite planters by fostering resentment and division among the workers (Ubrico). Without solidarity, the working class is less likely to cooperate, organize, and revolt (Ubrico). The case of John Punch is the first recorded incident of someone being condemned to servitude for life and is the first notable step toward the institutionalization of slavery in the United States (*Slavery, Virginia*). By establishing this precedent of lifelong servitude for a black person, the judge employed, on a very small scale, standard European divide-and-conquer tactics against three members of the lower class.<sup>1</sup>

Thirty-six years later, in 1676, following a gradual reduction in the quality of life for black people after the case of John Punch, the divide-and-conquer approach solidified as a result of Bacon’s Rebellion (Ubrico). Nathaniel Bacon united a group of roughly 1000 black and white farmers, slaves, and indentured servants (Murolo 18-19). Many of the rebels had served the terms of their indenture and had been set free but had few viable means of securing income and very limited access to farmable land because so much of it was owned by wealthy planters (Ancel). After turning their attention away from attacking the mostly friendly Native Americans nearby, Bacon’s group of underclass citizens pillaged the plantations of wealthy planters and attacked the capitol in Jamestown (Murolo 18-19). Prior to Bacon’s Rebellion, race slavery was not an official institution regulated by laws, but after the rebellion, laws defining and regulating the practice of slavery were passed in Maryland and Virginia, and soon, “as other British colonies institutionalized slavery, they, too, passed laws designed to eliminate common ground between servants and slaves. Labor revolts that united black and white were soon a thing of the past” (Murolo 18-19, *Slavery*).

The exploitation of race and ethnicity in order to set the lower class at odds with itself was a standard European imperial tactic in its colonies around the world. Just as the Germans set up the Tutsis to rule over the Hutus in Rwanda, and the British exploited the caste system in India to serve their own ends, the elite law makers in North America gradually set up a social system wherein

whites, no matter their station in life, ranked above blacks (Ancel, Keen 3, Meredith 157-161). As black people became more oppressed, poor white people were granted more privileges (Ancel). Whites were sufficiently deceived by the token privileges bestowed on them and began thinking that they were “better” than blacks (Ubrico). Blacks, of course, resented the unequal treatment because the poor whites were their peers; equal in every way except for skin color. Thus divide-and-conquer tactics proved to be successful in North America just as they had been in Africa and India (Keen 3, Meredith 157-161).<sup>2</sup>

One of the desired results of divide-and-conquer techniques is confusion among the conquered. The attentions of the conquered are directed toward each other rather than toward the powerful entities that are exploiting them. Therefore, understanding the intentional implantation of racism yields a much richer reading of African American, abolitionist, and sympathizer poetry; these poems reflect many different directions toward which the attention of the underclass may be more appropriately focused because we are able to keep in mind who the real enemy is while reading them. Nearly 100 years after Bacon’s Rebellion, wealthy white people who had established many laws restricting the behavior of black people to prevent agitation and organization and who also owned all the means of mass production, deemed Phillis Wheatley to be the first black writer worthy of publication. The first book published by an African American was Wheatley’s *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* in 1773 (Gilyard 129). Prior to the 1700’s, “The primary concern for the [poet] of the period is self-definition. America has no distinct personality, at the time. So while certain themes are prevalent—slavery, Puritanism, Native Americans—most poets . . . were more concerned with self-definition within these contexts,” but by the time Wheatley was published, racism had become a part of the working class culture (Exam 1). *On Being Brought from Africa to America* is one of the poems included in her book:

Tw’as mercy brought me from my *Pagan* land,  
Taught my benighted soul to understand  
That there’s a God, that there’s a *Saviour* too,  
Once I redemption neither sought nor knew.  
Some view our fable race with scornful eye,  
“Their colour is a diabolic die.”  
Remember, *Christians, Negroes*, black as *Cain*,  
May be refin’d, and join th’ angelic train.<sup>3</sup>

(Wheatley 129-30)

Even though this poem boldly claimed that black Christians were worthy of God, it was allowed to circulate in white society because the majority of the poem reinforced racist stereotypes of African people as Godless, heathen savages, and also depicted the transporting of Africans to America, against their will, as having been beneficial to the Africans because it resulted in their salvation. In this meek poem, Wheatley accepts the racial divide but attempts to bridge the religious divide in the hopes that religion trumps race. Perhaps Wheatley realized that the corporate interests of her day cared about neither race nor religion and hoped that if she could appeal to the good will of white Christians, they may stand together against the oppressors. Perhaps she thought that the upper class would blush at its hypocrisy and begin to treat black people humanely. No matter the results for which she hoped, hers is a voice humbly begging for solidarity among the races and some semblance of acceptance into white culture.

As relations among members of the lower class continued to deteriorate, some poets gave up on meekly asking for decency and began to think about escaping their oppressors. One theme that was widely embraced by African Americans was the use of the story of Moses from the Christian Bible as a way to define the slave experience as well as provide hope for escaping the misery they endured (Gilyard 117-118). The slave owners were compared to Pharaoh and the slaves were compared to the Israelites waiting to be led to freedom by Harriet Tubman or any one of a number of other activists performing the Moses-like activity of helping the oppressed (Gilyard 118). In 1869, Frances E. W. Harper wrote *Moses: A Story of the Nile*. In this lengthy poem, Harper addresses many labor issues, including divide-and-conquer tactics. In one passage, Pharaoh responds to Moses' plea to free the oppressed by punishing the slaves and giving them additional work:

'Twas a sad day in Goshen;  
And the king's decree hung like a gloomy pall  
Around their homes. The people fainted 'neath  
Their added tasks, then cried unto the king,  
That he would ease their burdens; but he hissed  
A taunt into their ears and said, "Ye are  
Idle, and your minds are filled with vain  
And foolish thoughts; get you unto your tasks,  
And ye shall not 'minish of your tale of bricks."



And they turned their eyes  
Reproachfully to Moses and his brother,  
And laid the cruel blame upon their  
shoulders.

(Harper 136-158)

There are several other passages in *Moses* that provide lessons about solidarity and how the upper class may divide the lower class. However, Harper's message of solidarity, unlike Wheatley's which appeals to white Christians, applies only to the slaves. The ultimate goal of the poem is to free all the black people, not to try and get along with white people or make the existing system of slavery more tolerable.

In the late 1930s, Abel Meeropol wrote "Strange Fruit", a song later made popular by Billie Holiday. Meeropol was a union activist and in another song, "Hand in Hand With Labor", Meeropol writes, "we're one big Union, 'cross the nation" (Baker 30). The concept of "One Big Union" was adopted by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) (Ansel). The IWW is notable among labor unions not only because it promotes anti-capitalist ideals, but also because it has never discriminated based on race, ethnicity, gender, or creed (Ansel). Because Meeropol used the phrase "One Big Union", we can tell that he was sensitive to all members of the underclass and that he recognized racism as a tool employed by elite interests. In "Strange Fruit" Meeropol lets us know that words like "horrific" are entirely too weak to describe the practice of lynching:

Southern trees bear a strange fruit  
Blood on the leaves and blood at the root  
Black body swinging in the Southern breeze  
Strange fruit hanging from the poplar trees  
Pastoral scene of the gallant South  
The bulging eyes and the twisted mouth  
Scent of magnolia sweet and fresh  
Then the sudden smell of burning flesh!  
Here is fruit for the crows to pluck  
For the rain to gather, for the wind to suck  
For the sun to rot, for a tree to drop  
Here is a strange and bitter crop

("Strange" 1)

“Strange Fruit” stands out not only because it so deeply sickening, but also because it was written by a white man writing specifically from the point of view that all laborers need solidarity. Following the creed of the IWW, Meeropol tells us that it does not matter who you are, what you do, or where you came from, lynching is bad. It is so bad, there are no words to describe how bad it is. It is so unreasonable it becomes incomprehensible, strange. Hanging a worker from a tree and leaving him there to rot because he tried to quit his job is something that we, as workers ourselves, can all agree is not acceptable by any stretch of the imagination. Where Wheatley asks for acceptance, and Harper suggests running away, Meeropol lets people know why they should be vigilant in their demands for equal and humane rights for all workers.

Huey Newton, one of the founders of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, also understood the need for vigilance and solidarity, and, like Meeropol, Newton was able to clearly identify the source of the racial and labor problems in the United States. He laid the blame at the feet of corporations and a political system that created, fostered, and exploited the racial divide in order to glean higher profits from the labor of the underclass (“Ten” 1). The Panthers “saw black America as a colony—their goal was self-determination, their first concern survival. The Panthers also identified with African and Asian anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles” (Murolo 253).

Portrayed as black nationalists because of their demands that black people be given fair recompense for their labor, the Panthers actually worked side by side with other ethnic grassroots organizations including The Brown Berets (Chicano group), the Young Lords (Puerto Rican group), and the Young Patriots (poor white Appalachians who wore Confederate flag patches and denounced racism) (Murolo 257-258). Before their untimely demise, the Panthers organized several workers’ unions, actively engaged in community services, and “by 1969, [the Panthers’] Free Breakfast program . . . served 23,000 children in nineteen cities” (Murolo 253). Newton beautifully expresses the depth of his commitment to solidarity and rejection of divisions based on race, gender, ethnicity, and even family bonds in his poem, *Revolutionary Suicide*, published in 1975:

By having no family  
I inherited the family of humanity  
By having no possessions  
I have possessed all.

By rejecting the love of one  
I received the love of all.  
By surrendering my life to the revolution  
I found eternal life.  
Revolutionary Suicide.

(Newton)

With an Eastern tone, Newton is expressing that he cares as deeply for every human as he cares for his own family, and even his own self. Make no mistake, this sentiment of self-sacrifice is entirely un-American. Because capitalism, oppression, repression, and racism thrive on the pioneering spirit of the individualist in the United States, Newton's communal spirit is a direct threat to these institutions. He wanted deep and lasting change in the United States from top to bottom. He wanted all workers around the world to be treated humanely, to be compensated fairly, and to be allowed the liberty of self-determination in their lives ("Ten" 3). These are radical ideas that go against everything capitalism stands for, and, as the Panthers' free breakfast program was thriving, "Chicago police shot [Panthers] Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in their beds on December 4, 1969. By 1970, the police had killed twenty-seven Party members" (Murolo 253, Slavery).

I always thought that racism in the United States was just a result of ignorance, but racism is not an accident of history. Our understanding of the intentional implantation of racism not only helps us to understand why our culture is the way it is and thereby enriches our reading of African American poetry, it can also serve as a model for understanding class divisions along many other lines; gender, nationality, ethnicity, religion, occupation, and political affiliation. The poems discussed here reflect several different approaches to race relations in the United States. From Wheatley's gentle plea for acceptance to Newton's radical militant approach, we need all these voices asking in many different ways for solidarity because one never knows which voice will inspire the next W.E.B. Du Bois, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Malcolm X, Angela Davis, Abel Meeropol, Phillis Wheatley, Dick Gregory, Martin Luther King Jr., Huey Newton, Cornel West, Sojourner Truth, Frances E. W. Harper, Barack Obama, or Moses.

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# LAUREN GEFORD

## MISSOURI STATE CAMPAIGN FINANCE CONTRIBUTION LIMITS; POLICY MEMORANDUM

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### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The issue at hand is whether to instill campaign contribution limits to state-wide candidates (Governor, Secretary of State, Treasurer, etc...), state senate candidates, and state house candidates.

The course of action recommended is putting a cap on campaign contributions that organizations (PACs, corporations, unions) may contribute to candidates and political parties and retaining the ban, passed in 2010, on PAC-to-PAC transfers. Also proposed is an increase of resources to the MEC to allow for more self-started prosecution and investigation of compliance with statutes contained in Title IX, Chapter 130, Campaign Finance Disclosure Law. Lastly, an evaluation and possible change to the process and financial limits of independent expenditures and in-kind contributions are considered. Decision is promptly needed to ensure that new campaign finance laws are in effect, understood by candidates, political parties and organizations, and are properly enforced by the Missouri Ethics Commission before the 2012 primary election occurs.

### **BACKGROUND<sup>1</sup>**

State campaign contribution limits in Missouri have seen a tumultuous and inconsistent history. Contribution limits, passed by the majority will of Missourians and upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 2000, are no longer in effect.

Between 1974 and 1978 voters passed the first disclosure law in the ballot measure Proposition 1, which was found unenforceable in the courts and struck down. Candidates, PACs, etc. filed their paperwork of existence but not much else, and little effort was given to ensuring compliance with the law. This continued until 1985. In 1985 a law was passed that gave the ability to levy fines on entities that violated disclosure laws and it was then required to file a list of

contribution and expenditure sources. From 1988 to 1990 issues were cited with the ability of the Contribution Review Board to enforce campaign finance laws.

In 1991 the Missouri Ethics Commission was formed and in 1993 there were two initiative drives that began to advocate for contribution limits. In 1994 the State Legislature passed contribution and spending limits (SB 650) and then the Proposition A referendum with stricter limits passed on November ballot. The years of 1995 to 2000 saw regulations contained in Proposition A and SB 650 systematically overturned through state and federal courts. Generally, in the order listed, components removed by the courts before it reached the U.S. Supreme Court included: campaign spending limits (included in SB 650), disposing of much of candidates' funds after an election (included in both laws), limits on how much a candidate can contribute to their own campaign (Proposition A), the ban on accepting contributions during legislative session (SB 650), and Proposition A's lower contribution limits of \$100-\$300.

1994 SB 650's \$250-\$1,000 contribution limits were considered law from July 1996 to December 1998, when the U.S. Eighth Circuit Appeals Court ruled contribution limits unconstitutional. No contribution limits were enforced over the next two years until the U.S. Supreme Court, in *Nixon v. Shrink Missouri Government PAC*, ruled (6-3) that contribution limits in the amount written in SB 650 are constitutional, upholding their 1976 ruling of *Buckley v. Valeo*.

Then, in 2006, the Missouri Legislature passed legislation that was signed into law that undid all campaign contribution limits and reinitiated the ban on fundraising during the legislative session. The new reversal of no contribution limits went into effect in January 2007, the provision disallowing contributions during session were struck down in March 2007, and campaign contribution limits were reinstated by the Missouri Supreme Court in July 2007 (after six months of no limits).

In 2008 the legislature again removed contribution limits (SB 1038), and the law went into effect on August 28<sup>th</sup>, 2008 and remains intact today. In 2010 an ethics reform passed which bans PAC-to-PAC transfers and various other regulations on the ability of different types of party committees to accept various forms of contributions. This is currently being challenged in court.

## ISSUES

As the background information about campaign finance contribution limits and regulations in Missouri suggest, the state legislature has faced difficulties with passing legislation that:

1. Is agreeable to what the Missouri public passed by referendum in 1994.
2. Holds constitutional in court, especially considering large differences of opinion in various courts and the inconclusive proof that contribution limits are connected to public satisfaction or trust in government.
3. Is consistent with the 2000 *Nixon v. Shrink Missouri Government PAC* Supreme Court ruling, as evidenced by laws in 2006 and 2008 that removed contribution limits upheld in that Supreme Court ruling.

Both parties have shown support for contribution limits in the past, including those in each chamber as well as statewide officials, such as then Secretary of State Roy Blunt and then Attorney General Jay Nixon.<sup>2</sup> Also, wide support for campaign finance reform is evidenced in public opinion polls.<sup>3</sup> There are groups both in support of and against campaign finance reform, most notably on a nationwide scale. Those for reform include: Brookings Institute, League of Women Voters, the Center for Governmental Studies, California Voter Foundation, MOPIRG, Common Cause, The Center for Responsive Politics, and more. Those against reform include: the Center for Competitive Politics, the CATO Institute, and more.

Researchers and professors have increasingly explored the effect of campaign finance reform on different institutions and correlating public satisfaction because of the normative concern that an increased influence of money in the political process is corrupting. Based on research findings, or lack thereof, the scholarly community has come to varying opinions; but a survey of journal publications observationally shows that while it is difficult to prove the causality of unlimited money flowing into politics corrupting legislative action or eroding public efficacy, the majority of researchers still conclude that there is justifiable reason for reform.<sup>4</sup>



## OPTIONS

The plausible courses of action are taking no action, slight reform of the campaign finance laws, or increased reforms leading to total overhaul. Missouri's current system of campaign finance disclosure and electronic filing as administered by the Missouri Ethics Commission is well-regarded, so most disclosure issues are not discussed here.<sup>5</sup> While Missouri is leading the nation in finance disclosure accessibility, the difference is negligible because of subpar enforcement of disclosure and because the state is behind in other areas of campaign finance reform.

***No Action: Pros and Cons.*** Taking no action may be considered the easiest and least controversial route, but as the 2010 legislative session evidenced, there is bipartisan support for campaign finance and ethics reform.<sup>6</sup> Taking no action will prevent opposition from anti-reform entities, will preserve the current system, and would reduce the MEC's potential need to retrain staff and provide support to treasurers of fundraising committees. Yet given the recent support in favor of reforming campaign finance and the subsequent SB 844 passed and signed into law, which is facing court challenges for containing multiple purposes, there is good reason to reinitiate a discussion on the topic.

***Slight reform: Pros and Cons of this proposition.*** Slight reform, as proposed in this memo, will mediate opposition facing legislators from both those for and against campaign finance reform because the proposed fixes are less radical than they could be (in comparison to reforms undertaken in other states). For example, public financing proposals often result in more fervor and are therefore less commonly adopted. Also, imposing spending limits has only shown to have constitutional defense when a public financing option is included to make the public financing fully "optional", as was the case in 1995 when the spending limits in the 1994 SB 650 were struck down in U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals because no public financing was included.<sup>7</sup> Slight reform is less likely to face court challenge. Slight reform will allow the legislature, public, and research entities to evaluate the reforms in a systematic way over the course of time and follows natural legislative incremental form. On the other hand, slight reform will leave the discussion open to future reforms.

**Total overhaul: Pros and Cons.** Total overhaul would, assuming that it is not engulfed in lengthy and drawn out court challenges as in the past, hopefully secure a long-term campaign finance law that would sustain itself for more than the commonly observed length of two to four years as seen in previous Missouri campaign finance laws described above. This would reduce the time that candidates and committees need to spend learning new and often changing laws.

Total overhaul has not been a popular option or seen as accomplishable in the past. Lowering the amount of money that flows into elections has shown in some initial research to reduce public participation in democracy, and public political knowledge and efficacy. As Coleman and Manna's study of Congressional elections demonstrated, large funding of elections has positive effects. Taking into account these findings and the lesser popularity of passing public financing or campaign spending limits, as noted earlier, the goal of these proposed reforms is not to reduce the amount of money in campaigns and politics overall, but to reshape the path of money through the political system. Yet, one must question how Coleman and Manna's theory plays out over time, since voter turnout has been decreasing over the past half a century while campaign spending has enormously increased. Also, total overhaul, such as discussed with public financing, would be more likely to face court challenge, which is another reason this proposal is moderate.

## **RECOMMENDATION: REASONS TO PASS CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION LIMITS**

**Upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court.** Monetary direct contributions have been upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court as not infringing on First Amendment rights of free speech as ruled in *Buckley v. Valeo* (1976) and *Nixon v. Shrink Missouri Government PAC* (2000).

**Increases Competition and Candidate Pool.** Limits increase competitiveness in elections, and competitive elections are a positive attribute to the democratic process. Empirical "analysis shows that after controlling properly for other factors that may determine election outcomes, limits on contributions lead to closer elections. Both, introducing limits and tightening existing limits increases the closeness of elections..." (Stratmann and Aparicio-Castillo 178). Not only do contribution limits increase elections's competitiveness

by fostering closer elections, but studies show that limits also motivate more people to become involved by running for office, increasing the candidate pool (Hamm and Hogan 458).

***Minimizes Challenger-Incumbent Spending Disparities.*** Contribution limits also decrease the disparity in spending between candidates, in which incumbents, without limits, have a great advantage. “It appears that laws that limit campaign contributions from corporations decrease the difference in spending between incumbents and challengers, making elections theoretically more competitive, and laws that limit campaign contributions from individuals increase that difference, making elections theoretically less competitive” (Lynch, public abstract). It is important to note that limiting individual contributions is shown to decrease competitiveness, which is one facet to why it is not proposed here.

***Campaign Spending Remains Mostly Preserved and Incumbent Advantage Equalized.*** Incumbents have an inherent and often-found large advantage over their challengers because of incumbent name recognition, non-partisan affection stemming from constituent work, and because of franking, paid mail, and other advantages received while in office<sup>8</sup>. Additionally, while states with less restrictive campaign finance regulations exhibit higher amounts of overall campaign spending, there are many other factors that affect spending as well, such as the professionalism of the state legislature (full-time, part-time, acts as a stepping stone to higher office) and the competitiveness of the particular race (Hogan). For example, Hogan summarizes that “Campaign finance laws affect spending levels, but candidate- and district-level factors also have a large impact” (Hogan “Costs,” 941 and Hogan *Variations*).

So, although the purpose of this proposal is *not* to reduce overall campaign spending, which as discussed earlier may in fact reduce public political participation, efficacy, and knowledge (Coleman and Manna), legislators must realize that moderate limits on campaign contributions will not drastically harm spending to the extent of these mentioned negative effects.

***Equal Voice in Elections.*** Limits on contributions from organizations (PACs, unions, corporations) will give individuals a more equitable voice in the political process. The debate about whether organizations are considered individuals, and therefore have the right to freedom of speech, is not applicable in this case since the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that limits on monetary donations do

not infringe on free speech rights. In the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in *Jacobus v. State of Alaska*, 2003, the court wrote: “A failure to regulate the arena of campaign finance allows the influence of wealthy individuals and corporations to drown out the voices of individual citizens ... causing the public to become disillusioned with and mistrustful of the political system” (Primo 1).

Yet, this proposal will give serious consideration to limiting independent expenditures and in-kind contributions from organizations. While the U.S. Supreme Court has upheld in *Citizens United v. FEC* that unregulated and unlimited independent expenditures is a right to speech, one must consider that independent expenditures are shown to be extremely influential in deciding close elections, influencing two to eight percent of a vote to sway towards the preferred candidate (Malbin 165). Individuals do not have the same power brokering and knowledge leverage as organizations, corporations, unions, and PACs to conduct independent expenditures, such as comprehensive advertising plans, for individuals do not have the commonly already existing public relations and advertising departments and experience seen in organizations. Because of this structural disparity between individuals and organizations, organizations have an additional upper hand on individuals in their ability to influence campaigns and the political process, which is compounded by the larger amounts of money in general that organizations have to give.

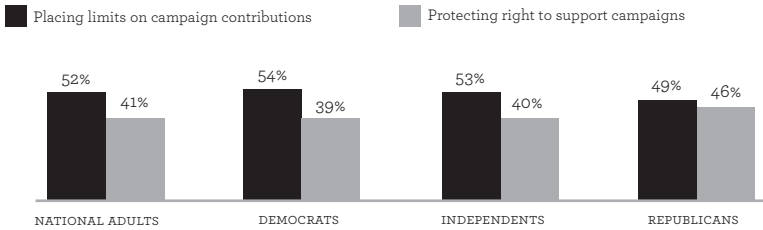
***Comparison to Other States.*** Missouri is one of four states that have no contribution limits (National).

***Grassroots Emphasis.*** The reduced emphasis and importance of organization money in elections may drive campaigns to increase their grassroots efforts, which could hypothetically target more of the general public and will increase mass participation in the political process.

***Public Opinion.*** A wealth of public opinion surveys have tested the public’s desire for campaign finance and ethics reform and the level that they care about the issue (Saad, Moore). While many surveys show that the public places campaign finance reform low on their list of legislative priorities, they also show majority support for campaign contribution limits. As the below results reveal, the majority of the public (52 percent) feel that campaign contribution limits are a greater priority than rights to free speech in politics (41 percent siding with free speech and 7 percent with no opinion).

### *Prioritizing Limits on Campaign Contributions vs. Free Speech*

Thinking about political campaign contributions and free speech, which is the greater priority for you, personally—[placing limits on how much individuals, corporations, or unions can contribute to political campaigns (or) protecting individuals, corporations, or unions can contribute to political campaigns (or) protecting individuals', corporations', or unions' rights to freely support political campaigns]?



Gallup/First Amendment Center; Oct. 1-2, 2009

GALLUP

Additionally, Moore describes other results:

By a margin of 76% to 19%, Americans favor ‘new federal laws limiting the amount of money that any individual or group can contribute to the national political parties,’ with 51% saying they favor the idea ‘strongly’ and 25% ‘moderately.’ Also, 59% of American say that if new campaign finance reform legislation were passed, it would make our democratic form of government work better than it does now, while only 5% say worse, and 32% say it wouldn’t matter (Saad, Moore).

While there is a significant fall off from wanting reform and believing reform will actually work, one must consider the public’s overarching desire for reform.

***Additional Considerations.*** Primo and Milyo write that, “Consequently, voter turnout, trust in government, political interest and even candidate emergence may all ultimately be affected in some way by changes in campaign finance laws” (9). Considering the changes in these factors that may occur from changing campaign finance laws, this proposal gains additional ground in that it is not a complete reversal of current law. Primo and Milyo (2006) and Rosenson (2009) are some of the most published researchers who have found that campaign finance reform does not have a statistically significant influence on the public’s perception of government corruption: media framing and attention, as well as unintended consequences of reform, have shown in these studies to not satisfy the objective of reducing perceived corruption.

## **REASONS TO IMPOSE STRONGER REGULATIONS AND ENFORCEMENT**

It's empirically believed that disclosure laws innately increase trust and efficacy, yet studies show that increasing their regulation may increase media attention of campaign ethics issues, which can lower public efficacy in the system because of more focus on the violations of the law (Gross). Despite Gross and Goidel's findings, the overall scholarly knowledge about what affects public efficacy, knowledge, and participation ranges from media influence to heuristics to the newly explored possibility of genetics. So, since this may be seen as a short-term media reaction, it should not constitute dismissing the possibility of increased efficacy over time.

Granting the Missouri Ethics Commission increased staff and monetary appropriations will allow the MEC to, for example: initiate more overviews of compliance with the current and proposed law; possibly conduct limited public media outreach to inform voters of the current highly-rated resources available to find sources of campaign contributions so that the public could possibly satisfy some of their concern about money in politics; and further advance their technology.

*Other Attainable Reforms.* Sending out a pamphlet to all registered voting residences that describes candidates, possibly including a questionnaire that candidates fill out, as well as biographical information about them and additional information about ballot measures may help give voters a base of information that is not driven by advertising.

## **PROPOSED CHANGE IN CURRENT LAW**

*Contribution Limits for Organizations Increases Competition and Individuals' Say in Elections.* Organizations, including PACs, corporations, unions, businesses, and 501(c)(3) non-profit organizations shall have modest limits placed on monetary contributions given to candidate committees and political parties. Continuing disallowance of PAC-to-PAC contribution/transfers will remain in place, and a proposed ban on contributions between the above listed organizations is also proposed.

If a union or corporation wants to donate to an election, they are currently allowed to do so with their general treasury funds, although many organizations also have, or choose to solely use, PACs that are affiliated with their

organization. Additionally, each of these organizations shall be required to have only two donating entities associated with it, so that organizations do not contribute general treasury funds and create multiple PACs to donate additional funds over the limits. While using general treasury funds is undesirable for the purpose of this proposal, it has been upheld in courts and may pose a challenge to the overall proposal if changes to that system were included.

Organizations will continue to be able to give unlimited monetary contributions to political parties. Under the 2010 ethics law that was passed and is currently under challenge, there may exist, per party: a state party committee, one committee per congressional district, one committee for the state senate and one for the state house. This change should remain in effect. Only these party committees will be allowed to receive unlimited contributions from organizations. The proposal shall not place limits on monetary contributions that party committees can give to candidate committees. Party committees cannot contribute to PACs or other organizations under the proposal.

Although contrary to the influence of independent expenditures explored earlier, parties are given this proposed increased authority because of findings that find that

**PACs tend to contribute so as to curry favor with the likely winners (usually incumbents), rather than to target their contributions to close races. The parties, on the other hand, give a much greater share of their funds to challengers...This maldistribution of campaign money, it is argued, hurts democracy by reducing competition and denying voters a fair choice...the financial resources of political parties...tend to lag far behind those of political action committees.' The implication, then, is that tunneling more campaign money through political parties would help democracy (Ramsden 179-183).**

Having the majority of campaign money flow through the parties will allow the public to spend less time tracking where the dollars are coming and going. Also, because contributions from individuals to candidates, parties, PACs, corporations and the like will remain unlimited, individuals will proportionately have a greater say in this process.

The 2010 law that provided that a treasurer or deputy-treasurer of a PAC may

only serve in one of those positions for one PAC should remain intact. Additionally, every PAC must file a statement of purpose with the MEC that states whether it is tied with a partisan or ideological purpose, industry, cause, business, etc... With additional resources the MEC should hire an information technology firm to create software which can check contributions made to organizations to identify possible cases of infraction, such as ten different PACs all having the same fifty contributors.

Lastly, it is urged that reconsideration of the independent expenditure process be evaluated. Independent expenditures and, to some extent in-kind donations, make the campaign process muddy and hard to follow. Advertising done on behalf of a candidate by an organization, to no monetary extent and not coordinated with the candidate, can confuse voters about the candidate's position and takes integrity away from the candidate's campaign's ability to control their message.

Independent expenditures, as previously discussed, can have a dramatic impact on election results: because they are not coordinated with or endorsed by candidates' campaigns, which is the justification for allowing unlimited amounts of independent expenditures, they pose a threat to the democratic election process. In the last weeks of campaigns there is no time to prosecute or correct misinformation, which gives organizations that put out independent expenditures tremendous ability to sway elections in truthful and dishonest ways, further corroding the political process. Many studies show that campaign finance reforms do not improve public affect and efficacy, but reforms less often include limiting independent expenditures, so this facet may be a driving force behind public perception of government corruptness. It seems inherently unlikely that the public pays attention to the "Paid for by" lines at the bottom of commercials and direct mail to determine if the message is actually coming from the candidate.

Therefore, since independent expenditures are uncontrollable and unlimited, it is proposed that either the legislature considers ending the allowance of independent expenditures or placing limits on the money that can be attributed towards them. The concerns of independent expenditures, while bringing up challenges of unconstitutionality, deserve a deep and well-considered discussion of reform.



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# MELANIE SOMOGIE

## THE INFLUENCE OF ADULT EXEMPLAR ON THIN IDEOLOGY OF YOUNG GIRLS

In the United States eating disorders affect countless women and men every year. Eating disorders are very dangerous physical and psychological disorders which can lead to heart failure, kidney failure, osteoporosis, diabetes, in severe cases death, and are highly co-morbid with depression and an elevated risk of suicide (National Eating Disorders Association, 2005; Chavez & Insel, 2007). There are many important implications if the causal factors in the development of eating disorders could be identified. Treatments could be modified to resolve those causes, and effective prevention programs for these dangerous disorders could be developed. Body dissatisfaction has been connected to the onset of most eating disorders including anorexia nervosa (AN) and bulimia nervosa (BN) (Davison, Marky, & Birch, 2000; Lowes & Tiggemann, 2003; Dohnt & Tiggemann, 2006; Dittmar, Halliwell, & Ive, 2006). In recent studies, thin ideology via body dissatisfaction and an idealization of adult thin body image has been seen in girls as young as five years old (Davison et al., 2000; Dohnt & Tiggemann, 2006; Lowes & Tiggemann, 2003). This seems to run counter to the scores of programs aimed at teenagers and adults to combat the effects of thin ideology. This brings about the question: What is causing 5- to 8-year-olds to value a thin body so highly? There is evidence that adult exemplars of thin ideology promote body dissatisfaction in girls as young as five years old and further increase the risk of developing eating disordered behavior.

## DEFINITIONS OF **CONSTRUCTS**

For the purpose of this paper, thin ideology is defined as the desire for, or attempted acquisition of, a body style that is health endangering and unrealistically thin, either presently or in the future. The future element of thin idealization is particularly critical in the study of children, as it is highly unlikely for this age group to have begun actively restricting their diet or body size. Body dissatisfaction is a lack of satisfaction with current body size or style. This paper examines three adult exemplars: media depicting thin adults, maternal body dissatisfaction, and parental concern of child's weight. Parental concern over child's weight is a particularly important issue to address with

the rise in concern over childhood obesity (Allen, Byrne, Forbes, & Oddy, 2009; Dittmar et al., 2006; Davison et al., 2000). This is presently significant considering the current campaign to combat childhood obesity by First Lady Michelle Obama, and the media attention her campaign draws. It is concerning that an increased awareness of unhealthy eating behavior may have the effect of promoting a different form of disordered eating behavior.

## THE INFLUENCE OF MEDIA

### CHILDREN'S MEDIA

Dittmar et al. (2006) conducted an experimental study on the effects of Barbie doll images on the body dissatisfaction of girls 5- to 8-years-old. This study was responding to the common controversy over the impact that Barbie has on young girls. Data shows that in the United States nearly every girl from 3- to 10-years-old owns at least one Barbie doll. Although many studies have been done on Barbie dolls, this was the first study to use experimental methods to evaluate body dissatisfaction related to Barbie exposure.

The researchers randomly divided 162 participants into three exposure groups: Barbie (US size 2), Emma (US size 16) or a no doll image control. The participants were primarily middle-class Caucasian, and came from one of six schools in the United Kingdom. To expose the girls to images of the doll, or no doll control, the participants were read a story about a girl preparing for a party. The story was the same with all three conditions with the image of a Barbie or Emma doll added for those exposure groups. Body image perception was evaluated using a questionnaire which asked questions about satisfaction with current appearance, and body image as compared to peers. Using a diagram of three smiley faces the participants indicated their response to each question. For body dissatisfaction a figure rating scale was used to indicate where they believe their current body is and where they would like it to be. A similar figure rating scale of seven adult images was used to measure the participant's ideal adult image (Dittmar et al., 2006).

Exposure to doll images had a significant effect on both body dissatisfaction and thin ideal, although the effect varied with age. In girls 5 ½- to 7 ½-years-old exposure to images of Barbie dolls caused an increase in both body dissatisfaction and thin ideal. This was most significant for girls from 6 ½- to 7 ½-years-old who also showed a significantly increased adult thin

ideal. Emma increased adult thin ideal in girls 7 ½- to 8 ½-years-old, but had no effect on current body ideal or satisfaction (Dittmar et al., 2006).

Dittmar et al. (2006) found that children's toys depicting thin adults have an effect on the thin ideology of children. As shown in the difference between the Emma exposure group and the Barbie exposure group, the presence of an adult image does not intrinsically promote thin idealized thoughts. However, the unrealistic body style of Barbie doll provided an adult exemplar of thin ideal that was meaningful to the girls under 8-years-old. The age difference in effects between Emma and Barbie may be due to a reinforcement of a previously present adult thin ideal in the older girls. This could be evidence of a sensitive period for the development of thin body ideology in girls.

## **ADULT MEDIA**

To examine the temporal relationship between peer and media influences and body dissatisfaction levels, Dohnt & Tiggemann (2006) conducted a longitudinal study of 97 school-age girls in Australia. The goal of this study was to analyze the relationship between peer attitudes and media input via television and magazines with the emergence of body dissatisfaction. This study evaluated participants at 5- to 8-years-old (Time 1) and 12 months later at 6- to 10-years-old (Time 2). The data from Time 1 was reported in a separate study. A total of 97 primarily middle- to upper-class Caucasian girls from private schools in Australia completed data for both time periods. The attrition from Time 1 to Time 2 was not statistically significant.

Peer influences were measured in three parts. First, perceived peer desire for thinness was measured using a figure rating scale of images of nine girls. Participants were asked to rate the images from the perspective of their friends. Second, participants were asked a series of questions about what types of conversations they have with their friends and with what frequency. The third measure of peer influence was interview questions about who the participant and her friends emulate and how (Dohnt & Tiggemann, 2006).

Body satisfaction was divided into two subcategories, desire for thinness and current satisfaction with physical appearance. Desire for thinness was measured using the same figure rating scale as in the perception of peers' measure. For satisfaction with appearance, pictures of a girl who was happy or unhappy with her appearance were shown. The participants indicated which

girl they were most. All data was collected in a 15- to 20-minute interview at both times. BMI (Body Mass Index, weight/height) was measured as well. To measure self-esteem, a series of questions were read to participants and they were asked to indicate which of two situations in each question sounded most like themselves, and to what extent (Dohnt & Tiggemann, 2006).

This study examined the media exposure of television and magazines. For television exposure popular shows were selected according to current ratings. For magazines, participants were asked an open-ended question about which magazines they look at. Participants indicated the viewing frequency of these media. Media input was analyzed by independent raters for appearance and thin ideal focused content (Dohnt & Tiggemann, 2006).

Over 40% (40.2% at Time 1 and 43.3% at Time 2) of participants had a desire to be thinner. Desire for thinness at Time 1 showed a predictive quality for lower self-esteem at Time 2. At Time 2 self-esteem was negatively correlated with both a desire for thinness and body dissatisfaction. Higher BMI and perceived peer desire for thinness at Time 1 were positively correlated with desire for thinness at Time 2. Perceived peer desire for thinness and television media influence at Time 1 were significantly positively correlated with body dissatisfaction at Time 2. There was no correlation between desire for thinness and body dissatisfaction as defined by this study. Further, there were no correlational indications of peer discussion, emulation, or magazine viewing. The researchers suggest these non-correlational factors may be related to developmental issues such as reading level (Dohnt & Tiggemann, 2006).

The influence of perceived peer desire for thinness and BMI on desire for thinness is difficult to separate from the concept of an adult exemplar using data from this study. It is possible that peer attitudes of thin ideology also stem from adult exemplars, or that the perception of these attitudes are projections of the participant's own ideas. Also, girls with a higher BMI may be at higher risk of adult encouragement to lose weight. The indication that televised media that is strongly appearance focused is temporally related to an increase in body dissatisfaction shows evidence of an adult exemplar in the formation of thin ideology. Television shows that were specifically noted, such as *Friends*, show clear adult exemplars of a thin body image as there are limited or no images of children (Dohnt & Tiggemann, 2006).

# MATERNAL BODY IMAGE ATTITUDES AS A MODELED BEHAVIOR

## ACTUAL MATERNAL WEIGHT CONCERN

The effect of parental modeling on weight attitudes and behaviors has been of interest for many years. With children as young as five years old developing body dissatisfaction, it makes sense to look at parents as the prime candidates for modeling these attitudes since they are the primary adult influence in a child's life prior to formal schooling. To explore this possibility, Davison et al. (2000) examined the relationship between BMI (Body Mass Index), body dissatisfaction, and weight concerns of parents with the same variables in their 5-year-old daughters.

Data was collected from 197 5-year-old girls and both of their biological parents. All participants were currently living in the same house as both parents, were Caucasian, had no dietary restrictions, and came from families with at least one income. All variables were measured for both father and mother, and their daughter. Body dissatisfaction, with a desire to be thinner, was measured using a 24-question survey for the girls. They used a figure rating scale of nine adult images with matching gender to measure body dissatisfaction in the parents. Weight concern was measured using a survey of questions about concern of gaining weight, concern over body style, and current body image (Davison et al., 2000).

Davison et al. (2000) found no correlation between paternal weight concern or body dissatisfaction and that of the daughter. However, there was a significant positive correlation between maternal weight concern and the weight concern of her daughter. This indicates that mothers likely play an important modeling role as a female adult exemplar of body dissatisfaction and weight concern for their daughters. This could be due to gender-based modeling factors or an increased amount of time spent with the mother. The causes of increased maternal influence should be explored in future studies. Although this study did not find significant body dissatisfaction in boys, studies determining the correlation between paternal attitudes and the attitude of the son could help to generalize the gender-based modeling hypothesis.

## **PERCEIVED MATERNAL WEIGHT CONCERN**

Another study showing evidence of maternal attitudes as an influential variable on body dissatisfaction was done by Lowes & Tiggemann (2003). The study examined the relationship between body dissatisfaction, perception of parental body dissatisfaction, perception of parental enforced food restriction, and dieting awareness. There were 135 participants (75 girls), 5- to 8-years-old, from middle-class Australian schools. All data was collected during a short interview. A figure rating scale was used to assess the child's body dissatisfaction. To determine future body ideal a scale using adolescent figures was used. A similar figure rating scale with adult images was used to assess the perceived body dissatisfaction of the participants' parents. Each participant was asked questions about parentally imposed diet restrictions and their perception of the reason for those restrictions. Questions about what dieting is, how, and why a person might diet were included to measure dieting awareness.

In girls 6- to 8-years-old perceived maternal weight concern, but not paternal, was significantly correlated with increased body dissatisfaction and thin ideal. This is further evidence of a gender-based modeling influence in the development of body image ideals. Male participants and 5-year-old girls showed no significant thin ideal or body dissatisfaction. However, both genders showed an increased understanding of the process and role of dieting with an increase in age. This may be indicative of the societal norm for dieting behavior. Future studies should examine the prevalence of dieting awareness by age to allow for greater generalizability of this finding. It is possible that the age difference in body dissatisfaction and thin ideal in girls could be caused by a sensitive period for thin ideal development and should be the topic of future research (Lowes & Tiggemann, 2003).

## **PARENTAL CONCERN OF CHILD'S WEIGHT**

Allen et al. (2009) conducted an archival differential study of a pregnancy cohort of 1,597 children to assess the early predictors of eating disorders in adolescence. The participants were 13- to 15-years-old at the time of the study and 55% were male. All participants were born in the same private hospital in Australia between May 1989 and November 1991. This study is unique in nature because it looked at a large battery of variables from prenatal to adolescence in relation to later development of full or partial eating disorders. Also, the final analysis showed similar prevalence of eating disorders with this sample as is



typically assumed of the population. This allows for a more predictive quality in the data than has been possible in many other correlational studies.

Throughout the 15-year period, physical examinations were conducted to collect health data and parents completed mail-in surveys for the remaining information. Parental health variables measured were obstetrical health of the mother, health history of both parents including weight as measured at enrollment and at the 8-year mark, and maternal depression. Childhood health variables measured were birth type and complications, feeding style and quality as an infant, eating behaviors in childhood, and health information as obtained in regular physicals, including BMI (Allen et al., 2009).

Familial and social variables were measured by mail-in surveys completed by the parents of the participant. Items included in the surveys were family function and parenting style, childhood behavioral attitudes and problems, childhood emotional and social functioning, and parental concern of child's eating behavior. The specific variable of interest was the development of eating disorder symptoms as defined in the DSM-IV which was determined using the Child Eating Disorder Examination and EDE Questionnaire when the child was 14 years old. This was used to classify the participants into one of four categories: full eating disorder, partial eating disorder, at-risk, or no eating disorder. The study differentially compared the participants based on eating disorder level, other psychiatric problems (such as anxiety or depression), or a non-disordered control (Allen et al., 2009).

There was 9% prevalence of full, partial, or at-risk-for eating disorder in the participants at 14 years old. Girls whose parents viewed them as overweight, regardless of objective weight status, were significantly more likely to develop disordered eating than other participants. This group was compared to participants with other mental health issues, and the only factors in which the two groups varied significantly were gender, and parental attitude toward the child's weight. Other mild positively correlated factors were elevated maternal gestational BMI, lower participant self-esteem, lower cognitive task scores, and social difficulties (Allen et al., 2009).

The data from this study is highly valuable due to the large sample size, which seemed to match demographic information in outcome for disorders. This allows a stronger prediction of the causation of disordered eating than has been possible through previous studies. Unfortunately, the predictive quality is

mostly limited to binge related disorders and cannot be generalized to the entire eating disorder population. It is noted, however, that the cohort from which data was collected is still in progress and may be useful for future studies on an older population. However, the significance of parental input in this study strongly supports an adult exemplar of attitude towards the weight of young girls in the thin idealization of youth (Allen, Byrne, Forbes, & Oddy, 2009).

## **CONCLUSION**

The studies reviewed point to an adult exemplar as an important and predictive role in the development of thin ideology in girls under 8 years old. There are a variety of outlets that could serve as an adult exemplar to a young girl, although the most significant seems to be her mother. It is likely that an integrated approach to promotion of healthy lifestyle and attitudes towards food in children will be the most successful. This is highly important considering the current focus on childhood obesity, including the First Lady's push to reduce its prevalence. There is also evidence in these studies of a sensitive period in thin ideology development which could influence the direction of future preventative programs.

### **CONCLUSION OF MEDIA INFLUENCE**

The studies done by Dittmar et al. (2006) and Dohnt & Tiggemann (2006) found that media may play an important role in the development of thin ideology of young girls. Media input through children's toys and adult television are both strongly correlated with increased thin ideology in young girls. Toys depicting unrealistically thin adults provide an exemplar for young girls in a medium that caters to their imagination and sense of fantasy. It encourages girls to participate in future-based fantasy with themselves in the role of the thin adult (Dittmar et al., 2006). Television depicting adult exemplars of thin body image also caters to the imagination of small children (Dohnt & Tiggemann, 2006). Young children do not readily separate fantasy from reality, which allows media exemplars a particular strength in ideal formation. Historically this has been used to teach moral lessons through fairy and folk tales, and now it is used to aid in the formation of thin ideology at increasingly lower ages.

## **CONCLUSION OF MATERNAL ATTITUDE**

The studies by Lowes & Tiggemann (2003) and Davison et al. (2000) point to mothers as an important model of body attitudes for their daughters. It is significant to note that neither study found a correlation between paternal attitudes and body attitudes of young girls. This strongly supports a gender-based exemplar, rather than simply a thin body exemplar, in the development of thin ideology. Through dieting behavior, discussion of their own body, and self-critical behavior, mothers are a significant modeling influence in the behaviors and attitudes associated with thin ideology.

## **CONCLUSION OF PARENTAL CONCERN**

The most significant indicator of thin ideology development seems to be the parent's attitude toward the weight of the child (Allen et al., 2009). Parents who encourage their daughter to focus on size, limit eating, and promote thinness rather than health promote the likelihood of their daughter forming overly critical views of herself and unrealistically thin ideals of adulthood. If parents are the primary influencers of health attitudes in children, it follows that health promotion programs for children should be aimed at the parents, as well as the child.

## **LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE STUDIES**

The primary limitations of these studies were the focus on middle-class Caucasian girls. To allow larger generalization of these findings similar studies should be conducted with more representative samples of the population at large. Although it is difficult to form an experimental study in this area of research, more studies following longitudinal or differential design would point more strongly to causal factors in the development of thin ideology and eating disorders. Another area of research that these studies point to is the possible sensitive period for development of thin idealized attitudes. If it is found that there is a sensitive period for these concepts then understanding how to promote healthy body image in girls under 8 years old should be central to mainstream prevention programs (Lowes & Tiggemann, 2003). Future studies should also look more closely at the etiological ties between eating disorders and the rise in obesity (Allen et al., 2009). (Dittmar et al., 2006). (Davison et al., 2000).

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# AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

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**LAUREN M. GEPFORD** is majoring in Political Science with minors in Economics and Communications and plans to graduate in May of 2012. She is a Kansas City native and chose to attend UMKC after attending community college because of the accomplished and diverse professors in the Political Science department. She is active in a variety of local political, advocacy, and non-profit organizations. Her work on Missouri State House campaigns contributed to her knowledge and passion about reimplementing campaign finance contribution limits. She plans to continue pursuing research in public policy by completing a dual Masters of Business Administration and Public Policy. Lauren wishes to thank Professor Robert Collins for his mentorship and aiding in the successful publication of her essay.

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**JACQUELYN E. HOERMANN** graduated from UMKC in spring of 2011 with a Bachelor of Arts in English Literature. She was a student in the Honors Program and also participated in Phi Kappa Phi, Undergraduate English Council, and tutored at UMKC's Writing Center. In fall 2011 she will begin a Master's program at Iowa State University to study Rhetoric, Composition, and Professional Communication (RCPC). She plans to focus on women's rhetoric, teaching writing, and writing center pedagogy. When Jackie has money she enjoys traveling, trying new restaurants, and indulging her health-junkie side by reading *Fitness* because she's an aspiring centenarian. She would like to thank her mentor, Dr. Jane Greer, for challenging her to think deeply about a woman rhetorician for whom little scholarship is available.

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**BRIANNA C. HOLMES** is currently working on an Interdisciplinary BLA. She chose UMKC because it is close to her home and is less expensive than other schools in the area. She is currently involved with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) of UMKC and the International Workers of the World (IWW). After graduation, she plans to keep her current job and organize for the IWW. She offers this advice about solidarity: "To achieve class

solidarity, we must not allow ourselves to be tricked into dividing along the lines of race, gender, religion, or politics. Solidarity!” She would like to thank Professor Lindsey Martin-Bowen for her mentorship and aiding in the successful publication of her essay.

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**TAMARA KAMATOVIC** graduated in fall of 2010 with a Bachelor of Arts in German literature/language and a minor in French literature/language. She chose to return to the United States in 2007 from Serbia, where she began her studies, and to attend UMKC for her undergraduate degree because the tuition was comparatively inexpensive and she was aware of the study-abroad opportunities she could exploit as a dual American-Serbian citizen. She participated in Lesekreise, where she read Nietzsche and Karl Marx with her peers. She also visited the environs of East Germany and participated in discussions on ‘East German’ problems of nationalism and issues in education reform. She was accepted with a five-year stipend (during which she will teach for three years) as a PhD candidate to the Department of Germanic Language and Literature at the University of Chicago, Illinois beginning this fall. In Chicago she hopes to be able to work in the fields of comparative literature, cinema/media studies, philosophy, and Slavistics and to pursue some of her broader interests among which are critical theory, media studies, and psychoanalysis. Tamara would like to thank Dr. Larson Powell for his mentorship and aiding in the successful publication of her essay.

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**MOLLY A. KROKSTROM** is a Secondary English Education major and chose UMKC for its location and the opportunity to complete her Master’s degree after receiving her Bachelor of Arts degree. She is a nanny and is engaged to her high school sweetheart of five years. They are planning to be married in November of 2012, shortly after she graduates that May. Upon graduation she plans to obtain employment in a local high school teaching English and to begin her Masters shortly thereafter. Molly would like to thank Shawn Schmelzle for assisting in the successful publication of her essay.

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**ALEXANDER T. LEWIS** was a History major in the College of Arts and Sciences and graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in summer of 2011. Although he originally enrolled at UMKC to study in the Conservatory, he later changed his major to history and has been happy ever since. In addition to studying history, Alex likes studying French, for which he also obtained a minor. In his free time Alex likes to read and play with his dog, Gilda. Upon graduation Alex joined the Peace Corps with a mission in HIV/AIDS-related work. He hopes his work with the Peace Corps will lead to a lifetime of exciting international experiences. Alex would like to thank Dr. Miriam Forman-Brunell and Dr. Carla Klausner for their mentorship and aiding in the successful publication of his essay.

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**MICHELE D. SMITH** graduated from UMKC in summer of 2011 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in English. She was a member of the Honors Program and the Editor-In-Chief of *Lucerna*. She was also a member of Phi Theta Kappa and a scholarship recipient. Michele served as an English and writing tutor at Penn Valley Community College and also served as a mentor to many of the students she tutored. In addition to being a mother of two, she is a licensed minister, poet, and aspiring writer. This fall, she plans to attend the Graduate School of Social Work to become a crisis counselor and later she plans to attend law school to become a family law attorney. Michele has always advocated for those in less fortunate circumstances. She wishes to thank Dr. Jennifer Phegley for her mentorship and her role in aiding her successful completion of her honors thesis. She was challenged to improve the process of “refining the argument.”

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**MELANIE S. SOMOGIE** is a Psychology major, 2010-2011 Vice President and 2011-2012 President of Psi Chi--The International Honor Society in Psychology. She is an undergraduate research assistant in the Clinical Neuropsychology Lab and plans to attend graduate school in a Psychology related field. She would like to thank Dr. Diane Filion and Dr. Amy Barnes for their mentorship and aiding in the successful publication of her essay.

# H O N O R A B L E M E N T I O N S

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JAY E. COBURN

**The Rent is Too Damn High:** African American Politics: What it is How it works, Why it matters, Where it's going? (Capstone)

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JAMES N. COMNINELLIS

**The Boy Who Ate Books:** The Legend of Thomas Aquinas (Honors Thesis)

.....

HEATHER M. INNESS

**History or Mystery:** Resonance and Wonder at the Toy and Miniature Museum

.....

BRETT SHOFFNER

**The Green Impact Zone** as a National Model for Stormwater Management (Capstone)



# ENDNOTES

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## F R O M

THE ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION OF MARY PRINCE:  
A CLOSER EXAMINATION OF HOW BOTH SLAVERY  
& THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT MANIPULATED SLAVES

BY MICHELE SMITH

<sup>1</sup> A slave transport company that was founded in 1672. The company transported, on average, approximately 5,000 slaves per year. Other companies were charged a 10 percent tax to transport slaves until King William revoked the company's monopoly at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century.

<sup>2</sup> Figure 1 is the cover of *The History of Mary Prince*.

<sup>3</sup> Bermuda consists of a group of islands in the North Atlantic Ocean and had been one of many British colonies since the seventeenth century.

<sup>4</sup> William Wilberforce was one of the most active and influential British abolitionists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Wilberforce was born in Hull, England to a prosperous Yorkshire merchant/banking family on August 24, 1759. The Elizabethan house of his birth is now the Wilberforce House Museum.

<sup>5</sup> Mathew Shum is an English Professor at the University of Kwa-Zulu-Natal in Durban, South Africa. He is currently submitting a monograph on Thomas Pringle to publishers.

<sup>6</sup> "The Bechuana Boy" is a poem written by Thomas Pringle in 1825 while in South Africa.

<sup>7</sup> Transcriber or secretary.

<sup>8</sup> What used to be a sympathetic movement towards the understanding of black Americans morphed into the "blacking-up" and minstrel shows depicting blacks as lazy, ignorant and buffoonish musical idiots.

<sup>9</sup> Fictional novel inspired by the real life of former slave Josiah

Henson, whose autobiography *The Life of Josiah Henson*, (1849) had been read and studied by Harriet Beecher Stowe.

<sup>10</sup> The love and pride of all things and its countrymen.

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F R O M  
DER RUSSISCHE DISKURS IN DER DEUTSCH-  
SPRACHIGEN LITERARISCHEN MODERNE  
ANLÄSSLICH KAFKAS ERZÄHLUNG 'DAS URTEIL'  
BY **TAMARA KAMATOVIĆ**

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. die Behandlung des „Dispositivs“ bei Bogdal: „das Urteil kommt nicht mit einemmal“: Symptomale Lektüre und historische Diskursanalyse von Kafkas 'Vor dem Gesetz'. S. 51 und bei Kittler, Friedrich. *Diskursanalyse. Ein Erdbeben in Chili und Preußen*. S. 24

<sup>2</sup> Mehr zu diesem Thema bei Kittler, Friedrich A. *Aufschreibesysteme 1800/1900*. München: Fink, 1985.

<sup>3</sup> Brodsky, Patricia. *Russia in the Works of Maria Rilke*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984. S. 29

<sup>4</sup> in "Der sterbende Mensch" spricht Gott: "Im Dunkel gehend, wußtest du ums Licht. / Nun bist du da und siehst mir ins Gesicht. / Sahst hinter dich und suchtest meinen Garten. / Du bliebst am Ursprung. Ursprung ist das Ziel. / Du, unverloren an da Lebensspiel, / Nun mußt, mein Mensch, du länger nicht mehr warten." Kraus, Karl. *Worte in Versen*. Leipzig: Verlag der Schriften von Karl Kraus, 1919.

<sup>5</sup> Siehe Rilkes Übersetzung des Igorlieds und die Übersetzung des Dramas von Chekov „Die Möwe“. Die Gedichte „Ich bin so müde (Ja tak ustal) und „Ich bin so alleine“ (Ja tak odin) wurden beide in 1900 geschrieben (das Originale im Russischen entlehne ich von Brodsky, Patricia: *Russia in the Works of Maria Rilke*, s. 48)

<sup>6</sup> mit Rückgriff auf diese orientalistische Idee auf Tolstoi hervor: Marianne...est heureuse; elle est comme la nature: égale, tranquille, toute en soi. La figure de cette petite Asiatique, mystérieuse et farouche comme une jeune louve, est dessinée avec un relief extraordinaire, j'en appelle à tous ceux qui ont pratiqué l'Orient est constaté la fausseté des types orientaux fabriqués par la littérature européenne ; ceux-là retrouveront dans les Cosaques l'évocation surprenante de cet autre monde moral (Le roman russe, 287)

<sup>7</sup> Auch Benjamins These über das Erzählen in seinen Bemerkungen zum Werk Nikolai Leskovs fällt der fatalen Romantisierung russischer Kunst und des russischen Geistes zum Opfer.

<sup>8</sup> Die patriarchale Herrschaft der Russen und anderer slawischer Völker bildet ein großes Thema in der deutschen Wahrnehmung osteuropäischer Völker.

<sup>9</sup> Mehr zu dem Krankheitsdiskurs bei Gilman, Sander. Franz Kafka: The Jewish Patient. New York: Routledge 1995.

<sup>10</sup> – worauf Benjamin in seiner Behandlung des Zeitalters der mythischen, patriarchalen Herrschaft in seinem Aufsatz zu Kafka eingegangen ist.

<sup>11</sup> Die Präsenz dieses Altars erinnert zudem ein bisschen an die „krasny ugol“ (rote Ecke) oder russische Ikonenecken, die sich oft in russischen oder orthodoxen Häusern befinden.

F R O M  
THE KAHINA AND KATEB YACINE:  
MYTHOLOGY AND FEMINIST POLITICS  
IN POST-REVOLUTIONARY ALGERIA  
BY **ALEXANDER LEWIS**

<sup>1</sup> A history of the Kahina was first penned in the 9<sup>th</sup> century by Wâqidî, but it was not until Ibn Khaldûn that more modern historiographical concepts were applied that would thus render the account more historically accurate.

<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested by many, including Kateb Yacine, that *Kahina* is an Arabized version of the Hebrew word *Kohen*, which means “leader.”

<sup>3</sup> Abdelmajid Hannoum. *Colonial Histories, Post-Colonial Memories: The Legend of the Kahina, A North African Heroine*. (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2001),17.

<sup>4</sup> See both *Transfigurations of the Mahgreb*, 1993, by Winifred Woodhull, and *Colonial Histories, Post-Colonial Memories*, 2001, by Abdelmajid Hannoum

<sup>5</sup> Winifred Woodhull. *Transfigurations of the Maghreb: Feminism, Decolonization, and Literatures*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 31.

<sup>6</sup> Hannoum, *Colonial Histories, Post-Colonial Memories*, 165.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 169.

<sup>8</sup> Abdelmajid Hannoum. “Historiography, Mythology, and Memory in Modern North Africa: The Story of the Kahina” (*Studia Islamica* 1997, 1 February), 114.

<sup>9</sup> Hannoum, *Colonial Histories, Post-Colonial Memories*, 20.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>12</sup> Ernest Mercier. *L’afrique septentrionale*. (Paris: Ernest Laroux,

1888), [E-book accessed on March 31, 2011, from Project Gutenberg].

<sup>13</sup> Hannoum, *Colonial Histories, Post-Colonial Memories*, 40.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 112

<sup>16</sup> Meredith Turshen. "Algerian Women in the Liberation Struggle and the Civil War: From Active Participants to Passive Victims?," *Social Research* 69, no. 3 (Fall 2002): 890.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> bid.

<sup>19</sup> Winifred Woodhull. "Rereading Nedjma: Feminist Scholarship and North African Women," *SubStance* 69 (1992): 47.

<sup>20</sup> Zahia Smail Salhi. "Algerian women, citizenship, and the 'Family Code'," *Gender and Development* 11, no. 3 (November 2003): 27.

<sup>21</sup> Turshen, "Algerian Women in the Liberation Struggle," 891.

<sup>22</sup> Salhi, "Algerian women, citizenship, and the 'Family Code,'" 28.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>28</sup> "C'est africain qu'il faut se dire, entretien avec Tassadit Yacine" in *Le poète comme un boxeur*. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1994),106.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

31 Ibid., 108.

32 Ibid., 108-109.

33 *The History of the Berbers* that Kateb refers to comprises part of *Al-Tbar*, the previously mentioned work by Ibn Khaldûn.

34 “C’est africain qu’il faut se dire,” in *Le poète comme un boxeur*, 107.

35 Ibid.

36 “De « si jolis moutons » dans la gueule du loup,” in *Le poète comme un boxeur*, 32.

37 Ibid., 31.

38 “C’est africain qu’il faut se dire,” in *Le poète comme un boxeur*, 108.

39 Ibid.

40 “Parce que c’est une femme, 1972” in *Parce que c’est une femme* (Paris: des Femmes, Antoinette Fouque, 2004), 41-42.

41 Ibid., 42.

42 “C’est africain qu’il faut se dire,” in *Le poète comme un boxeur*, 110.

43 “Message à l’occasion de la journée mondiale du mars 8 1989” in *Kateb Yacine, éclats de mémoire* (Paris: IMEC, 1994), 45-46.

44 Ibid., 46.

45 Ibid., 48.

46 Ibid., 46.

47 Ibid.

48 Hannoum, *Colonial Histories, Post-Colonial Memories*, 167.

49 Kateb Yacine, trans. by Richard Howard. *Nedjma*. (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1991).

50 “C’est africain qu’il faut se dire,” in *Le poète comme un boxeur*, 101.

51 Kateb Yacine. *La Kahina*, in *Parce que c’est une femme*, 58.

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F R O M  
POETRY AND RACISM: AN EXPLORATION  
OF POETIC REACTIONS TO RACIAL DIVISION  
AMONG THE WORKING CLASS IN THE U.S.  
BY **BRIANNA HOLMES**

<sup>1</sup> “Divide and Conquer: Also, divide and govern or rule. Win by getting one’s opponents to fight among themselves. For example, Divide and conquer was once a very successful policy in sub-Saharan Africa. This expression is a translation of the Latin maxim, *Divide et impera* (“divide and rule”), and began to appear in English about 1600” (“Divide” 1).

<sup>2</sup> As a side note, one of the most dramatic examples of the long term results of divide and conquer tactics is that of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsis by the Hutus in Rwanda.

<sup>3</sup> Italics and spelling are copied directly from source text.

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F R O M  
MISSOURI STATE CAMPAIGN  
FINANCE CONTRIBUTION LIMITS  
POLICY MEMORANDUM  
BY **LAUREN GEFORD**

<sup>1</sup> Law, court rulings, and enforcement ability information was obtained from public sources of information, i.e. bill summaries of the truly passed and signed, court opinions, and newspaper accounts.

<sup>2</sup> See editorial “Money Talks Again” and Jo Mannies’ “Campaign Finance Laws Thrown Out.”

<sup>3</sup> See Saad and Moore *GALLUP* polls.

<sup>4</sup> For a comprehensive review, see Ramsden’s review essay that summarizes researcher’s findings and motivations throughout the 1960’s to 1990’s. He notes that campaign finance research will continue because, despite no conclusive evidence thus far, scholars are still normatively concerned about the influence of money in politics.

<sup>5</sup> The Campaign Disclosure Project, administered by the UCLA School of Law, the Center for Governmental Studies, the California Voter Foundation, and supported by the Pew Charitable Trusts, gave Missouri an A- (5<sup>th</sup> rank) for campaign *disclosure* law, an A+ for electronic filing program (1<sup>st</sup> rank), a B+ for disclosure content accessibility (17<sup>th</sup> rank), and a C for online contextual and technical usability (25<sup>th</sup> rank). Overall, Missouri is the fourth most improved state since *Grading State Disclosure* began in 2003.

<sup>6</sup> For a sample of findings that there has been bipartisan support for reform, see Messenger’s “Missouri Lawmakers...” and other Missouri-based papers’ accounts of Representatives Flook, Kander, Zimmerman, and Yates’ moves to pass various reforms in the 2009 and 2010 legislative sessions.

<sup>7</sup> See the *Shrink Missouri v. Maupin* decision affirming the unconstitutionality of spending limits in the 1994 Missouri law. May also reference Jo Mannies “Finance Law Will...” and *National Conference of State Legislature’s* findings that show while all states have some form of disclosure law, fewer have contribution limits (46), and half of the states (25) have a form of public financing, which is noted to be declining in popularity for various reasons.

<sup>8</sup> See Breaux for state legislative and Jacobson for congressional findings.



