Border States

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The Recording of American Regional English

IT MAY seem curious that an Englishman should venture to address an American audience about recording American English, and more especially American Regional English; and well may you ask whether the subject is not being adequately covered already. You will recall the American achievements in this field since 1930, and particularly the published work of Kurath, McDavid, Atwood; the investigations of Harold Allen, Davis, Marckwardt, McDavid; and more recently of the Reeds, Pederson, Cassidy, and others. Certainly a great deal has been done, but the field of investigation is enormous and the workers in it far too few. Further, the kind of investigation that interests me above all others is not, I believe, being carried out anything like as extensively as it should. So, when Professor Burghardt so persuasively invited me to address the 1973 meeting of the Kentucky-Tennessee American Studies Association, I agreed readily, though far too brashly.

My main theme is to call the attention of this chapter of the American Studies Association to the desirability of undertaking a much more detailed study of localized American English, state by state. I have particularly in mind the kind of English used daily in conversation by elderly farmers and their relatives and friends, who ideally must have resided in the same district all their lives. Investigations of this kind are urgently needed. They would have a tremendous impact upon Departments of English and Anthropology in state universities that offer programs of research. So now I am urging another look at American Regional English, one still narrower, closer and rather more detailed than that taken since 1930 by the various directors of the *Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada* (LAUSC). Its aim would be to ascertain the speech usages of numerous older members, both black and white, with little formal education, of the farming community. The information

so collected would provide a firm, solid foundation for all future diachronic studies of American Regional English.

An excellent survey of what has been done, and is being done, in American Dialectology has been given by Lee Pederson of Emory University in the recently published *Manual for Dialect Research in the Southern States.*[1] In summarizing briefly what Pederson reports, I confine myself mainly to the linguistic atlases.

In the first place we all put LAUSC. This atlas was decided upon in 1928 and launched in 1929 under the aegis of the American Council of Learned Societies. Its director was your eminent scholar, Hans Kurath, who in 1931 started and directed the fieldwork on the Atlantic Seaboard. Fieldwork was completed two years later and editing began in 1931. The resultant 730 maps were published under the title *Linguistic Atlas of New England* (LANE) between 1939 and 1943---only thirteen years from start to finish. Apart from the speed of its completion, LANE is a stupendous achievement. It has laid the foundation for all subsequent regional studies of American English. Further, the methods employed by LANE are fully explained in the *Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England,*[2] also an essential book in linguistic geography.

Six associated but autonomous atlases are being compiled using the same methodology as LANE. But the maps will not be imitated. These atlases include:

1. The *Linguistic Atlas of the Middle Atlantic and South Atlantic States.* Fieldwork began in 1933 and finished in 1949. The material is being edited by McDavid and A. L. Davis, but so far there are no publications, though the first fascicules were promised for last year.
2. The *Linguistic Atlas of the North Central States,* directed by Marckwardt Fieldwork took from 1938 to 1956. Editing has begun but publication is a long way off.
3. The *Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest,* directed by Harold Allen. The fieldwork was carried out between 1947 and 1957; and the edited material, in map form, is at press.[3]
4. The *Linguistic Atlas of the Rocky Mountain States,* directed by Marjorie Kimmerle, now dead, and T. M. Pearce. Fieldwork started in 1950, but the materials are still not edited.
5. The *Linguistic Atlas of the Pacific Coast,* directed by David and Carol Reed. The fieldwork is now complete, but the editing of the materials is unfinished.
6. The *Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States* (which here include Tennessee). The project, started in 1968, is making very good progress under the energetic direction of Lee Pederson.

In addition, we recall Gordon Wood's *Survey of Eight Southern States* (which relied upon postal questionnaires). Then there are underway several linguistic atlases for separate states, namely for Oklahoma,[4] Missouri, Kansas, and Arkansas. And Bagby Atwood's *Regional Vocabulary of Texas* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1962) is a memorable survey.

It remains to mention F. Cassidy's *Dictionary of American Regional English* (in progress). This is based on 1000 tape-recorded interviews by fieldworkers using his own questionnaire (of actual questions). It is making excellent progress and is eagerly awaited everywhere.

It will not have escaped your attention that only Kurath's LANE of all the American linguistic atlases has so far been printed. But Allen's Upper Midwest *Atlas* is in press as noted above. Further, that work on LAUSC has already been spread over forty years, i.e., almost two generations. This fact must be borne in mind when assessing the comparability of the results of all the atlases collectively.

A project for a comprehensive linguistic atlas requires the capture of the characteristic speech usages of representative native speakers of roughly the same age, education, occupation and social background. The task involves reliance upon a specially compiled sampling-questionnaire, one that pays due regard to lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactical items.

Such a questionnaire may be of two types. It may be a postal questionnaire for completion by a large number of informants throughout the region under survey. The method of investigation concerned, which is termed indirect, produces a vast amount of information for each item under consideration; and it does so quickly and cheaply. Any errors in any one informant's responses will quickly show up and be corrected by the collateral evidence of the other informants. Its chief strength lies in its ability to obtain an abundance of lexical evidence. Phonologically, it is worthless, for untrained informants cannot be expected to indicate in ordinary spelling different pronunciations such as Tennessee *time* when pronounced tæ:m tæ·ᵉm tæɪm ta·ᵉm ta:m taɪm tɒɪm And Tennessee forms of *bog, dog, log, cross,* and *bird, third* cannot be adequately represented other than phonetically. Boundaries between dialects most clearly emerge from the analysis of differences in pronunciation. Postal questionnaires do not reveal these differences and therefore are quite inadequate for comprehensive investigation.

The other type of questionnaire is that designed for use by trained fieldworkers in directly investigating the speech of representative informants. It has two sub-types, one comprising a list of the notions (sometimes given in

context) for which local expressions are wanted; and the other a questionnaire of actual questions, all intended to be put to the informants by the fieldworker exactly as drawn up. The number of questions in such a questionnaire will be determined by the estimated length of the whole project, including the fieldwork and the production of the material in print and, of course, the funds available. The themes of the questions will depend upon the aim of the investigation, whether general or specialized. General questionnaires usually contain notions or questions referring to the language of the farming community.

The first type, the notional type, is the one that has been favored to date, or perhaps until recently, by all the American surveys. The notions were originally selected by Kurath and his colleagues and were first printed in the *Handbook* of 1939. Collectively they are known as Work Sheets.

The notional questionnaire does not include actual questions, but allows, indeed requires the fieldworker to frame his own questions; and he is encouraged to ask them in a conversational way. This method, so it is claimed, encourages the informant to free himself from any tension arising out of being interviewed; he can thus respond in a natural, relaxed manner. A specimen of McDavid's method--he is more experienced in fieldwork than any other American---was reported in Atwood's 1963 review of the "Methods of American Dialectology." To get the local expression for a "see-saw," McDavid's question took the following form: *"You'd have a plank laying across--maybe a section of rail fence or a sawhorse or something like that, and a kid gets on one end and another gets on the other and they go up and down, what do you call that?"*[5] (In the lead to the crux, "What do you call that?" the informant is confronted with at least eleven different ideas; and the mere mention of *sawhorse* might suggest the form of the response---not an acceptable practice.) Bloch's parallel question, as reported by Atwood, was much briefer, namely: *"What do you call a plank laid across a trestle for children to play on?"* Bloch's approach was obviously much more direct; as in McDavid's most recent published attempt, viz., *"What do you call the playground equipment that children play on--one child balancing the other, going up and down?"*[6] In a questionnaire published last year, the parallel question runs: *"What do you call a plank balanced at the middle which goes up and down when children are seated at opposite ends?"*[7] In the Dieth-Orton English questionnaire the question is asked in the context of children's games and runs: *"Children also like to play on a [imitate] . . ."*[8] (one can imitate with a pencil). It produced 36 different responses.

All this goes to show that to leave the actual question to be framed at the last moment by the fieldworker, even an experienced fieldworker, is quite unnecessary, and indeed hardly good enough. The fieldworker's task of keeping the interview lively, informal, economic in time and effort, and thoroughly productive of strictly comparable material is formidable enough without requiring him to think out a completely satisfactory question in the informant's presence. I myself am an ardent believer in the "framed" or "set" question. And you can imagine how I welcomed the appearance of actual questions—drawn up in full—in the Pederson-McDavid *Manual.* This seems to imply the editors' conversion. Yet it is only partial, for the questions, either framed in the past privately by Bloch and McDavid, or by Pederson and his colleagues for the investigation of the Southern States now in progress, are not binding on the fieldworkers using the *Manual.* They are intended only as additional suggestions—"provided to assist beginning fieldworkers and student interviewers."[9] "Trained fieldworkers" are apparently to be encouraged to develop their own techniques. In passing, it may be noted that Cassidy produced a very fine questionnaire for the investigations for the *Dictionary of American Regional English;* and likewise A. L. Davis about 500 questions for the investigations for his *Atlas of Standard American English.* In both questionnaires the questions are drawn up in full. So, too, are the over 1300 questions in the Dieth-Orton *Questionnaire* printed in 1952—an innovation then—for use in the English Dialect Survey. Incidentally, the Dieth-Orton *Questionnaire* has been adversely criticized on the ground that it fails to provide data comparable to that obtained by LAUSC. However, a rough estimate shows that just under half the notions in the *Handbook's* Work Sheets have little if any relevance to the cultural background from which our informants were selected. A questionnaire containing set questions seems to me efficient, economical in time and money, readily understood, smooth-running, less tiring, and productive of as much conversational material as is requisite. But it must be handled by a fieldworker who has been thoroughly trained in interviewing and is conversant with the problems raised by the questions. A poor, untrained fieldworker will ruin the best questionnaire.

A year ago in a public lecture given in the Department of English in the University of Tennessee, I ventured to put forward certain proposals for an early and speedy survey of Tennessee Regional English by fieldworker, questionnaire, and tape-recorder. I repeated them at the American Dialect Society in New York on December 27th last. They may be summarized as follows: Tennessee—and other states—should independently carry out a

short-term, state-wide, direct, close-meshed, detailed, comprehensive and tape-recorded survey of the older type of American Regional English, the type ordinarily used by carefully selected representative informants from rural communities. Such surveys would supplement those of LAUSC and of Pederson in the Southern States, although considerable discretion would be necessary in comparing the results. After all, there would in general be a pretty long interval between the proposed surveys and those carried out earlier for LAUSC.

The ultimate aim would be to compile a state linguistic-atlas that would reveal on maps the characteristic speech usages of the older generation. The survey would be restricted to farming people, both black and white, with little formal education. The inhabitants of towns and cities, as well as all college-educated adults, would be ignored. The immediate aim would be to amass, by direct investigation, a large corpus of information about how certain representative speakers in rural areas talked to each other. This information would provide a firm, reliable basis for all future diachronic studies of American English. It is required in vast quantities, and speedily too. Neither the fieldworker nor the tasks of editing and publishing should be allowed to drag on and on. A department embarking on such a project should establish a small but strong committee to drive it forward with purpose and energy. Each department should sponsor the project and hold the copyright of all the information collected and printed. The committee should foster the project in every possible way, should be responsible for obtaining funds for its support, should give encouragement and formal advice to the director and his staff, and should ensure that the material when collected was quickly published in a suitable form without unnecessary delay.

If possible, the collaboration of Departments of Anthropology should be sought. After all, both the dialectologist and the anthropologist collect folklore and descriptions of folk-culture material and of its uses; and so in certain respects their aims and methods coincide. A joint headquarters could therefore be established in a university for conserving the records, for housing the necessary recording equipment such as reel-, cassette-, and video-tape recorders, and cameras for photographing implements, as well as the laboratory for listening to mechanical recordings, and the editorial room, too. All this would take time and involve organization and expenditure. The *Survey of English Dialects,* edited by Harold Orton and Eugen Dieth, based on eleven years of fieldwork and nine years of editorial work, cost Leeds University at least £90,000, and if certain salaries were included, at least £120,000. This excludes subsidies from other funds.

Such a survey requires an enthusiastic and qualified director, who must be familiar with local folk-culture and also be wholly acceptable in rural America. I am convinced he should be an American.

Not more than a year should be spent in planning and organizing the survey, establishing the headquarters, selecting the network of localities for investigation, finding the informants, and training the fieldworkers up to the necessary high standard of expertise. However, the survey should be completed within a short period, say, five years all told; and nothing should be added to the research results thereafter.

The informants should be 65 years old or so, men and women, black and white, and thoroughly knowledgeable and communicative about their occupations. They should have good heads, good teeth, good hearing, and good eyesight; and they should be interested in the investigation, as well as friendly and cooperative.

The network of localities should consist of, say, six per county, but be closer, of course, if time, money, and workers should permit. In general, the actual localities should be selected after discussion with those who know the local history. But the final choice should be made by the fieldworker after personal reconnaissance on the ground.

The survey should be carried out by the direct method, by fieldworkers using with the informants a specially compiled questionnaire. This should contain set questions, which should be expertly drawn up in advance. Thus all the questions would be asked in the same way throughout the network, ensuring a higher degree of comparability between the relevant responses.

The interviews should be tape-recorded in full, as in Pederson's survey. I now believe that, with such excellent tape-recorders at our disposal, we need no longer impose upon the fieldworker the traditional burden of phonetically transcribing all the informants' responses and the relevant incidental material from his conversation. Transcribing is time-consuming, disturbing to the informant, and, I fear, by no means accurate, no matter how accomplished the fieldworker is. His main task must in future be to ensure that the informants' responses are correct and full enough; that the questions are answered properly. It is really very difficult to transcribe phonetically a word or words heard only once at all accurately. Indeed, I do not think it is possible. Infinitely more reliable information is available from the tape-recorder, which, by a simple loop device, enables one to listen to the same word or words repeatedly. Further, one can pick out sounds from the tape that would otherwise escape one's attention. This cassette recording was

taken in 1971. Made in the open air, it records the free speech of a former teacher. You may note in particular the two types of pronunciation of *bird*, one of which has two, if not three variants; and also the curious *aw*-sound at the end of *sugar* and *skipper*, as well as the well-marked diphthong in *ham* when pronounced before a pause. [At this point a cassette recording was played.]

The fieldworker should be carefully trained in handling the questionnaire and, of course, the informants too, as well as the recording equipment. They should be professionals and full-time workers--not amateurs or undergraduates; or policemen, as was suggested from the audience at the American Dialect Society meeting in New York. Doctoral candidates who should go on to prepare their dissertations on the results of their fieldwork should be engaged for the purpose. They should, of course, be young, active, enthusiastic, and conscientious.

Since the interviews would be tape-recorded and no phonetic transcriptions made at the time, expert phoneticians would be required to transcribe all the desired information from the tapes--an onerous task, indeed, as everyone knows who has experienced it; yet worth the time, labor, and the acquisition of all the skill involved.

The special questionnaire must be balanced, relevant, comprehensive, and long enough. It should include all the significant notions from Kurath's Work Sheets and any other productive notions specially relating to the state concerned. The questions should be short, simply expressed, interesting, lively, and completely relevant. Diagrams and gestures should be used when necessary to clarify the questions. The questions should put the notion clearly in the mind of the informant and leave him to express it in his own words. The notions to be named should have statewide and, if possible, nationwide application.

Professor Nathalia Wright and I last year drew up a questionnaire of this kind with the help of Miss Jean Jones, a doctoral candidate who has just finished a dissertation on the regional English formerly used in Cades Cove in Blount County. This questionnaire was hastily, too hastily, drawn up for the use of my class in Dialectology; it was subsequently published by the University of Tennessee. We are using it again this quarter for training more potential dialectologists. It contains over 1200 questions. Let me ask one or two from it. [At this point questions were asked from the Orton-Wright *Questionnaire* 7.7-9.2 (pp. 8-9) and an illustrative cassette recording was played reproducing the responses given by a sixty-year-old informant from

Maryville, Tennessee.]

In addition to the responses to the questionnaire, information would be needed about current grammar, intonation, word stress and other phonetic matters. This can be best obtained from tape-recordings of the informant's free conversation. He would be encouraged to talk uninhibitedly about his work, his farming operations, and those of his boyhood, about social life in the community, about local worthies of the past, about local events of today and yesterday, and so on. Indeed, the fieldworker should get him to talk for an hour or so about anything that interests him. The important thing is not what he says, but how he says it.

I'll end my talk with a sample free-recording made in 1967 on a reel recorder at Fort Scott, just inside the eastern border of Kansas.

Some people have told me that to get black informants to cooperate will be difficult. In my experience this is not so. The last speaker was a black grandmother of fifty or so; and the informant who was tape-recorded while answering the above-mentioned questions was also black.

Well, dialect recording and dialect research is tremendous fun. It is also tremendously important in philological and linguistic studies. I do indeed warmly commend it to my audience.

P.S. The tape-recorder is an absolutely essential instrument in the fieldworker's equipment. My students and I have learned to rely upon it in investigating regional speech in Tennessee, North Carolina, and Kansas. It reveals very clearly the nuances of pronunciation. You yourselves, I believe, found little if any difficulty in appreciating the differences in the Nashville woman's several pronunciations of *bird* or in her articulation of the final sound in *skipper* and *sugar*. Incidentally we have noted this same curious *aw*-sound in other speakers from Nashville, West (but not East) Tennessee, Virginia, and from western Georgia. We think we can now account for the widespread Tennessee diphthonging of all the normally short vowels in heavily stressed monosyllables: it regularly occurs before a pause, e.g., at the end of a sense group. We also understand the conditions in which short vowels may be lengthened in open syllables in heavily stressed disyllabic words. This feature, too, occurs before a pause. We're wondering whether these changes are responsible for the widespread assumption of the existence of the so-called "Southern Drawl." The possibility of both these conditioned changes in Tennessee—and doubtless elsewhere in the South—necessitates a cautious attitude toward words of these two types when given as single-word responses

to set questions. So in order to obtain the requisite corrective information, it becomes all the more necessary to secure sufficient quantities of incidental (or conversational) material during the interviews and of free speech. Another difficulty is provided by final voiceless plosives, which may be unexploded, or even dropped. On the other hand, the fricatives *f, s* and *th* emerge distinctly enough; and so do retroflex *t, d, s, z* and *r*. To sum up, I myself am content to rely entirely upon tape-recorded interviews.

NOTES

1. Edited by Lee Pederson, Raven I. McDavid, C. W. Foster, and C. E. Billiard (Atlanta: Georgia State University, 1972); hereafter cited as *Manual.*

2. Edited by H. Kurath, Julia and B. Bloch, and M. Hansen (Providence: Brown University, 1939; New York: AMS Press, 1972).

3. The first volume has just been published as *The Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest,* Volume I (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1973). The distinguished editor of this learned work has my complete admiration and richly deserves the gratitude of all dialectologists.

4. Directed by W. R. Van Riper. This is the first state survey to be entirely tape-recorded.

5. H. B. Allen and G. Underwood, *Readings in American Dialectology* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971), p. 15.

6. Pederson, *Manual,* p. 123.

7. *Questionnaire for the Investigation of American Regional English,* ed. Harold Orton and Nathalia Wright (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1972), p. 26.

8. H. Orton's *Introduction* (1962), p. 39ff. to *Survey of English Dialects* ed. by H. Orton and E. Dieth (Leeds: E. J. Arnold & Son, 1962-1971).

9. *Manual,* p. 99.

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Art in the Sahara of the Bozart: Culture Comes to Memphis

IN 1962 HISTORIAN Gerald M. Capers, author of *The Biography of a River Town,* touched off a heated debate in the *Press-Scimitar,* when he expressed his candid opinion of his home town:

> Memphis is a friendly, pretty, progressive town and in many basic respects a good town to live in. I was brought up here, most of the best friends I have in the world live here, and the pleasantest associations of my life are connected with it.
>
> Since I left here 30 years ago, I have come back, usually twice a year. I read the Memphis newspapers, hear the palaver on the buses, streets, and at parties, and my mother sends me clippings giving the local news.
>
> But there is something I have always wanted to get off my chest --- an opinion I have held for at least 20 years, which becomes more confirmed with the passing of time. As a former historian of the city, and a student of American cities in general--- and since I am not running for office --- fortunately I can speak my mind freely.
>
> Many a beautiful woman is short on brains and character. This is how Memphis strikes me. Its dominant note is one of pure "dee" country ignorance and prejudice. The stultifying false modesty, hypocrisy and generally muddled thinking of the evangelical Protestant sects make any realistic or even honest approach to the age-old human, philosophical and social problems extremely difficult.
>
> At the other end of the scale is the blind, stupid reactionism of the average Memphis businessman and his camp followers, the doctors and lawyers, and the so-called Memphis "society" --- largely a bunch of parvenus and social climbers.
>
> Sometimes Franklin D. Roosevelt was wrong, but he was never more right than when he called the South the nation's No. 1 problem. No large Southern city, in my opinion, so presents in bold relief the intellectual poverty of the South as Memphis.
>
> It is Bible Belt with a vengeance. If old C. P. J. Mooney [editor of the *Commercial Appeal* for many years] were alive, I'm sure he would blast out with caustic comments, and H. L. Mencken would dub its citizens "Boobus Americanus Memphisanus."
>
> All cities have their own provinciality, even New York, Paris, and New Orleans. But cities do have, I think, a personality, and there is such a thing --- paradoxical

though it sounds --- as a cosmopolitan provincialism, which is conspicuously absent in Memphis. Of course, Memphis differs only in degree from the average American city like Kansas City and Cleveland, but the degree is considerable.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. In its 140 years of existence, has Memphis ever produced a poet, a novelist, a musician, an artist, a scientist or even a judge of national character? W. C. Handy might be so regarded, but its typical contribution to the national scene are Boss Ed Crump, Clarence Saunders, Richard Halliburton, Memphis Bill Terry, Machine Gun Kelly and now Elvis Presley.

The only exception I personally know, and my knowledge is admittedly limited, is my collegemate (at Southwestern) Abe Fortas, Washington attorney and former Under Secretary of the Interior . . . . But, considering the fair amount of humanity born in Memphis in almost a century and a half, in the midst of a section that produced Roark Bradford, William Faulkner, L. Q. C. Lamar, and George Washington Carver, it is a bit surprising that so few individuals of the species in Memphis, besides Handy and Fortas, ever caught any of the fire of Prometheus.[1]

The response to Dr. Capers' attack was immediate and furious; Memphians of all callings came to the defense of the "City of Good Abode." Novelist and historian Shelby Foote challenged some of Capers' views but supported others:

Memphis is provincial. Memphis has never produced a great man. But neither, to my knowledge, has Minneapolis.

It is true that there is no aesthetic climate in Memphis. The high-income group doesn't accept responsibility for fostering the arts. But this is true of these people as a class, not just the ones in Memphis.

I think probably Memphis has fewer virtues to redeem its faults than most cities. The reasons for this have long interested me. The poverty here is no doubt a bigger problem than most people think.

But if there is a single reason I think it may be the long rule of a political machine here. The "barrelhouse" element is important to a young, growing town. Mr. Crump destroyed it when he cleaned out all the gambling. He gutted Memphis. He took its vitality away and ruined what I call a town's sportin' life. Without a sportin' life the aesthetic element doesn't grow.

Like Dr. Capers I see so much wrong with the South and with Memphis. But I think these problems are universal. We see them so well here because the place you know best and love best appears most guilty.[2]

Among the leading defenders of Memphis was the director of the Memphis Academy of Art, Edwin C. Rust, who wrote,

I don't know any city in America which has made such a conspicuous forward thrust in culture in the last 10 years alone.

> In the last 10 years we developed a symphony orchestra, Opera Theater, the Shakespeare Festival, the new Memphis Academy of Arts, our city galleries were extended and we got the Kress Collection, our Civic Ballet received national recognition on tour, the Arts Festival is about to begin, Front Street Theater emerged and Memphis State University and Southwestern have developed fine art centers. Tremendous things are happening here.[3]

A decade later the controversy regarding Memphis' cultural life has not subsided. For Memphis, like many other American cities, has (to use an overused expression) an identity crisis. And, to a degree, the arts are expected to resolve it. Leonardo da Vinci noted long ago that the arts not only reflect the culture of a city but also generate culture themselves. Today civic leaders in Memphis seem to be aware of the value of cultivating artistic artivities, and there are significant signs of progress: a recent addition to the art museum; the completion of Cook Convention Center; the financing of a new playhouse for the Memphis Little Theater; proposals to develop the river front along a riverboat theme; plans for a Beale Street Blue Light district; a creative colony around the new Overton Square; a "Believe in Memphis" campaign; and attempts to gain federal funding for a black music museum and library, where gospel and blues music might be studied. Yet a staggering indifference also persists, dramatically demonstrated in a recent poll of the Associate Councils of the Arts, which ranked Memphis eighteenth out of eighteen reporting cities in per capita giving to the arts.[4]

A brief review of Memphis' development will reveal many factors which advanced (and retarded) art. Starting with only 53 residents in 1819, the little river town attracted a varied population, which rose to 663 in 1830, 884 in 1850, 22,642 in 1860, and 40,226 in 1870, making it the largest city in Tennessee at that time, and fifth largest in the South.[5] The railroad, steamboat, cotton and hardwood industries were the foundations for the prosperity of the town. A large proportion of the population was foreign born, principally Germans and Irishmen.[6] Among the foreign societies were the Societe Francaise de Secours Mutuel, the Irish Society (which became St. Patrick's Literary Society), the Swiss Gruetli Verein, the Unterstutzung Verein, and Turner's Gymnastic Association.[7] The purpose of one such club, The German Casino Club, was "to cultivate German habits, the perpetuation of the German language and customs, and general sociability." But it was also important in the "encouragement of musical and literary taste."[8]

Because Memphis was a convenient stop between New Orleans and Cincinnati, with four railroad lines in the 1850's, theatrical troupes stopped here,

and in 1857 a $40,000 theater was completed.[9] Such well-known names as Dan Emmett and Junius Brutus Booth played Memphis.[10] By 1860 the city had two medical schools, two theaters, six bookstores, eight newspapers, and several literary magazines.[11] Most of the latter were run by ladies, during the "Feminine Fifties," when women were so dominant in literary and dramatic activities.[12]

During the Civil War Memphis was captured by federal troops. It suffered greatly because it was a prison town, filled with bitterness, friction, and sickness; both federal and Confederate prisoners were here, creating a cross-current of tension. Memphis became a "rough and ready" town, culminating in 1916, when it was called "Murder Capital of the World."[13] Many of the older, more genteel families left. After the war and the period of reconstruction, just as the town began to recover, it suffered terrible decimation from two yellow fever epidemics. In one at least one-third of the population was wiped out.[14] It was a town also known to be a center of endemic diseases, including malaria and typhoid fever. It was surrounded by swamps and suffered violently from floods — not the city on the bluffs, but all around the area. Memphis would be isolated from the rest of the territory for long periods, and sickness would set in again. All along the way Memphis lost its most talented people to such cities as St. Louis, Nashville, and New Orleans.[15] Rural blacks and whites, rich in folk tradition but suspicious of non-indigenous culture, came out of the swamplands and down the river to replace them.

Memphis was also a town of opportunists: a sporting, gambling town. This became a tradition here. Art or culture was really despised; it was considered something to keep the ladies in the parlor and out of mischief. And it was certainly not considered anything that was manly or to be taken seriously.

Actually, the incipience of any kind of cultural activity in early twentieth century Memphis has to be associated with certain ladies' clubs. There were a few men who appreciated the value of art for itself, but they were few indeed. One was Rabbi William Fineshriber of Temple Israel, who was vice-president of the drama league, which read and discussed plays by Shaw, O'Neill, and Chekhov and encouraged professional drama in the community.[16] Another was Mischa Feibish, cantor of Baron Hirsch Synogogue, who published the *Tri-State Musical Journal*, which uniquely publicized musical events in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Mississippi and contained articles about local musicians and music teachers as well as essays on music.[17] The three Cortese brothers — Angelo, Joseph, and Jack — who came originally from Italy and Canada, were outstanding impresarios and talented musicians

themselves. Their promotional territory extended from Mississippi to Canada; they managed tours of Galli-Curci, Schumann-Heink, Heifitz, Schipa, McCormack, Melba, Elman, Kreisler, and many other great musicians. They also brought opera companies, ballet troupes, orchestras, dramatic companies, and Broadway productions to Memphis and other southern cities. For many years they managed the Memphis Open Air Theater, taught music, and performed individually and as a trio.[18] It is obvious that neither Fineshriber, Feibish, nor the Corteses were sons of the South.

Mainly the women fought the good fight for art. Outstanding was Miss Florence McIntire of an old southern family. Ladies of gentility in her day were expected to cultivate some creative talent, such as painting, needlework, or playing the harp. But she took her studies seriously and had real talent for painting. She came to know very prominent people of the day --- Robert Henri, Childe Hassam, James McNeill Whistler, and George Remington --- and corresponded with them. For a time she studied with Robert Henri in New York and he was most important in her development. She wanted to realize the beginning of some kind of an *atelier* in Memphis and she was able to win over several ladies associated with Memphis' Nineteenth Century Club.[19] This club described itself as a "little band of women thirsting for knowledge . . . and higher culture," but it did much more.[20] One of the Nineteenth Century ladies, Miss Rosa Lee, donated to the art school the Lee property (now part of the Tennessee Historical Society's property on Adams) and purchased the Fontaine House for the same purpose, Miss McIntire's cause. Miss McIntire also convinced city officials that they should make it into a city school. This was the beginning of the present Memphis Academy of Art, first recognized art school in the Mid-South.[21]

Among the talented artists who begain their study under her influence are Dorothy Sturm, now a member of the faculty of the Memphis Art Academy; and Carroll Cloar, whose recent New York show received national recognition. Mr. Cloar believes that it was "absolutely phenomenal" that the school existed at that time in Memphis. It was the only place he could have studied art, coming with the aid of a hometown patroness from a small town in Arkansas thirty miles away. Mr. Cloar still remembers that people in the early '30's were amazed that a boy would study art. (He also studied piano, which was even more amazing.)[22]

In time there was friction in Miss McIntire's school, when new instructors came in to fill gaps she could not handle because of her frailty and failing eyesight. She lived firmly in her own world and was adamant that this world

was not going to change. The younger teachers and patrons wanted the school to progress and grow; she remained an enthusiast of Henri and Remington, and emphasized discipline and tradition.[23] The newcomers who took over considered her fractious and disagreeable and she severed her association with the school, the direct outgrowth of her life's work. The courageous Miss McIntire was also one of the first directors of the Brooks Memorial Museum, arranging for many shows to visit Memphis; she was first president of the Southern Art Education Association, which held its first convention in Memphis in the spring of 1922.[24]

Other Memphis women worked to encourage the arts. Money for the construction of Brooks Art Museum was given by Mrs. S. H. Brooks as a memorial to her husband. The oldest active musical organization, the Beethoven Club, founded in 1889 by Miss Martha Trudeau, peaked in the 1920's with 2,000 members.[25] It sponsored concerts by Gigli, Casals, Rachmaninoff, Paderewski, and other legendary artists and established junior departments to provide music education.[26] Memphis' first symphony was founded by Miss Augusta Semmes, who purchased the instruments, auditioned the musicians, and traveled around the country seeking talent.[27] In 1920 Miss Fairfax Proudfit Walkup (later dean of the School of the Theater of the Pasadena Playhouse) "issued a call to tea" which resulted in the founding of Memphis' Little Theatre.[28] For many years Mrs. Martha Angier sponsored a regular concert series, which brought such "names" as Marian Anderson, Eileen Farrell, the National Symphony of Washington, and the St. Louis Symphony with Vladimir Golschmann.[29]

For these women there was almost constant activity, as they played in small chamber groups, met prominent musicians who came to Memphis, and planned new cultural events.

But the Memphis of the early 1900's was a fragmented city. Those promoting the arts were completely unaware of the indigenous art form which flourished on Beale Street, the headquarters of the blues scene, headquarters of the blues singers themselves. Their attitude was reminiscent of the Spanish aristocrats who looked the other way when Flamenco music was played. Money from the cotton exchange went into the pockets of blacks who spent it at places where they could hear blues. Some white folks loved black music too; Mr. Crump himself, for instance, was a great lover of jug bands.[30] Black music would be analogous to what today is called underground music. Indeed, if "Furry" Lewis had been asked about his "art," he would probably have replied, "I don't paint pictures."

Traditions of the plantations around the Mississippi mingled with emergent

urban techniques. During periods of natural disaster and economic depression, Memphis was the neck of an hourglass of migration. All the business of the Mid-South was done here, and musicians were lured from far distance. If they could not read music and had not received any conventional training, they puffed on jugs, strummed guitars, played harmonicas, or just sang.[31] By the turn of the century, the simple 12-bar blues, consisting of a one line refrain sung twice, followed by a third line, was an established form of expression in the black community.

Vaudeville, minstrel shows, and "doctor" (or "medicine") shows featured blues performers. After the pitch for the cocaine, cathartic, or emetic, came a singer, guitarist, or jug band to entertain. Pee Wee's Saloon was a famous haven of blues lovers. But blues were also performed in Dixie Park, the black Church's Auditorium, and on the streets, where passers-by might throw coins. Major urban black singers, such as Bessie Smith, frequently passed through Memphis.[32]

When one thinks of the blues, W. C. Handy immediately comes to mind. Undoubtedly, he was Beale Street's most distinguished composer. However, Handy was a trained classical and jazz musician, whose typical composition was far too sophisticated to represent true blues. He admits in his autobiography that he did not invent the blues form; in fact, he wrote down and copyrighted some melodies which were a part of his racial inheritance. He was also an excellent businessman who finally settled in New York to manage his publishing firm.[33]

Many of the blues classics were first sung in Memphis and, as a matter of fact, recorded here. A lacquer acetate was cut — sometimes in a rented room of the Peabody Hotel, sometimes at McCall's Hall — and the matrix was later made in New York. The sound quality was surprisingly good in many cases.[34] As Paul Oliver notes, "For the Negro in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, or Yazoo City, Mississippi, the blues record afforded the first real opportunity of contact through a mass medium with others of his social status."[35] Special "race" series were made here. For instance, an autumn trip to Memphis became an annual event for Victor Records; most of their race records were recorded here.[36] Vocalion, Columbia, Brunswick, Bluebird, and other companies also stopped to cut records.[37] All of the great blues artists were available: Howard Yancy, Joe Dobbins, Walter "Furry" Lewis, Gus Cannon, Will Shade, Huddie Ledbetter, "Blind Lemon" Jefferson, Walter "Son" Smith, Ma Rainey, Lilly Mae Glover (Ma Rainey II), Otto Lee, Bukka White, Mississippi John Hurt, Reubin Lacy, Lewis Black, Mamie Smith, Laura Smith, Clara Smith, Tom

Dickson, and Big Joe Williams. Some were directly identified with Memphis: Memphis Minnie McCoy, Memphis Slim (Pete Chatham), and the Memphis Jug Band.[38]

Then in April 1939 the blues scene was fragmented when Mr. Crump shut down the "sportin' life" on Beale. No one knows with certainty why he suddenly "got religion," but the death of his son John may have had something to do with it. Also, the proximity of the naval base at Millington posed new problems, for the young men might be corrupted by all the vice.[39]

No study of the arts in Memphis would be complete without considering the role of Lloyd T. Binford, the aesthetic equivalent of Crumpism from 1928-1955. Not only did he become moral and aesthetic arbiter of Memphis; his influence was great with critics throughout the South.[40] As the head of the movie censorship board, he forbade Chaplin films because of Charlie's political persuasion; Ingrid Bergman films because of her personal morality; and all films with black actors who played any parts other than menials, because of "community racial standards."[41] Once he demanded that Lunt and Fontanne submit all scenarios of their plays for his examination because one of them had contained "foul language." Of course, they declined and vowed they would never again play Memphis.[42] In February 1933 he cut several skits from Earl Carroll's "Vanities" as too risque, in his opinion, for Memphis audiences.[43] This was, incidentally, while Memphis still had a thriving red-light district. William Faulkner was pretty accurate when he repeatedly represented Memphis as the whorehouse town. One disgusted *Commercial Appeal* critic thought the "Vanities" pretty harmless, concluding his review with the remark that "The company left last night for Nashville where they will show in a church."[44]

In the 1960's there were many rediscoveries of former blues "greats." For an example, Bill Barth, Memphis musician whom I interviewed, rediscovered Skip James in Aberdeen, Mississippi, in 1963. He was also directly involved in finding Bukka White and Mississippi John Hurt. White had not found work in Memphis for years, although he had worked the Newport Jazz Festival, had engagements in California, and had toured Europe. In addition, Bill was one of a host of canvassers who purchased old recordings from black people who had kept them through the years. His Blues Festival, held in the Overton Park Shell from 1966 to 1970, represented the first major surfacing of traditional blues since the mid '30's. Some older Memphians nostalgically enjoyed the kind of music they had once heard in dancehalls, on the streets, and on the backs of streetcars. Although amazingly popular, it had to be discontinued

because of a "decibel hassle" (ironically caused by rock groups who also used the Shell) and a prohibitive increase in the rent.[45]

It has been charged that Memphis is merely a businessman's town, and that its newspaper the *Commercial Appeal* is most appropriately named.[46] But we should not be too harsh in our judgment of Memphis commercialism. After all, its greatest promoter and patron of the arts, Isaac "Ike" Myers, was a diminuitive, unassuming merchant.[47] Singlehandedly, he brought the Metropolitan Opera annual tour back to Memphis, as well as major art tours, and world-renowned virtuosi in all fields of cultural endeavor. Through the years the Chamber of Commerce and Planning Commission have stressed the "development of cultural affairs" and creation of a "cultural climate."[48] To be sure, Memphis has had trouble recognizing its own product, the product that caters to tourism. Calling itself "Hardwood Capital of the World," it has forgotten it is also the "Home of the Blues." The fact that Memphis has the fourth largest recording center in the nation, which is worth $100 million worth of business, has created a new awareness of its musical heritage.

A federally supported national black culture center has been proposed in a study financed by HUD. The proposal recommends "the use of Beale as an axis for a music hall, visual arts building, open air market, and sunken outdoor theater," as well as "the renovation of as many buildings on Beale as possible." Handy Park and the statue of W. C. Handy would serve as the focal point.[49] But the Memphis Housing Authority has already named a private firm, Beale Street U.S.A., Inc. to develop the Beale Street area. Whether or not the private developers integrate HUD recommendations, as they have pledged to do, remains to be seen. Until recently Memphis has been on a tight schedule: tearing down a building one day, declaring it a national monument the next. Undoubtedly there are strong traditions of art in Memphis — traditions which could beget a renaissance in the near future.

NOTES

1. The Memphis *Press-Scimitar,* September 6, 1962.
2. *Ibid.,* September 7, 1962.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.,* June 7, 1973.
5. Gerald M. Capers, Jr., *The Biography of a River Town: Memphis: Its Heroic Age* (Chapel Hill, 1939), pp. 44-45.
6. William D. Miller, *Memphis During the Progressive Era, 1900-1917* (Memphis State University Press, 1957), p. 7.

7. Capers, pp. 108-109.
8. Margaret Sue Chisman, "Literature and the Drama in Memphis, Tennessee, to 1860." (Unpublished M. A. thesis, Duke University, 1967), p. 9.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 93: see also J. Virginia Benham, "L. Virginia French," *American Illustrated Methodist Magazine,* 3 (July 1900), 419-426; Sarah G. Bowerman, "Lucy Virginia Smith French," *Dictionary of American Biography,* 7 (1931), 25; Clifton Furness, *One Genteel Female* (New York, 1931); Fred Lewis Pattee, *The Feminine Fifties* (New York, 1940); Virginia Lewis Peck, "The Life and Works of L. Virginia French," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt, 1939).
13. Miller, p. 168.
14. Gerald M. Capers, "Yellow Fever in Memphis in the 1870's," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* 24 (March 1938), 484.
15. Capers, *The Biography of a River Town,* pp. 199, 205, 208.
16. Berkley Kalin, "Rabbi William H. Fineshriber: The Memphis Years," *The West Tennessee Historical Papers,* 25 (1971), 58-59: The Memphis *Commercial Appeal,* October 23, 1921; April 22, 1924; April 30, 1924; July 16, 1924.
17. *Tri-State Musical Journal,* 1 (March 1928), 25; 1 (September 1924), 4; 2 (January 1929), 4; 2 (February 1929), 4. Copies available in the Cortese Papers, Mississippi Valley Collection of John Willard Brister Library, Memphis State University (cited hereafter as MVC).
18. Berkley Kalin, "The Cortese Brothers and the Early Memphis Sound," *Museum Quarterly,* 1, no. 2 (fall 1972), 1-25.
19. *Commercial Appeal,* March 9, 1922; October 15, 1922; October 29, 1922; March 18, 1923; March 16, 1924; April 22, 1926; April 27, 1926; July 4, 1926; August 8, 1926; undated clipping of *Commercial Appeal* (Spring 1922) headlined "Art Education Urged in Southern States" included in "Ike" Myers folder, MVC.
20. Miller, p. 110; *Commercial Appeal,* March 9, 1922; March 17, 1923; November 3, 1923; February 28, 1924; March 7, 1924; March 7, 1924; January 18, 1927; February 13, 1927.
21. *Ibid.*, February 28, 1924; interview with Dr. Babette Becker by writer for Memphis State University Oral History Office, February 2, 1972; transcript on file in MVC. The writer is indebted to Miss Becker for her valuable scrapbook of clippings dealing with the arts.
22. Interview of Miss Dorothy Sturm by writer for Memphis State Oral History Office, March 22, 1972. MVC; Interview of Mr. Carroll Cloar by writer for Memphis State Oral History Office, March 4, 1972, MVC.
23. *Commercial Appeal,* March 9, 1922; October 15, 1922; April 22, 1926.
24. Undated clipping of *Commercial Appeal* (Spring 1922) headlined "Art Education Urged in Southern States" included in "Ike" Myers folder, MVC.
25. *Tri-State Musical Journal,* 2 (January 1929), 6. Copy in Cortese Papers, MVC.
26. *Commercial Appeal,* March 17, 1923; March 19, 1923; May 1, 1923; November 3, 1923; March 7, 1924; January 18, 1927; February 13, 1927.
27. Interviews of Mr. Jack W. Cortese by writer for MSU Oral History Office, August 20, 1972 and August 27, 1972, MVC; *Press-Scimitar,* June 27, 1941.
28. "Memphis Little Theater in the Black," *The Delta Review,* October 1967, p. 17.

29. *Commercial Appeal,* December 3, 1970; Interview of Mr. Burnet C. Tuthill by writer for MSU Oral History Office, April 7, 1972, MVC; Interview of Miss Anna Angier, daughter of Mrs. Martha Angier, by telephone, May 8, 1972.
30. Paul Oliver, *The Story of the Blues* (New York, 1969), p. 56.
31. Paul Oliver, *Aspects of the Blues Tradition* (New York, 1970), pp. 14, 47-57: G. P. Hamilton, *The Bright Side of Memphis* (Memphis, 1908), p. 19.
32. Oliver, *Aspects of the Blues Tradition* pp. 47-57.
33. Hamilton, pp. 207, 236; W. C. Handy, *Father of the Blues* (New York, 1941), p. 99.
34. Tony Russell, *Blacks, Whites, and Blues* (New York, 1970), pp. 41, 48, 84.
35. Oliver, *Aspects of the Blues Tradition,* p. 3.
36. Robert M. W. Dixon and John Godrich, *Recording the Blues* (New York, 1970), p. 50.
37. *Ibid.,* pp. 50, 51; Oliver, *Aspects of the Blues Tradition,* pp. 233, 234; Russell, *Blacks, Whites, and Blues,* pp. 41, 48.
38. The Memphis Oral History Office has an extensive collection of taped interviews, documenting the history of the blues. Dr. Jack Hurley of the MSU History Department and Bill Barth, Memphis musician, have interviewed Bukka White, the Beale Street Jug Band, Mrs. Laura Dukes, Gilbert Fowler, John Williams, Walter "Son" Smith, Joe Dobbins, Otto Lee, Howard Yancy, Mrs. Lilly Mae Glover, Walter "Furry" Lewis, Gus Cannon, George W. Lee, Ashley Thompson, and others, 1967-1970.
39. William D. Miller, *Mr. Crump of Memphis* (Louisiana State University Press, 1964), pp. 269-276.
40. William E. Shelton, "Movie Censorship in Memphis, 1920-1955," (Unpublished M. A. thesis, Memphis State University, 1970), p. 72.
41. *Ibid.,* pp. 50-54.
42. *Ibid.,* p. 29.
43. *Ibid.,* p. 23.
44. *Commercial Appeal,* February 2, 1933.
45. Interview of Mr. Bill Barth by writer for MSU Oral History Office, March 13, 1973, MVC.
46. It should be kept in mind, however, that during the 1920's C. P. J. Mooney did a great deal to encourage the arts. The author has examined the original drawings of several J. P. Alley cartoons (drawn in the '20's), which belong to Miss Becker. They attack the unholy union of commercialism and materialism that ignores the value of art.
47. Berkley Kalin, "Isaac L. Myers: A Man Who Brought the Best in the Arts to Memphis," *The West Tennessee Historical Papers,* 26 (1972), 74-93.
48. *Commercial Appeal,* April 26, 1909; *Press-Scimitar,* February 22, 1973.
49. *Commercial Appeal,* June 28, 1973.

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Knoxville: The Architecture of Ambiguous Imagination

ARCHITECTURE, LIKE other continua which we experience, graphic, typographic, and natural, is now thought to be patient of division into periods and movements. This practice is new, for the naming of architectural styles and epochs began only with the period of elegant archaism which we have called the Renaissance. Architectural historians are always disappointed that Abbé Suger, when he stood in the apse of his new church of St.-Denis, simply noted dramatically how the building moved him rather than naming the new style.[1] Nikolaos Mesarites gave a lengthy description of the Church of the Holy Apostles, discussing its parts in detail, but he never mentions the building's style.[2] The naming of styles and periods is a recent thing. The Renaissance itself did not become a critical event in Western imagination until the *Aufklärung* identified it as such. Medieval architecture became decisively Gothic, with the barbaric allusions of that name, only during the sixteenth century.[3] Before the sixteenth century the practice of naming historical movements and periods, apart from theological historiography and the vague epochs of the Roman poets, was rare, for what we now call history had not yet been invented. The invention of history as we understand it depended upon the discovery of facts, and facts in the sense which that use implies are the children of moveable type, presumptuous orphans of the printing press who stand alienated in time and space; true because they are anchored in our Gutenbergian past with footnotes, but false because that past soon disappears in the pre-Gutenbergian world of spoken and calligraphic tradition. Before scholars and scholarly communities could pretend to transcend time and place by taking shared critical views which presuppose objectivity with respect to things which happen, there could be no names, no styles, no periods, no Gothic, no Renaissance. Thus the fundamental division in the history of written and

graphic literatures is its division into traditional and historicist periods. Traditional architecture, which belongs largely to the period before 1500, was built by its contemporaries without concern for its meaning and without the expectation that architecture, or any other art, might successfully reassert a relation between its builders and the time-place continuum in which they felt puzzled, anxious, or unsatisfied. Traditional architecture whether it is popular or professional, is always self-confident, never self-conscious; sure of itself and its relations in time and place. When traditional architecture is innovative, as it often is, it is never aggressively innovative. Hagia Sophia, the Pantheon, St.-Denis, the Great Pyramid at Giza, were all innovative, but they were also traditional. They were not historicist architecture, but were the creatures of experience which culture had borne forward uncritically to its inheritors. Tradition is *traditio*, or *paradosis*, that which the past hands over to the future, the presuppositions which stand, unenunciated, beside our judgments.

Historicist architecture, unlike traditional architecture, is always highly self-conscious and unsure of its relations in time/place. It is usually revivalistic, or contemporary, or futuristic. Whichever of these relations to time it chooses to assert, its motive is the same: the architects who design and the inhabitants who use the building agree that it is their function to reassert a new or right relation between human experience and time place. Whether the architect considers it his obligation to express the present times (as many of our contemporaries do), or to express the past or even the future, he will, in each case, understand his task in the light of the historicist presupposition. Modern architecture and the Gothic Revival and the Greek Revival and *The City of Tomorrow* are all historicist. Historicism is in this sense the same thing as romanticism, for romanticism is at heart nothing other than a critical dislocation with respect to time and place which was either the cause or the result of the invention of history which I have already mentioned. Romanticism, as its prophet Morse Peckham would perhaps agree,[4] is chiefly the brave assertion of some human relation to time and place in an era in which the tradition no longer teaches us what that relation should be, or when, for various reasons, we decline to be instructed by it.

The point bears emphasizing. The architects of the pre-historicist period would have been mystified by revivalism or contemporaryism or futurism. It may be that we now think that medieval architects loved the past because we have been taught that to love medieval architecture is to love the past, but that is not what medieval architects thought. Though Eusebius would have agreed that the churches of Palestine displayed a certain glory,[5]

it would never have occurred to him to ask if the architecture expressed the times. It is one of the certain signs of historicist theory that critics and designers and clients agree that the architecture in question has meaning or is expressive of something, usually of some chronometric revelation. Architectural historicism is not only closely related to romanticism, but it is intimately associated with, indeed it is perhaps the same thing as, the expression theory, which, in its several variants, suggests that the outside of things, the visible work of art, expresses the ineffable interiority of the artist and his times to the audience.

Architecture has been understood in this historicist fashion since the beginnings of our republic. Thomas Jefferson chose a Roman provincial temple as the model for the Virginia capitol because he wished to set forward the nobility of Roman antiquity, and to provide a model which his rustic contemporaries might imitate.[6] On the evening of his return to Washington after nine years' absence, Horatio Greenough brooded by moonlight over the national capitol and reflected:

> Those pillars were no more mere shafts of stone; Luther and Melancthon, Russell, Hampden, Galileo, Savonarola, Sarpi, and a host besides, united in spectral majesty with the worthies of our own land to uphold the roof! The whole was cemented with the blood of martyrs.[7]

To Greenough the architecture of the capitol was an adequate expression of a complex system of values which pitted Luther against the Latins. He could not forebear quoting in another place a certain Mr. Smith, of Alabama, who had said in the House that republics could not succeed in Europe "because of their antiquities and their monuments, breathing, smacking, and smelling of nobility and royalty . . . ."[8] Emerson, who was Greenough's pupil in matters aesthetic, praised the United States Bank and the Bunker Hill monument as "perfectly genuine works of the times" in 1836.[9] Louis Sullivan grasped and appreciated the conceptual structure of Darwinian evolutionism, and memorialized it as the idea of an age in the groping, searching ornament of Carson Pirie Scott.[10] The historicists were, of course, inevitably divided as to whether it was their duty merely to express uncritically the present; or whether the *Weltgeist* spoke sometimes in moral tones. Richard Upjohn used Gothic for non-Catholic churches only reluctantly.[11] Wright, however, was in the secular mainstream when he concluded that "in America we erect temples . . . not so much to the mystery of great terrestrial or cosmic forces as to the interior or spirit-power of manhood as relèased by American demo-

cracy and its sciences."[12] American architecture is traditional only in certain specific cases and in cultural backwaters which have escaped scholarly and poetic historicism. Perhaps farm houses were, and perhaps suburban split levels and mobile homes are. But our capacity for architectural historicism is apparently inexhaustible. We took a simple Swedish cabin and made it a national cult object whose influence upon political history has not been negligible.[13] The United States was born historicist.

Beginning, however, at about the time of the War Between the States, attempts were made to overcome architectural historicism. These attempts consisted in part of the effort to discover non-historical analogies for design in organic or biological processes, or in industrial or technological methods. Another answer to historicism was eclecticism. Eclecticism is an attempt to overcome historicism by trivializing it. My thesis is that the architectural character of Knoxville is explained by the fact that Knoxville passed overnight from a weak and confused historicism to an irresolute eclecticism, and that there are reasons for this imaginative failure, if it is a failure, which contribute both to our understanding of Knoxville and to our understanding of historical architecture. I call Knoxville an imaginative failure because its image is not good.

Advertising is the great popular imaginative expression of an historicist age, and against this historicist background cities succeed in popular imagination or not at all. I doubt that the Chambers of Commerce of Nördlingen or Honolulu are more efficient or capable than the Chambers of Commerce of Dubuque or Meridian, but Nördlingen is an imaginative success and Meridian an imaginative failure. Gatlinburg is an imaginative success, but Knoxville less so. I intend now to comment upon Knoxville as the creature of an architecturally ambiguous imagination in an historicist age, but I will begin by praising her.

There is no city in the Southeast, perhaps in the United States, through which a broad river wanders under three graceful bridges, and alongside which there is a road and a cliff. There is no city of two hundred thousand in which a great university stands on the hill next to the city center, and from which one can see mountains in every direction. There are perhaps few other cities in which pines and and magnolias grow together. The suburbs of no other large city feather into the foothills of the Smokies, and no other city is surrounded by lakes and framed by mountains. No other city is still so much to human scale. One can still buy farmer's cheese and daffodils behind the largest bank.

Given, however, these praises, and the truths which I would claim they represent, it still remains that as a city, and especially as an historicist city, Knoxville is an imaginative failure. Miami and Cape Kennedy and San Francisco and Disney World, and Rugby, Tennessee, are not, in the historicist sense, failures, but Knoxville is. Though the works of J. F. and Albert Baumann[14] are near misses, there is not, nor was there ever, any great example of the Gothic Revival which swept the United States in the summer of romanticism. Knoxville was no place for self-confident medievalism or for *The Castle of Otranto.* There are only one or two significant buildings of the Greek Revival, one of which, our much defaced City Hall, was built originally as a school for deaf in 1848. Knoxville was no place for Walter Scott or Byron. Architecture in Knoxville was always vaguely, very vaguely, Federal or Italianate before the War, managing somehow to miss almost completely the great architectural revivals of the first half of the century, which however misguided they may have been, were imaginatively powerful. The vehicles of the southern culture during the nineteenth century were the landed gentry and their retainers, Negroes and rednecks. In East Tennessee the agrarian nobility was always thin, and the distance between it and the other classes not dramatic. Knoxville, a city on a railroad, was capital of a region of rocky valleys set between the mountains and the plateau. It was possible to live, but never to thrive, on the land. Its first citizens were bankers and traders and merchants, not planters. If in this respect it was ahead of its time, it nevertheless was out of step. And there was always Knoxville morality, the morality of the indignant and ignorant, but not always righteous, poor. Amidst these circumstances Knoxville could hardly take itself seriously as a cultural capital if by culture we mean the larger culture of southern cities, of Charleston, New Orleans, Cincinnati, and even Nashville, as it developed during the early nineteenth century.

The factors which had made architectural historicism weak and architectural imagination ambiguous in Knoxville during the period of the great revivals were compounded by that catastrophe among whose detritus we all still live. Because of its geography and its history, Knoxville was a city which could know neither victory nor defeat. Here there could never be a common understanding of the past, because in Knoxville everyone had lost. "Knoxville," as Seymour has written, "presented no united front as either victor or vanquished. The people buried their past."[15] The courthouse of Knox County, completed in 1921 by Albert Baumann, is a study in ambiguity. A vaguely European belfry dominates neo-classical windows, and a Palladianesque porch the columns of which are Ionic paraphrases is surrounded by a quatrefoil

The terminal of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, built in 1902, is a jumble of interesting Renaissance allusions, among which no element dominates. The Southern Terminal has a crow-stepped roof. The Farragut Hotel was the last riposte of neo-Baroque. The early nineteenth century buildings of the University were gradually replaced by a late-flowering collegiate gothic. The commercial district muttered softly of H. H. Richardson and the Second Empire. After the war there was nothing to say because there was nothing which could be spoken with clarity. The architectural imagination of Knoxville remained unformed.

Having presented my thesis that Knoxville is a study in the architecturally ambiguous imagination, I must refer briefly to meaning of this meaninglessness and the purposes of this irresolution. Ambiguity is not, of course, the same thing as sterility, or poverty, or emptiness. The ambiguity of Knoxville results, I believe, not so much from the poverty of Knoxville's historical imagination, as from the fact that memory overburdens us. Knoxville is the inheritor in Tennessee of the colonial tradition, of the society which lay across twenty-four mountains at Fort Prince George, of King's Mountain. It was in Knoxville that Tennessee became a state, and in its hinterlands that Wautauga and Franklin were still-born. Knoxville is Alpine in the the heart of an agrarian economy which fattens on the coastal plain. It is the city of the mountain men, whenever they choose to have a city. Fifty miles to the north of Knoxville is the only university in the United States which is named for and endowed in memory of Abraham Lincoln. Perhaps seventy-five miles to the South (as the crow flies) is Sewanee, that utopia of the defeated South to which distinquished Confederate officers retired to keep intact the virtues of the South which was. Knoxville was the place to which industry came first, but in many ways it is the least industrial of Tennessee's cities. The ambiguity of Knoxville's architectural imagination is born not of the failure which comes from emptiness, but of an unacknowledged and diffuse weight of the past which has not yet been satisfactorily resolved in self-understanding. It may never be. It may chance that television and the memory hole will direct that popular self-understanding upon which architecture grows great toward a subjectivity which is hostile to the past. I now consider it possible, but not certain, that we may allow the objective world to slip away from us entirely, that we ourselves may disappear into a miasma of narcosis and mechanical life-support systems.

In this sense the ambiguous imagination of Knoxville is a clinical paradigm. When tradition is lost in the presumptions of romanticism, it is still possible to rediscover it. Some say that tradition cannot be recovered, or that it would

be wrong to do so. I believe they say this because of their poetic and philosophical investments. Nothing is more certain than that tradition can be reconstituted. If Charlemagne had been certain that it could not, there would have been no medieval empire, and if Luther had not believed that primitive purity might be regained there would have been no Reformation. If Thomas More had not believed that Greek learning could be recovered there might have been no English Renaissance. Romanticism itself was born of the antiquarian yearnings of men like Leon Battista Alberti, who fed with Marsilio Ficino on the rediscovered thought of Plato and Vitruvius. The only thing worth fighting about is what the tradition really says. When tradition is lost or obscured, it may still be recovered through self-knowledge, and self-knowledge is not knowledge of the self, but the self's knowledge of the world. The conviction that the only important way of studying the past or of gaining self-knowledge is by reading is, of course, a post-Gutenbergian vanity, analogous, perhaps to educational commitments to television teaching. What people say to us is most important, and books are not what people tell us, but what professors write for us; and professors are only one tiny group who enjoy reading papers to one another, and who are taken seriously by government agencies, from Syracuse to Saigon, when it suits bureaucratic purposes. What art, things made with human hands, tells us is next most important. Among these made things architecture is of all the most significant. To begin with the ambiguities of the architectural imagination of Knoxville and to follow them to their sources, would be to understand history, and would take us home again. "You can't go home again" is a slogan as well as a title. It is cited most often by those who tout antiphonally the delicate despair of polite alienation and the bittersweetness of surrealist presumption preferring *hybris* in the historicist shadows to the road.

NOTES

1. *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures,* ed. Erwin Panofsky (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1946), pp. 63-64. Suger says that the beauty of the church lifted him *ad hac etiam inferiori ad illam superiorem anagogico more.* He often praises the craftsmanship and boasts of the costliness of the materials, but gives no hint that he considered St.-Denis prototypical of a new style.

2. Nikolaos Mesarites, *Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople,* trans. Glanville Downey, in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* n.s. 47 (1957), 855-924.

3. E. S. de Beer, "Gothic: Origin and Diffusion of the Term; the Idea of Style in Architecture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 11(1948), 147-148.

4. Morse Peckham, "Toward a Theory of Romanticism," *PMLA,* 66 (March, 1951), 5-23, "Toward a Theory of Romanticism: II. Reconsiderations," *Studies in Romanticism,*

5. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini,* iii. 22-51.

6. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* ed. Julian P. Boyd (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1950-), 8, 534-535 (Letter to James Madison, Sept. 20, 1785); 537-538 (Letter of Edmund Randolph, Sept. 20, 1785); 11, 226 (Letter to Madame de Tessé, March 20, 1787).

7. Horatio Greenough, *Form and Function: Remarks on Art, Design and Architecture,* ed. Harold L. Small (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), p. 36.

8. *Ibid.,* p. 5, n. 1.

9. William H. Gilman, *et al.*(eds.), *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press, 1960-), 5, 150.

10. Louis Sullivan, *The Autobiography of an Idea* (New York: Dover Publications, 1956), 254-255.

11. Evarard M. Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn: Architect and Churchman* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), p. 72.

12. Frank Lloyd Wright, *A Testament* (New York: Horizon Press, 1962), p. 62.

13. See, for example, Harold R. Shurtleff, *The Log Cabin Myth* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939).

14. Michael A. Tomlan, "J. F. Baumann, Architect of the First Knoxville," thesis (B. Arch.) at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

15. Digby Gordon Seymour, *Divided Loyalties: Fort Sanders and the Civil War in East Tennessee* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1963), p. 219.

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Conversion and Commitment: Some Theoretical Considerations

FIRST, LET us briefly examine the relation between the major concepts in the title: conversion and commitment. Conversion is viewed as a decision-making experience; decision-making is taken to be the first step in a commitment process. Therefore, conversion can be located at the beginning of a commitment process. We shall return to a treatment of the commitment process after considering some empirical observations from studies on religious conversions, nonreligious conversions, and variables involved in conversions.

In this manner conversion is taken as a starting point from which the more general commitment process can be approached. This approach is reflexive. Conversion yields inferences about commitments in general, while commitments in general should help explain conversion in particular.

Religious Conversion

The study of religious conversion has often raised questions or assumed answers as to whether conversion takes place in an acute turnabout experience or in a gradual process over time. Two generalizations may be made from conversion research. First, conversion is apparently much more often an extended process of change instead of a traumatic turnabout at a given moment. Second, but not so well documented, after conversion has occurred, the turnabout variety is generally not maintained as long as the process type.

The process *versus* turnabout distinction can be found in conversion definitions. Certain evangelists, theologians, and several social psychologists advocate the turnabout view. A Durkheimian sociological perspective reflects the process stance.[1] Such definitions have typically been made prior to

research attempting to verify either side of the distinction. Despite some *a priori* definitions to the contrary, empirical studies on this topic are noted to substantiate the process argument.

One research team has tested a proposition that conversion occurs as a ritual performance rather than as instantaneous salvation.[2] Information on decision makers in a Billy Graham Crusade was examined in the contexts of the crusade organization and of the community. After a decision was made, the crusade organization initiated a training program consisting of local church referral and correspondence materials from the national crusade headquarters which served to temper any instantaneous decisions which had occurred.

Nearly three-fourths of the converts, contrary to a survey estimate of about one-third of the attenders, were no more than 19 years old. Such youthful converts did not seem to be wayward, alienated sinners drawn off the streets into the crusade meetings. Practically everyone came to the rallies with a church group, family, or friends. Although limitations in data collection did not permit the analysis of individual decisions, it was reasoned that the converted youths had been formally and informally primed by such groups to make their crusade decisions for Christ. These and other findings were interpreted to favor the Durkheimian view of ritualistic conversion stemming from one's continual group experiences.

In another study, Collins examines individual conversions to Catholicism and several Protestant sects.[3] His guiding interest is in how conversion happens. Findings suggest that as a person interacts with others, new alternatives arise to which one might convert. As interactions with new acquaintences and friends take place, new conversion alternatives come about and old alternatives are closed. Conversions are found to emerge as gradual shifts from one perspective to another. Beliefs are not suddenly altered. Although one who has undergone conversion may make a public declaration of the experience, this announcement is the product of the conversion rather than the conversion itself. For a prospective convert, strong ideological appeals or proselytization attempts by ministers take a weak second place to interaction with others in everyday situations.

King and Hunt have related factor-analyzed dimensions of religious commitment to several circumstances of Protestant church membership.[4] Of 518 useful cases surveyed, only 6 percent reported conversion without having been reared in a religious atmosphere from a church, family, or friends. The remainder, of course, did receive such influences. Even including those who

grew up outside of religious contacts, only 14 percent reported a "personal conversion experience" regardless of whether they had matured with religious others. In fact, 69 percent who were socialized into Christianity claimed to have joined the church naturally upon reaching an expected age while 8 percent merely joined to please their families or friends.

The investigation by King and Hunt provides some basis for the second empirical generalization: the relatively few who experience a sudden salvation are less likely to stay actively converted.

King and Hunt find that the small number of converts who were brought up outside an interactive network of religious others were lower in more religiosity dimensions than those raised with religious others. More importantly, if it can be assumed that conversions at evangelistic crusades are more often instantaneous than those proclaimed before regular congregations or with friends, it might be anticipated that the former type of conversion circumstances would also be linked with what King and Hunt interpret as "less religious" on the factored dimensions of religiosity. This turns out to be the case for their subjects. Those with revival conversions in tents, auditoriums, or stadiums matched the unconverted in lowness on religiosity.

Religious and Other Kinds of Conversions

Until found otherwise, religious conversion is not thought to be an entirely unique kind of conversion. Although religion is what typically comes to mind when the term is mentioned, the same form of experience might be found with other contents; commitments to political groups and perspectives, to occupational or marital choices, or to deviance probably correspond to religious conversion. The distinguishing features of the religious type should be those things distinctive of religion. Essentially, religion involves belief in a transcendent supernatural being to which one relates.

However, transcendence is posited to be an aspect of civil religion as well. Since both civil religion and supernatural, salvation religion (or for that matter, deviant, marital, or other such commitments) can be considered a product of group life, some of the alleged uniqueness of religious conversion diminishes.

A review of studies on all other kinds of commitment would extend beyond the confines of this paper. Nevertheless, several studies and speculations of how people come to join religious and social movements will serve to illustrate some of the circumstances leading to and maintaining conversions. Table 1 portrays features explicated from several analyses.

Table 1. CONVERSION CIRCUMSTANCES

Toch	*Lofland*	*Gerlach and Hine*	*Kanter*
1. Childhood and later socialization 2. Disillusionment 3. Precipitating experiences 4. Precipitating transaction to conversion	A. Predisposing background conditions 1. Feeling of tension 2. Taking a religious approach to problem solving 3. Defining self as religious seeker B. Interaction or situational factors 1. Encountering adherents at a turning point in life 2. Establishing affective bonds with adherents 3. Decreasing extra-adherent bonds 4. Becoming a total convert via intense interaction with cult	1. Initial contacts 2. Redefining 3. Group interaction and rededication 4. Surrender of old identity and new decision 5. Commitment event with identity altering and bridge burning act 6. Relating the experience to the group 7. Group support for convert	1. Sacrifices 2. Investments 3. Renunciations 4. Community communion 5. Mortification 6. Transcendence of group

Toch draws from material on social, political, and religious movements, along with biographical accounts, in order to piece together a sequence of conversion factors.[5] Some people, says Toch, are socialized into society but become disillusioned because of discrepancies between their socialization and other experiences. A final advanced form of disillusion may come as a precipitating experience to conversion. The actual conversion occurs with a precipitating transaction.

Observations on a religious cult attempting to make converts led Lofland to describe two kinds of conversion conditions.[6] The first set, predisposing background conditions, consists of the potential convert feeling tensions, taking a religious approach to solving tensions rather than a psychiatric or political approach, and defining one's self as a religious seeker. The second set is made up of interaction or situational factors. These involve contact

with cult members at a turning point in the subject's life, creating bonds with members, loosening bonds with nonmembers, and intensive interactions in the cult. The timing of the background factors is not so important as their activation. However, time order is important in the interaction-situational conditions.

The pentecostal and black power movements are the main substance providing Gerlach and Hine's steps in commitment.[7] After initial contact between a subject and movement members, the next step is for one to redefine his or her needs within the context of the movement's ideology. Supportive group interaction is needed to re-educate the prospect. Next comes a surrender of the old identity and a decision to be different. This is followed by a commitment event where identity is altered and by a "bridge burning" act. A testimony should then be presented to the movement adherents in order to firm the commitment. Finally, group support is needed in response.

Whereas, Gerlach and Hine were concerned with steps for getting in and staying in a movement, Kanter outlines some mechanisms for commitment within communes and utopian communities of the past century.[8] These mechanisms are directed more toward commitment maintenance than conversion building and are apparently not presented in a particular temporal order. Such groups need sacrifices, irreversible investments, and self-mortification from their members, along with renunciations of the outside world. Individuals need from the group communion and a transcendent atmosphere.

To some extent, these conversion-step analyses furnish information corresponding to the first major finding of the research previously discussed—that conversion is more often a gradual process than a sudden turnabout. The conversion sequences of Toch, Lofland, and Gerlach and Hine underscore this.

Several succinct remarks are offered by Toch. According to him, "Immediate wholehearted commitment to new beliefs is probably unusual. More typically, tentative inquiry into available alternatives eventually culminates in full dedication." Continuing, "The transaction of predisposition and appeal can occur with varying degrees of *urgency* and *specificity*." He cryptically adds, "A conversion becomes more a lazy step than a plunge . . ."[9]

The second research finding on terminations of rapidly made conversions is not so obvious from the sequences in Table 1. However, the point will be raised again in a later discussion on commitment and commitment strength. For the time being, a couple of things can be noted. In the first place,

sustaining interactions are undoubtedly important to keep a new convert committed. Persons who convert suddenly may well be unlikely to have such an adequate network of contacts with those already converted. Consequently, after conversions, they would not only have to develop their conversion commitments but would have to build relationships with other converts. Without reliable structuring interactions, it should be easier to drop the new commitment. This leads us to other aspects in the conversion schemes of Table 1—particularly interaction.

In the second place, more lengthy conversion decisions can allow time for inoculation against other views, time to disentangle oneself from former relationships, time to identify with or internalize a new role, or time to see if approval will be forthcoming from significant others in the new interaction network.

Three other significant features, although hardly unanticipated, emerge from the conversion sequence analyses. One is that there must apparently be some degree of disillusionment, tension, or feeling of needs by a potential convert. Such conditions might either exist in a subject or might be developed by those already converted. Second, a relevant ideology for alleviating those cognitive and/or behavioral inconsistencies seems to be of some importance. But thirdly, and probably by far the most important, there has to be interaction with former converts if one is to become converted. Whereas the interaction factor may well be a necessary condition for conversion, it is doubtful that the tension or ideological aspects acquire this status.

Interaction is stressed least by Toch who puts stronger emphasis on disillusionment and ideology. Otherwise, Lofland tends to stress interaction experiences for conversion more than Gerlach and Hine. Perhaps this is because Lofland's subjects required more intensive interaction since they were converting to a more extremist cult than Gerlach and Hine's pentecostal and black power samples.

In Lofland's view, unless religious seekers who were disposed toward religious solutions for tension relief came into contact, friendship, and exclusive, intense interaction with cult members, they could not become "total converts." Without the final phase of intensive interaction, one would only reach the level of "verbal convert."[10] He concludes that, "verbal conversion and resolutions to reorganize one's life for the [cult] are not automatically translated into total conversion. One must be intensively exposed to the group supporting these new standards of conduct."[11] In fact, Toch suggests that pre-existing, not merely new, friendship networks among cult

members are extremely important for their conversion.[12]

Similarly, Gerlach and Hine relate that regardless of whether dispositions pre-exist or are created, interaction with a participant is required to start the conversion process. Such initial contacts are said to develop on the basis of significant, previously established interactions. In their words, "Commitment is a social phenomenon. It cannot occur nor can it be maintained in a social vacuum." Gerlach and Hine add that group interaction following the public testimonial of a conversion is needed to support cognitive and behavorial changes.[13]

Kanter's historical analysis of communes and utopian communities likewise indicated the importance of interactions for continuing commitments. Community communion is a dominant charcteristic in successful groups.

The earlier review of research on conversion makes the importance of interaction no surprise as we now review taxonomies of conversion steps. In particular, Collin's research reveals that day-to-day interaction is the vehicle for conversion.

Processes of Commitment and Its Strength

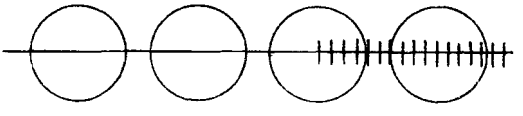
It is hardly enough to conclude with a summary of empirical generalization from the preceding studies. The findings serve to illuminate questions with which to deal. One of these is: What can findings on conversion reveal about commitment in general? In the opening of this paper it was asserted that conversion is a decision-making experience which marks the beginning of a commitment. Commitment may now be defined as "the process of selecting an alternative position or course of action and maintaining it in relevant situations with some degree of strength until that position or course of action is terminated and/or replaced by . . . another alternative."[14] Commitments can be made to any phenomena, including dispositions or behaviors.

Commitment is seen as a process.[15] The beginning part of the process is a decision by an actor or selection of an alternative which is more or less situationally or structurally imposed upon the actor. Following such a conversion, which can be a subprocess in its own right, a commitment moves through three conceptualized stages. The first is a varying latent stage preceding the time when the commitment is put into effect. Second comes the active stage where the commitment is enacted in pertinent situations. The third stage is passive, taking place in irrelevant situations after an active episode. The active and passive stages oscillate throughout the history of a commitment. However, a commitment might be terminated at any stage in

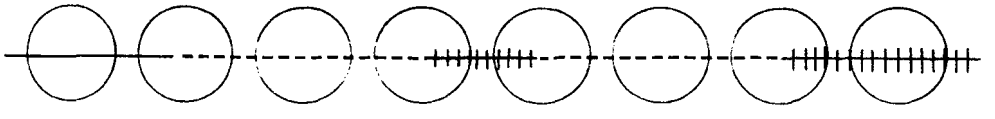
this process if an alternative decision or selection occurs.

Despite ensuing stages of a commitment, our focus is on the initial decision making. Some commitments, judging from conversions, may begin with a definite, momentous, clear-cut decision in a situation. This type is diagramed in *Figure 1A*. Such commitments can be readily recognized by the actor who makes them. Drawing upon introspection, this analyst can recall certain discrete commitment-making experiences. One was to find a new job; the other was to use a particular scheme for distinguishing society from culture for sociology students. (Both of these decisions came while stepping across cracks in respective sidewalks.)

Figure 1. TYPES OF COMMITMENT-MAKING SITUATIONS



A. Turnabout or acute commitment making; immediately recognizable to the actor (convert).



B. Processive commitment making; cresively recognizable to actor (convert).

○ = situation

——— = former commitment

- - - - - - - - = consideration of alternatives without making a commitment

+++++++++++ = new commitment

On the other hand it is recalled that many important decisions took place over periods of time: deciding to become engaged, deciding to be a sociologist. Likewise, side-bet commitments, as described by Becker, appear to be initiated in some sort of process in which the actor cannot recognize the commitment's beginning. The individual is only retrospectively aware that he

or she has become committed to a line of action.[16]

Nevertheless, the gradual type of commitment-making must certainly have had a beginning. In this paper, commitments are viewed to have beginnings marked by a decision or selection. How does this beginning come about in a commitment? Perhaps, analogous to butterflies, many are hatched but not all of them survive to be recognized at maturity.

This type of commitment-making is representative of gradual conversion experiences. It is depicted in *Figure 1B*. A former commitment, at some point, is dropped. Before an enduring new commitment is made, the actor might proceed through one or more situations with alternatives but no specified commitments. Then he might select a new alternative which would last a miniscule amount of time before being dropped. From this point, the actor might relapse into consideration of the alternatives or might even relapse into the former commitment. Eventually, however, the actor becomes clearly committed to the new alternative.

Although they are not explicitly diagrammed in *Figure 1B*, these conditions of considering and reconsidering alternatives, making at least one of several new commitments, and relapsing into a former commitment may switch about in various orders until the new commitment, for reasons soon to be discussed, becomes firm. The period in which these vascillations are happening is preceded by a time when the actor saw himself as an X and is succeeded by a time when the actor sees himself as a Y. But exactly when the actor stopped being an X and started being a Y is vague.[17]

Another concept is useful for explaining why a particular commitment might be maintained rather than dropped. This is commitment strength. Although analytically separate from commitment, commitment and commitment strength have a mutually supporting empirical relation. Commitment strength is "the extent or degree . . . with which a commitment is held."[18] Commitment strength is intrinsic to social psychological intensity, cost-reward and balance, all of which provide avenues for its measurement.

For the explanation at hand, commitment strength is proposed to impinge upon a given commitment, solidifying and maintaining it. As a commitment decision is being processively developed, it becomes stronger over time, due to profits or absences of further losses, due to balances with other commitments, and due to the overall intensity with which it is held.

Particularly in the social psychological balance perspectives, commitment strength can be considered to occur through triangulation with other commitments, forming a multidimensional cognitive geodesic. A commitment gains

strength as it is seen by the actor to balance with other commitments. As noted in the accounts of conversion steops, those other commitments might be to ideologies or to persons with whom one interacts. Any relevant tensions for a prospective convert can be reduced with decisions which put related elements into balance. Of course, any tensions which are felt by an actor can also serve to weaken the strength of former commitments and hasten their terminations.

Social interactions were earlier suggested to be a necessary vehicle for conversions, probably being more important than either tensions or belief systems. If this be the case, then interactions are probably a significant vehicle for commitment strength as well. In emphasizing the importance of interactions, however, it should be kept in mind that commitment is still the basic process since the interactions and persons involved can be objects of commitments simultaneously with the conversion object. Furthermore, it is surmised that important interactions help to prevent conversion commitments from being dropped. The foregoing proposition can now be joined by another: the greater the importance of the interactions associated with the conversion commitment, the greater the strength of the conversion commitment.

Several additional propositions can now be construed from the context of conversion and commitment studies. Limited evidence has implied that long-term conversion decisions are less likely to be dropped than rapid turnabout conversions. The related proposition is that processively developed commitments are less likely to be dropped than acutely made commitments.

In other research by the author it was found that high commitment strength decreased the likelihood of dropping a commitment.[19] Coupling this finding with the preceding proposition, a new proposition can be derived: processively developed commitments are likely to be stronger than acutely made commitments. Whether this derived statement would hold up under empirical testing remains to be seen.

Summary and Conclusions

Studies of conversions reveal at least four empirical generalizations:

1. Conversion more often appears to take place as a prolonged decision-making process rather than as a rapid, turnabout decision.
2. Process conversions appear to be more likely to endure than turnabout conversions.
3. Important interactions with others appear to be necessary for conversions.

4. Cognitive and/or behavioral inconsistencies and ideologies appear to have some significance for conversions but perhaps not as much as interactions.

The theoretical link between conversion and commitment is that conversion is decision-making and that decision-making is the first step in the commitment process. The commitment process is, in turn, linked with commitment strength.

Several commitment propositions are developed, primarily from findings of the conversion studies:

1. Processively developed commitments are less likely to be terminated than acutely made commitments.
2. Processively developed commitments are likely to have more commitment strength than acutely made commitments.
3. Important social interactions help prevent commitments from being terminated.
4. The greater the importance of social interactions which are relevant to to a given commitment, the greater will be the strength of the given commitment.

All of these propositions, especially the second, are subject to further verification. Although mainly based in conversion studies, these propositions help to explain inductively commitment in general. At the same time, they help to explain reflexively religious conversion.

NOTES

1. For a review of these opposing definitions, see Thomas C. Hood, C. M. Lipsey, Ronal C. Wimberley, Donald Clelland, and Marguerite Hay, "Conversion at a Billy Graham Crusa Spontaneous Event or Ritual Performance," paper presented at annual meeting of the Sou ern Sociological Society, Atlanta, Georgia, 1971.

2. Hood, *et al.*

3. Daniel F. Collins, "Changing Church Affiliation: A Study of Converting Social Identity," unpublished dissertation, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, 1973.

4. Morton B. King and Richard A. Hunt, "Correlates of Eleven Religious Dimensions," paper presented at annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, Illinois, 1968.

5. Hans Toch, *The Social Psychology of Social Movements* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), pp. 111-129.

6. John Lofland, *Doomsday Cult* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966); also John Lofland and Rodney Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," *American Sociological Review*, 30 (December, 1965), 862-875.

7. Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia H. Hine, *People, Power, and Change* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970), pp. 110-137.
8. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Commitment and Community* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), pp. 70-125.
9. Toch, pp. 122, 124, 125.
10. Lofland, pp. 33, 57-60.
11. Lofland, p. 60.
12. Lofland, pp. 53, 60.
13. Gerlach and Hine, pp. 111-113.
14. Ronald C. Wimberley, "Commitment and Commitment Strength with Application to Political Parties: A conceptual and Causal Analysis," unpublished dissertation, University of Tennessee, 1972, p. 51.
15. For an earlier and more complete account of this process, see Ronald C. Wimberley, "The Process of Commitment and Some Areas for Its Application," a paper presented at the 1969 meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Boston.
16. Howard S. Becker, "Notes on the Concept of Commitment," *American Journal of Sociology*, 66 (July 1960), 32-40.
17. Discussions with Daniel F. Collins were stimulating as certain aspects of the "before *X*, after *Y*" idea was being formulated.
18. Wimberley, "Commitment and Commitment Strength," p. 53.
19. Wimberley, "Commitment and Commitment Strength."

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Hawthorne: Jacksonian? Liberal?

GIVEN THE incredibly varied classes and groups that taken together formed the "Jacksonian persuasion," it was impossible to be other than arbitrary in deciding on a litmus test for considering Hawthorne's relationship to the movement. The method chosen was to examine his commitment to the tenets of egalitarianism, entrepreneurship (or getting ahead generally), reform and party service — these categories being ranked in that order. Admittedly this is a value judgment rather than a hypothesis, but it seemed advisable to start somewhere. In the matter of egalitarianism, it seemed that since even the Whigs adopted this approach it was certainly a part of the zeitgeist. Lee Benson says, "By the 1840's . . . the nation had essentially completed the transformation from a liberal aristocratic republic to a populistic democracy."[1] It might be instructive to examine the response of a classical American author to this evolution in American society.

The word "liberal" is a potentially misleading label. It has certain post-New Deal associations unintended in this paper. A Jacksonian "liberal" would be a New Dealer's reactionary, a point the present paper hopes to clarify a bit later on. At any rate, here are my impressions of Hawthorne as a "liberal" and "Jacksonian."

The nature of Hawthorne's ideological or, even, practical commitment and involvement in Democratic politics seems to be puzzling. Hawthorne came from an old Puritan, Federalist family with pretensions to aristocracy; and his later life as a literary figure hardly seems to fit the "typical" Jacksonian. This apparent anomaly has bothered one commentator so much that he was driven to account for the mesalliance on the grounds that Hawthorne was a secret agent attached in some way to the Treasury and Customs departments.[2]

It seems to me, however, that the connection is easy to explain. Hawthorne was swept into the Jackson camp, as was many other impressionable boy of eight to ten years of age, by the Battle of New Orleans. His sister mentions

that Hawthorne was something of a hero-worshipper of Jackson. In 1824, when Hawthorne was a junior in Bowdoin, he became very good friends with avid Jacksonians. And in 1824, the year of the "corrupt bargain" it was easy to become avid, even in a predominantly anti-Jackson college. His friends were Franklin Pierce, Horatio Bridge and Jonathan Cilley, all to become in varying degrees luminaries of Democratic politics. At any rate, although the evidence about Hawthorne's activities as a Democrat is mostly negative -- everyone, friend and foe, agreed he was a poor party man -- the fact is that he was continually solicited by these powerful friends and given, at one time or another, three patronage jobs, the last one the richest plum at Pierce's disposal. So, one thinks, he must have done something, must have been something. Not necessarily. For one thing, not all of his job seeking was successful. In 1837, he was turned down for the position of historiographer on a South Seas expedition. The only cause-effect sequence one can make vis-à-vis Hawthorne's jobs and any quid pro quo is indefinite enough, and hardly, it seems, deserving of the positions he received. The first of these jobs was the office of measurer of salt and coal in the Boston Custom House, at $1500 per annum. He had the aid not only of his three Bowdoin friends, by now, ten years later, Movers and Shakers in politics, but also his fiancee's sister, Elizabeth Peabody, prominent abolitionist and all-round reformer. He seems to have done nothing to deserve this spoils job, unless one counts his memorial sketch of Cilley in the September 1838 issue of James L. O'Sullivan's *Democratic Review*. Cilley had been killed in a duel with a Kentucky Whig, and this appearance in a party organ of his memorial could perhaps have qualified as a piece of partisan work. The connection between this rather innocuous piece and the job is tenuous, but one can make of it what one will. He saved $1000 in two years, then resigned January 1, 1841, to go to Brook Farm that April.

The idyllic life at Brook Farm soon palled, and Hawthorne left in November. In March 1842 he renewed his acquaintance with O'Sullivan. Coiner of the phrase "Manifest Destiny," and generally a Jacksonian ideologue and hip and thigh smiter of Whigs, O'Sullivan had furnished Hawthorne with a veritable WPA Writer's Project for his stories and sketches during the years 1837-39, the pre-patronage years. He was to publish twenty-two in all, twelve of them during another period of between jobs for Hawthorne, 1843-44. In 1845, Hawthorne edited Horatio Bridge's manuscript, *Journal of an African Cruiser*, published as volume one of Wiley and Putnam's *Library of American Books*. Although we do not know how Bridge and Hawthorne split these royalties, Bridge had earlier underwritten -- without Hawthorne's knowledge -- the

publication of *Twice-Told Tales*, which made his reputation.

His next patronage job was that of "Surveyor for the District of Salem and Beverly and Inspector of the Revenue for the Port of Salem." This appointment held fire for seventeen months while George Bancroft tried to fob off various other posts on him. The Salem political situation was touchy, and Bancroft did not want to antagonize any faction for the sake of Pierce and Bridge's friends, no matter his literary talent or connections in high places.[3] But O'Sullivan, Pierce (by now a Senator) and Bridge, the Peabodys and Charles Sumner were zealous in advocacy. Hawthorne was apparently given the job because he would offend no one, not because he had been a valuable party man. Indeed, it seems that he had not even voted in the last election. If his getting the job seems to be in spite of his politics rather than for them, so does his dismissal. The Whigs, who could run the spoils system as well as the Democrats, replaced him. His friends' defense was on the grounds that he got the job as a literary man, not as a party man. The Whigs, searching for some plausible grounds for dismissal, averred that he had contributed to the *Salem Advertiser*, a Democratic paper, and that he had once attended a Democratic convention. An examination of the Whig charges throws some light on Hawthorne's party regularity. His *Advertiser* work was totally literary; and his *one* attendance at a Democratic Convention would seem to be counterproductive to the Whig case, as well as embarrassing to the Democratic professionals. Obviously Hawthorne was not much more than what he always said he was: "a faithful Democrat in principle." His virtues as a Party regular may have been many, but they were certainly cloistered ones.

Hawthorne's last patronage job was the Consulate at Liverpool, supposedly a reward for his campaign biography of Pierce. What had he done for the party in the interim? Nothing that can be documented. The period between 1849 and 1852 was, in fact, the most productive literary period of his life; he completed *The Scarlet Letter* and *The House of the Seven Gables.* The Liverpool Consulship lasted three years, 1853-1856, and Hawthorne squeezed out of it all he could, to the tune of $30,000 saved. It is in this quintessentially Jacksonian arena – the spoils jobs and its consequent materialistic bent – that one sees Hawthorne as a child of his age. He evinces some down-home Democratic truths relative to every man's right to be let alone in his financial calling. The Congress had decided to put consuls on a straight $10,000 per year salary. This chagrined Hawthorne greatly; in his words, "it is a devilish good office -- if those jackasses in Washington . . . will but let it alone . . . . But I trust in God, Pierce will not let them meddle with me." He had sent

a letter to enlist his support in killing the proposed bill, and had recourse to argument from ideology. "It is very singular that our people do not see that the salaries, as arranged by the new bill, must throw those offices into the hands of a moneyed aristocracy, and that therefore it is anything but a democratic measure. To my office, when I quit it, you must appoint either a rich man or a rogue – no poor, honest, and capable man will think of holding it." This paper can only hint at the devious machinations Hawthorne engaged in during this crisis, but when he forestalled the worst effects of the bill, he rejoiced, "I have got Uncle Sam on the hip, you see; -- and good enough for him, the infernal old villain!"

This coupling of arrant materialism with democratic apologia seems inconsistent, at least. But apparently Hawthorne had vowed not to repeat what so many of his fictional characters had done: allow themselves to become so immersed in theory and ideals that they could not survive. Hawthorne had remarked in a letter to his mother many years before that "no man can be a poet and a bookkeeper at the same time." In his stories and novels the bluff, practical men of affairs always outdo the dreamers and idealists, either by showing them up or saving their bacon. Thus we see Hawthorne as a man acutely conscious of the conflict between doing and dreaming; the *pur sang* Jacksonian ideologues had already found it quite simple to meld the Democratic creed into aggressive practicality, and demonstrated that they were all the more egalitarians for doing it.

It is necessary to remember that there are two ways of viewing liberalism during the Jacksonian era. Whigs stood for what Lee Benson calls "positive liberalism," the Democrats, for "negative liberalism."[4] Their views of government's role in promoting welfare and internal improvements were opposed. But it is the ideological reasoning behind the Jacksonians that is of interest here. One could be averse, on personal grounds, to reform and the like; or one could have been his own political theorist and arrived at a negative opinion --- it mattered little; one belonged in the Jackson camp. Jacksonians considered that their version of the state promoted the purest kind of democracy because if nobody was helped by government, then nobody was interfered with or wasted away by debilitating taxes either. To give no one a break was to give everyone a break. Their world, as we would view it, was a vast zero-sum game, a place where the concept of limited good applied. Yet it rewarded toil and industry, because there was a providential order that seemed to indicate it. Surely the worker would succeed, the idler would fail. "In a world of bliss, there was no place for the legislation of bliss."[5]

The frontier to which advocates of this rigorous laissez faire wanted to exile any kind of government involvement in the marketplace or humanitarian reform was approximately to Ultima Thule. One could be a Democrat and privately a reformer, but he would not find his opinion put in the platform. Let us summarize briefly the opinions of three typically successful Democratic politicians, far removed from moral or intellectual niceties one might expect from a mere litterateur like Hawthorne.

Preston King was a Western New York Jacksonian in 1838, of whom Thurlow Weed said that he was against "improvements of any description." And not only was he against improvements of a capital nature. His positions on the proposed state aid for the New York Eye Infirmary and the Orphan Asylum Society were negative, indignantly so. Although worthy causes, they were not areas in which government -- any branch -- should involve itself. John Bigelow personifies what seems to moderns the odd mixture of reaction and progressivism characteristic of the Democrats. Although against the death penalty and in favor of giving every over-eighteen male -- white and black -- the vote, he regarded "government aid to canals, railroads, charities and education . . . downright dangerous." The money spent on schools should be used to retire the state debt. These two men were not radicals who represented no opinion but their own, but oft-returned pros.[6] But it is to William Leggett that we must turn to see "an unconditional, almost obsessive advocate of *laissez faire.*" Although he was a writer on economics, he inevitably hit upon questions of humanitarian reform and consumerism. He is, at one time or another, against any level of government involvement in post offices, charities, price controls, interest rates, weights and measures, or trust-busting. The establishment of a state asylum for mentally ill paupers is, he thinks, opening wedge for goverment abuses of patronage, or even worse, for state poorhouses themselves.[7]

In this company Hawthorne found himself totally at home. He, too, was suspicious of government involvement in humanitarian reform. Not only this– he was profoundly skeptical of the reform impulse no matter from what source. His stories and novels are replete with reformers who not only fail at their reform but are also destroyed by it. Allen Flint says, truly, "There is little indication in his fiction of a commitment to progress that can be determined or affected by man."[8] One should go another step and say that Hawthorne seems to evince an impression that such efforts are not only inefficacious but slightly blasphemous and worthy of mockery or severe reprehension. In one of his Notebook entries he sketches an idea for a story about a zealous

reformer, who, on the verge of converting a whole town, is finally recaptured by the asylum keepers. In order to keep this list from becoming the whole corpus of Hawthorne, let us mention only the most striking. "The Celestial Railroad" is a labored, though witty, allegory of the Transcendental temper and the attendant reformism. "Earth's Holocaust" shows a group of reformers tossing into the fire such things as liquor, tobacco (both of which Hawthorne indulged in), property, the Bible, marriage, and other symbols of society. All the while, "a dark-complexioned personage" says, "I have stood by this live-long night and laughed in my sleeve at the whole business," obviously because the zealots have not also incinerated "that foul cavern, the human heart." His most categorical repudiation of reform is *The Blithedale Romance,* strongly autobiographical, inspired by his Brook Farm sojourn. Orestes Brownson and Margaret Fuller, disguised as fictional characters, are portrayed as humorless, remorseless, and ultimately unfulfilled and tragic human beings. In *The House of the Seven Gables,* a daguerrotypist, Holgrave, is given a stem-winding speech about the uselessness of tradition, inherited property, and the necessity for abandoning stone houses because they perpetuate the dead hand of the past. In spite of this, Holgrave is the male lead in the novel; as he is about to marry the heroine, he announces his conversion to conservatism and stone houses. It may be that each position is a parody, but it is likely that Hawthorne himself is ambivalent about the relationship between a settled society and rambunctious Jacksonianism.

Another group of characters may be called radical innovators. This is the most crack-brained of all the collections of misfits and malcontents because they deal in science of the mad doctor variety. Although they mean well, as do all of Hawthorne's reformers, they are always tinkering, juggling or trying to change the essence of something already "as perfect as mortal man has a right to demand." "The Birthmark" and "Rappaccini's Daughter" are about the deaths of women who come to grief because their men try to make them superhuman. Hawthorne obviously was suspicious of innovators generally, but especially so if their work smacked of scientific or medical heterodoxy. His wife, Sophia, was one of those classic nineteenth-century genteelly invalid wives; she was plagued by migraine, and her only relief was by means of what must have been an early use of hypnotherapy. Hawthorne strongly objected to these treatments because they desecrated the "sacredness of the individual" and were "an intrusion into the holy of holies." His mind-set was, then, profoundly negative concerning the value of anything innovative, even if it worked. Hawthorne apparently believed in letting things go until they either

worked themselves out or were about to go to smash.

His villains and misfortunate protagonists share one thing in common: they are all overreachers, transgressors of the accepted order of things. In this regard his natural antipathy to innovation or humanitarian reform merges with the instinctive antipathy of the Jacksonian ideologue, the Jacksonian politician seeking office, and the common man as well, about to be an entrepreneur or a land speculator, and who wanted nothing so dearly as to be let alone to accumulate. Thus by a paradoxical alchemy of motives and inclinations, a man possessed of a stoic, even tragic view of man's lot finds himself next to gallus-snapping, whisky-barrel stumping exhorters of manifest destiny. Each would agree that within the natural order of things — which means no meddling government — lies whatever chance of salvation a man has.

The question of slavery would have been difficult for any American in the 1850's, and especially so for one who was married to a Peabody and was a representative overseas of his government. If anyone deserved the luxury of waffling the issue, it was Hawthorne. But as one might expect from a man who wrote Pierce's campaign biography, Hawthorne was against abolition. The practical reason was that it was not worth fighting about; the real reason was that Hawthorne was temperamentally averse to stirring up the order of things. Although he disliked slavery on principle, he apparently accepted black inferiority and was not sanguine about what the slaves' lot would be if they were freed. Thus he follows the John C. Calhoun-George Fitzhugh line on wage-slavery versus chattel-slavery, and avers that the institution is not all that bad but will have to fade away gradually. Given his opinion of even mild cranks in the reforming avocation, one might imagine Hawthorne's feelings on John Brown. But the reality is severe enough: "Nobody was ever more justly hanged," was his opinion, and he confessed "a certain intellectual satisfaction" at his hanging because of Brown's "preposterous miscalculation of possibilities."

Hawthorne's position on the slavery crisis is what one might expect, but there are surprises here and there. For instance, he signed a Free-Soil petition, and later advocated secession as the war dragged on. Yet he was able to say, "I have not . . . the slightest sympathy for the slaves." The more Hawthorne is read on the slavery question, the more it becomes obvious that he was as divided as the country. But he was anti-abolition to the last.

Hawthorne is never more a negative liberal than the realm of individual economic endeavor. He is a veritable personification of the Jacksonian situation and attitudes of the man on his way to financial independence,

untrammelled by governmental let or hindrance. That Hawthorne's vocation was provided him by the spoils system only adds a certain piquantly metaphoric appropriateness to the situation. In the aftermath of his acceptance of the Liverpool consulship, he wrote to a friend that "a man has no claim upon his fellow creatures, beyond bread and water, and a grave, unless he can win it by his own strength and skill." He then proceeded to clear $30,000 during his term as consul, all perfectly legally. He had not always been of this go-getter frame of mind. His stories of the 1830's and 1840's are sharply satirical of accumulators. And in his Journal one finds this revealing 1842 entry: "The fight with the world — the struggle of a man among men — the agony of the universal effort to wrench the means of life from a host of greedy competitors — all this seems like a dream to me." That he felt himself unequipped for the race does not mean he disapproves of the running of it; but he deplores the necessity while playing by the rules. Once in office, however, Hawthorne became a quintessential Jacksonian. It would seem that he had no anxieties or nights of lost sleep concerning the conversion of a government post to his own satrapy. That was the nature of offices. They were merely arenas for economic opportunities at another level of endeavor.

Another area in which to examine Hawthorne may be the crucial one. What were his attitudes to the *demos*? Here is perhaps the unlikeliest area of all for him to be a Jacksonian. It would seem that this writer of moral allegories of the most refined and profound sort, a semi-recluse in his youth, a man conscious of his ambivalent relationship among doers, would shrink from the press of the multitude. But for whatever reasons — and we shall speculate on them later — he apparently was always a committed egalitarian. His family continually criticized his choice of playmates, and, later, his friends. Pierce and Bridge, for example, were not high-toned enough, being mere politicians. Further, his choice of writing as a career would seem to assure a non-gregarious existence. He chose it over the ministry, the law, or medicine for a rather curious reason, accountable in no other way than his totally egalitarian inclination: he became a writer because he wanted to be a common man, and not put himself above his fellow man.[9] Admittedly this may be a callow youth talking in the 1820's, but it does demonstrate an early leaning to an egalitarian creed.

As one might expect, Hawthorne's fiction mirrors this point of view. His early work is filled with the recurring theme of the isolato, the person who shuts himself off from his fellow man. These misguided characters suffer various calamities ranging from committing suicide by jumping into a lime

kiln, to catching smallpox from a cape of aristocratic cut and material. [10] Isolation or prideful separation is the deadliest sin in the Hawthorne universe. Of course, this is one of the sins committed by the reformers, who shut themselves away from the common run of humanity by their singleminded intellectualization. And in Jacksonian America, when even the Whigs learned to whisky barrel and log-cabin it with the best, to give oneself airs was to incur the wrath of the many, surely one of the reasons James Fenimore Cooper's career ended when it did.

If one is an ideological democrat one probably hates aristocracy. Thus it was with Hawthorne -- at least those last pretensions of American aristocracy, like the Pyncheon family in *The House of the Seven Gables.* This is the kind of established system that Hawthorne could not abide. In this novel he shows two kinds of aristocrats: Judge Pyncheon, an exploiter and manipulator, and Hepzibah and Clifford, both fossils. It is no wonder that Hawthorne ends by being Holgrave's friend even though he is a radical, for he is everything the Pyncheons are not --- vital and straightforward, ready to convert his art to practical use.

But Hawthorne's trip to England gave him more than a comfortable living. It also afforded him a chance to see a real aristocracy. For a man with a sense of history and a sense of the fitness of things, England was a sore temptation. It is extremely difficult to pin him down on whether America could improve by adding some tradition and respect for antiquity. The Hawthorne canon is replete with contradictory statements about the relative merits of England and America. One almost feels that the comments depended upon Hawthorne's mood at any given time. At any rate, his oscillating attitudes testify to the fact that he was no longer the totally committed advocate of "Young America" that he had been when he arrived. From an expansive nationalist and exporter of the democratic ethos he had become a "mere" patriot.

What may be said in conclusion about Hawthorne as liberal? Admittedly, that word has undergone so many torsional stresses as to be practically useless -- but not quite. If one assumes it to signify a New Deal mentality of benevolent interventionism, Hawthorne is an abject reactionary. Present writer admits an unease about using the word. But if we use the definition operating in the time of Hawthorne, he passes the test with ease. At this distance he does not seem an attractive figure. Indeed, as he has inevitably been distorted here, he is something of a hypocrite. But the age was a complicated one, and Hawthorne may serve as a benchmark. The Jacksonian

creed was subscribed to by many for many reasons. Such a crowd of disparate groups: "urban proletariat, rising middle classes, agrarian goodfolk, classical economists" [11] former Federalists, declining middle classes, hard and soft money men; the list is as paradoxical as it is long. Hawthorne fits better than most. His reason for becoming a Jacksonian is as simple as one could want; he admired, as a child, Old Hickory. For whatever speculative value it is worth, it may be that he also felt a need to compensate for his aristocratic and Federalist upbringing. He then associated with confirmed Democrats in college. He was what he always said he was, "a confirmed Democrat in principle." If his party performance was disappointing, it may be that his friends wanted no more from him than what he felt able to give --- what were friends for? And by the standards of the day he was a faithful "liberal" as well.

NOTES

1. Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy* (New York: Atheneum, 1967), p. 274.

2. The interesting conspiracy theory is to be found in Robert Cantwell. *Nathaniel Hawthorne: The American Years* (New York: Rinehart & Company, 1948), passim. Although occasionally verbose and labored, this book contains among its conjectures a large amount of sheer fact and valuable quotation. It may be called encyclopedic. I have leaned heavily on Cantwell, as well as on two other classic works on Hawthorne which I will cite here: Lawrence Sargent Hall, *Hawthorne: Critic of Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944); and Randall Stewart, *Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948). All the quotations by or pertaining to Hawthorne may be found in these three books, unless otherwise cited.

3. Hawthorne's supporters constantly advanced his literary achievements as a factor -- indeed, occasionally, the *determining* factor -- to be considered in his position-seeking. One might imagine the reception this approach got among the regular run of cast-iron spoilsmen, but Bancroft, himself a man of letters, perhaps understood this almost obligatory avenue of appeal better than most. Therefore Bancroft's reticence should be noted. Spoils jobs were not just plums to be picked --- even for a *literatus* who had intimate connections among Democrats, Peabodys and Mannings. See Cantwell, especially, on this point.

4. See Benson, Chapter V, "Positive versus Negative Liberalism."

5. Michael Lebowitz, "The Jacksonians: Paradox Lost;" in Barton J. Bernstein, ed., *Towards a New Past* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968), p. 70.

6. Benson, pp. 106-109, provides a summary of the views and careers of these archetypal Jacksonians.

7. There is an excellent short account of Legget, the Alain of America, in Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), pp. 186-205.

8. Allen Flint, "Hawthorne's Political and Social Themes," *Dissertation Abstracts,* 27 (1966), 1820A (Minnesota).

9. Herbert W. Schneider, "The Democracy of Hawthorne," *Emory University Quarterly,* 22 (1966), 123-132.

10. Respectively, "Ethan Brand" and "Lady Eleanore's Mantle."

11. Lebowitz, p. 65.

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Toasts and Slogans in Jacksonian Political Rhetoric

THE HOUSE of Representatives' selection of John Quincy Adams to be seventh President of the United States set the stage for the highly innovative campaign leading to the popular election of Andrew Jackson in 1828. The presidential contest of 1824 had been a four-man race in which Jackson, to the surprise of many, led in both popular and electoral votes. John C. Calhoun, who had dropped out of the presidential contest, won the vice-presidency easily. None of the presidential candidates won a majority of the electoral votes. Hence the selection of a president devolved upon the House of Representatives, which, voting by state chose among the three men having the highest number of electoral votes. In fourth place and excluded from consideration, Henry Clay, a formidable power in Congress, urged the election of Adams. Ignoring considerable advice to the contrary, representatives from Kentucky, Ohio and Missouri—three states which had given their entire electoral vote to Clay—joined others to give Adams thirteen of twenty-four states and the presidency.

Only a week before a Pennsylvania newspaper had carried the bold accusation, already well-traveled in the Washington rumor mills, that Clay had been offered the State Department in return for his support of Adams. Within a few days after being designated President-elect, retiring Secretary of State Adams announced that he would be succeeded by Henry Clay. Aware that Clay's friends in the recent campaign had billed the Kentuckian as "Harry of West," General Jackson, in conveying the news to a close friend, wrote: "So you see, the *Judas* of the West has closed the contract and will receive the thirty pieces of silver."[1]

The appearance of the "Corrupt Bargain" charge provided initial impetus for the election of Jackson in 1828. Immediately the Calhoun men rushed

to join the Jacksonians in opposition to the Adams-Clay "Coalition." Some politically inastute appointments and utterances by the new President, debate over the merits of sending delegates to the Panama Conference, and well orchestrated attacks upon administration land and patronage practices paved the way for an anti-administration congressional alliance. Such an alliance emerged in the early weeks of 1827 when New York's Martin Van Buren led the Radicals—those self-consciously Jeffersonian supporters of William H. Crawford in the campaign of 1824—into the anti-administration camp. From the moment of its birth this newly coalesced group proclaimed emphatically, if somewhat vaguely, its devotion to the republican principles of Jefferson and the presidential candidacy of Jackson.[2]

Skillful and innovative politicians set out to construct a political party. Central committees in Nashville and Washington prepared and distributed the party message through a rapidly growing and party-connected system of newspapers, state and local meetings, conventions and committees. The Jacksonian organizers converted to their own purposes such public occasions as militia musters and Independence Day celebrations; they staged other massive public political celebrations such as those of January 8, to commemorate Jackson's victory at New Orleans, or September 10, the date of Perry's victory on Lake Erie. Jackson's "Old Hickory" nickname provided a useful symbol. Partisans carried hickory canes or sticks while boisterous gatherings planted hickory trees or erected hickory poles to initiate the Democratic party tradition of "Pole Rasin's."[3]

Among the strikingly modern characteristics of the Jackson campaign of 1828 was the expense. Robert V. Remini has estimated that the election of Jackson cost approximately one million dollars, part of which came from the public treasury by such means as state and federal government printing contracts and extensive use of the franking privilege by propaganda-dispensing Jacksonian congressmen. This campaign saw the first extensive use of "gimmicks" to enlist and stimulate popular interest and participation.[4]

Among those gimmicks were the newly coined slogans and toasts of the 1828 campaign. While the well-attended dinner followed by one or more speeches and both prepared and volunteer toasts was not new to American politics, the rhetoric on these occasions as well as the slogans which accompanied their partisan notices spoke, by design, to the unique circumstances of that presidential contest. The slogans and toasts, distilling partisan appeals into no more than sentence length affirmations, should offer short, succinct summaries of the apparently successful appeals Jacksonian politicians

addressed to the electorate from the Independence Day celebrations of 1827 through the presidential election of 1828.

Beginning in the 1820's and enduring to this day, Americans have differed over the significance of these political appeals. Generally speaking, those hostile to Jacksonian Democracy have ridiculed the partisan rhetoric as claptrap, while more sympathetic observers have found substance, even political philosophy, in the rhetoric.[5]

Recent studies continue the dispute. In 1958 Glyndon G. Van Deusen, author of the Jacksonian volume in the New American Nation Series, reaffirmed his consensus view of history in an article entitled "Some Aspects of Whig Thought and Theory in the Jacksonian Period." After identifying the major characteristics of Whig thought, Van Deusen concluded that between Whigs and Democrats, "divergences that existed . . . were more over means than over ultimate ends."[6]

Marvin Meyers continued the controversy in the preface to the 1960 edition of *The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief.* Meyers' book had examined the rhetoric and concluded that the Jacksonians sought preservation of the virtues of a simple agrarian republic. Clinging to this thesis, Meyers responded categorically to those who would dismiss or minimize the significance of political rhetoric:

> What emerged from their political talk then, was . . . a persuasion: a broad judgment of public affairs informed by common sentiments and beliefs about the good life in America. The historical observer of Jacksonian Democracy who does not watch the politician's mouth misses . . . the main intention of the movement and the principal source of its attraction for the political public.[7]

Denying the significance of the rhetorical combat, Richard P. McCormick's *The Second American Party System: Party Formation in the Jacksonian Era* dealt extensively and almost exclusively with party structure and the legal environment in which it developed. McCormick announced his concurrence with Maurice Duverger's assessment "that American parties are above all electoral machines" and propounded the thesis "that the second American party system had its origins in the successive contests for the presidency between 1824 and 1840." McCormick concluded that "the 'presidential question,' rather than doctrinal disputes was the axis around which politics revolved."[8]

In 1967 Major L. Wilson examined "The Concept of Time and the Political Dialogue in the United States, 1828-1848" and pointed to what he considered the "limitations of a consensus view. . . . Preoccupation with agreement obscures the real meaning of the differences separating Americans."

Wilson found significant differences between Whigs and Democrats over "the kind of liberal society to be built." Whigs sought "Qualitative change through time" while Democrats sought "quantitative growth across space." Whigs, stressing continuity, valued tradition and order while they strove for orderly progress. The Jacksonians, on the other hand, "sought to secure the freedom of an eternal present." The Jacksonians, Wilson concluded, "wanted the government to leave the people alone and the Whigs wanted it to help shape the future."[9]

Lynn L. Marshall's 1967 article, "The Strange Stillbirth of the Whig Party," also challenged the consensus view. Examining the political rhetoric surrounding the opening of the momentous Bank War in the summer of 1832, Marshall found a major difference between those who favored and those who opposed re-charter. "The Jackson party," Marshall wrote, "was immediately voter oriented, and the proto-Whigs, leader oriented."[10]

The most recent volume-length study of the era, Edward Pessen's 1969 *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics,* attached no such significance to rhetoric. Both parties, in Pessen's view, "seemed interested in political principles primarily insofar as talking about them was likely to attract voters . . . it was office above all that they yearned for. Ambition, not ideology was the prime mover." According to Pessen, in this "age of materialism and opportunism" the Whigs' general theory of government was superior to that of the Democrats, but neither of the major parties of the era came to grips with the "real issues" facing the nation. Clearly, Pessen lamented that the era's "demagogy, barbecues, concentration on personalities, slander, and insult had the serious role of fostering a political system dominated by major parties that followed expediency rather than principle."[11]

Pessen's conclusion resembled that offered a century earlier by the first major Jackson biographer, James Parton, whose summary judgment of Jackson read: "The good which he effected has not continued; while the evil he began remains."[12] No doubt, some of the more reflective Whigs of that era reached conclusions quite similar to those of Parton and Pessen; and surely there were Jacksonian Democrats who saw rhetorical and ideological distinctions such as those pointed out by Meyers, Wilson and Marshall.

The enduring controversy concerning the seriousness and/or significance of Jacksonian political rhetoric points to the profound impact of the observer's frame of reference upon his perception of a given aspect of

American political history. In the absence of reliable polygraph results, the question of the honesty and/or sincerity of most political rhetoric is irresoluble. The mere quantity of such rhetoric in America carries the presumptions that: (1) it has served some purpose; and (2) politicians have thought it mattered what they said. Insights available from the social scientists may offer some understanding of the former, and samples of the rhetoric should indicate what it was that politicians thought important.

Rhetoric contributed to the growth of popular partisan consciousness and identification. Only a relatively few politically powerful persons take political actions having directly observable consequences. For the electorate as a whole, politics is "a passing parade of abstract symbols, yet a parade which our experience teaches us to be [either] a benevolent or a malevolent force. . . ."[13] Politics are significant because this is the means by which, for example, persons are incarcerated, life is taken, wealth is conferred. Political scientist Murray Edelman has urged that political analysis should deal not only with how some use political activity to get specific desirables but also how the public feels about and responds to such political activity. Controversial political action may become what the social scientists call a condensation symbol--one which evokes one or more emotions condensed into a single symbol and one whose validity is insusceptible to immediate objective verification. Remoteness is a common characteristic of such symbols.[14]

A controversial political act may become a condensation symbol, symbolizing either a threat or reassurance, because the individual cannot know the ultimate objective consequences of the act. An art form consists of such condensation symbols, and like an abstract political symbol, it serves as a vehicle for expression rather than as an instrument for change. The meaning is not in the symbol, it is in society, in men. Hence, a given news item has different meaning for different individuals, and for each that act or event is apt to appear part of a pattern which is either reassuring or threatening to that individual and his group. What threatens one reassures the other, and each has some awareness of the other's view; thus every age is an age of crisis. Witness the repetition of the enduring phrase about "the times that try men's souls."[15]

This and similar lines appeared frequently in the political rhetoric of 1827 and 1828. Amid crisis or chaos, men naturally seek meaning and order; ritual provides a sense of both. A simplified model from which incongruous elements have been removed, characterized by conformity and satisfaction, ritual is a "psychologically effective" means of encouraging conviction and

inducing behavior.[16] Among the symbolic forms used extensively in the Jackson campaign was the ritual of the political dinner, which united the participants in a common enterprise, where carefully chosen words reassured, reaffirmed, and promoted a self-satisfying assurance born of the awareness of conformity. The toasts, following a meal, introductions and brief remarks, and the inevitably lengthy speech, came near the conclusion of the celebration and provided the culmination of the ritual.

In common with most campaign rhetoric these toasts consisted largely of the repetition among concurring minds of clichés or broadly shared concepts, rather than novel or untested ideas. Such reaffirmations tended to dull rather than to arouse the critical faculties. Edelman suggested that "Participation of this sort in an emotionally compelling act, in which each participant underlines its reality and seriousness for every other is the most potent form of political persuasion."[17] Such recently-heard chants as "Four More Years" or "Nixon Now" served less to recruit than to re-dedicate.

Slogans and toasts in the Jacksonian campaign of 1828 served to affirm common agreement and to attach such shared concepts, ideas, interests or aspirations to a particular candidate or ticket. Of necessity, this species of political rhetoric employed carefully worded lines and umbrella phrases; but it was not bland. Rather, the spirit of crisis permeated the Jacksonian rhetoric which assumed both that there were major differences between the parties of 1828 and that the outcome of the election would affect significantly the course of the nation. Much criticism of Jacksonian rhetoric has contained the highly questionable assumption that to impugne the merits of Jacksonian utterances is to dismiss their significance; but surely the prevalence of certain concepts need not be related to their intrinsic validity. The Jacksonian political toasts and slogans should provide as accurate a reflection as one can hope to find of what these political participants of 1827-28 thought, or said they thought, was important to their society.

The successful party of 1828 obviously attached great importance to its candidate, Andrew Jackson. Just as his name frequently appeared at the head of the party ticket, Jackson was the most common subject of his partisans' political toasts. His fame, of course, rested primarily upon the victory over the British at New Orleans; and his boosters made the most of it. Hailed as "the conqueror of the conquerors of Europe,"[18] the Old Hero's friends beseeched providence, "May he triumph over his opponents as he did over his enemies on the 8th of January, 1815,"[19] or, as another admirer phrased it, "May his political career be as successful, and as much to his

country's honour, as the unparalleled Victory, the anniversary of which we this day celebrate."[20]

The anniversary of American independence and the military fame of Jackson permitted extensive and favorable comparison between the victors of "the battle of New Orleans and the battle of Yorktown . . . ."[21] Repeatedly Jacksonians hailed "the second savior of his country."[22] The prophecy that "Like the immortal Washington, being first in war, he will be first in peace, because he is first in the hearts of his countrymen,"[23] appeared amon numerous approximations of that famous tribute to Washington.[24]

The Administration's supporters frequently summarized their denigration of Jackson's qualifications in the assertion that the "Military Chieftain" obviously lacked capacity for civil government; this was the point of the notorious "Coffin Hand Bill" charging that Jackson had murdered innocent troops in his command.[25] It was also the point of an anti-Jackson toast offered at one Fourth of July celebration: "Gen. Jackson—one foot in New Orleans and the other on the turrets of the capitol—too great a stride."[26]

In response, Jacksonians offered toasts to "*George Washington.* A successful 'Military Chieftain,' " and to "*Andrew Jackson.* A successful 'Military Chieftain.' "[27] Toasts directed more explicitly to Jackson's critics extolled "The memory of Washington—The military chieftain, the patriot and statesman, his services in the field and in the cabinet, a complete refutation of the peace party doctrines of 1828,"[28] or predicted that "the American people . will deal with such military chieftains as they did with Washington."[29] Common comparisons included, "Like Cincinnatus,"[30] "like the Immortal Washington,"[31] "Washington and Jackson—American Liberty was obtained by the one, and sustained by the other,"[32] and the couplet:

Andrew Jackson excelled by none
And equalled only by Washington.[33]

As Marvin Meyers has pointed out, the Jacksonians claimed the mantle of Jeffersonianism and promised to restore the virtues of the Old Republic. The Jeffersonian connection had a prominent role in the campaign of 1828, as in the toast to "Jefferson and Jackson—The Solon and Cincinnatus of the nation."[34] In allusions to the questionable claim that Jefferson had endorsed Jackson's candidacy, the celebrants of 1828 offered such toasts as: "The Hero of New Orleans—the soldier of two wars, and who, in the language of Jefferson 'has filled the measure of his country's

glory.' "[35] A New York Jacksonian offered a toast to Louisiana, currently entertaining the Old Hero in celebration of the thirteenth anniversary of the victory: "*Our sister Louisiana*—Added to the republic by the wisdom of Jefferson, and defended from invasion by the valour of Jackson; may she remember her benefactors."[36] A rather lengthy toast which suggested the strength of emotional involvement addressed Jackson, and, repeating Jefferson's alleged indorsement, continued:

> Like Washington and Jefferson, he is made a target at which political knaves aim their shafts of calumny and detraction; but protected by the mantle of sterling purity, he is armed in proof, and stands unwounded and unhurt, while the acclamations of grateful freemen drown the barking of the curs of faction, who hate him for his gallant achievements.[37]

The theme of the superiority of Jackson's virtue to that of his detractors appeared regularly at Democratic celebrations. One who pointed to this apparent difference in virtue offered a toast to "Our cause, not supported by corruption, not fostered by the prostration of female character [a reference to the scurrilous charge that Jackson and his wife Rachel had lived in adultery], not propped up by a display of coffins . . . ." Short and to the point were those which asserted: "Old Hickory, full of spruce and crowned with laurels,"[38] or, "*Andrew Jackson*—Doubly endeared to us as the subject of the most wanton defamation,"[39] or, "Like burnished steel, the harder he is rubbed the brighter he shines,"[40] or, "*Jackson at Orleans and Clay at Ghent*—The one winning battles the other money."[41] A partisan contrast of the Old Hero and J. Q. Adams almost mired in a myriad of metaphors hailed "Andrew Jackson—Southern Hickory, a better material for the corner-post of a Republican Building than a degenerate scion from a federal stock."[42] John William Ward, whose book *Andrew Jackson, Symbol for an Age,* described how the Old Hero served as a symbol for nature, providence and will, might have received his initial inspiration from the toast, "*General Andrew Jackson*—Nature made him great; he made himself honest; and the people will make him president."[43]

Several of the toasts above cited touch upon the contention, frequently connected to other themes, that the Presidency would be an appropriate reward for Jackson's previous public service. One such toast declared Jackson to be

> the distinguished hero, the true, the incorruptible patriot; from his country he hath acquired never dying laurels, glory, honor and renown—his achievements merit a

> nation's gratitude, and soon may receive a due expression of it. Tried in the council, such a man cannot fail to prove great as in the field.[44]

A toast addressed to "Washington—First in war, first in peace—" made an abrupt transition to assert "Jackson, like him, may be rewarded by a generous people, by giving him the highest office in their gift."[45] A slightly more original admirer hailed "the patriotic soldier who could dine upon acorns in the wilderness, is entitled to the best dish upon the presidential table."[46] Another celebrant linked this concept of the presidency as a gift to the most prevalent theme of the Jackson campaign: "The Presidency of the United States—The highest earthly honor, when the free gift of a free people, but a shame and a reproach to the incumbent, who reaches it by intrigue, bargain, and management."[47]

"Bargain, intrigue, and management," or some combination thereof appeared frequently in the Jacksonian toasts and slogans of 1827-28. Such means, they reiterated, threatened subversion of popular rule. This contention introduced a toast to:

> The voice of the people the fundamental principle of a republican form of government, may it triumph in 1828 and '29, and confer on Gen. Andrew Jackson, the first office in the gift of the American people: his faithful services and qualifications entitle him to that honor.[48]

The Jacksonians maintained that the "Corrupt Bargain" had precipitated "The crisis of our republican institutions" and promised the inauguration of "the era of reform."[49] A western enthusiast defined "The Cause of Gen. Jackson" for himself and his fellow Jackson men as "a cause of principle, the cause of a majority against the minority; it is the cause of liberty, the cause of the constitution, the cause of our country."[50] "Let the '*will*' of the people be done," implored one Jacksonian, while another toasted "The will of the Majority."[51]

The "Corrupt Bargain" charge permitted the Jacksonians to question the republicanism and honesty of the Administration. "The important question to be decided . . . Shall the rights of the people be bartered for Kentucky Clay?"[52] A toast to "John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay" observed, "They won the game by tricks, though the honors were against them";[53] and another held up to scorn "*The Coalition*—Conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity."[54]

Treason in one form or another appeared among the sins charged to the

Coalition. Perhaps intending to reassure former Federalists within the Jacksonian ranks as well as to challenge the Administration's credibility, a Pennsylvanian offered the toast:

> John Quincy Adams---*A traitor to all parties.* When the "last barque of Federalism" was sinking, he not only cowardly deserted it, but basely slandered his struggling crew as a passport to the enemy. Can this man be trusted . . . ?[55]

With no show of sympathy for the Secretary of State, a Jacksonian toasted "Henry Clay the traitor---may he ride a porcupine saddle, a hard trotting horse, a long journey, without money or friends."[56]

The "Corrupt Bargain" and the "Jeffersonian" themes merged into one in Jacksonian charges that Adams and his Coalition represented the "Aristocracy" ranged against the "democracy" and continued the nefarious war of Federalism upon republicanism launched in the closing years of the previous century.[57] Typical of the common contention was the toast to *"The Republican Party of the United States.* Guided by JEFFERSON, it survived the reign of *terror*---guided by JACKSON, may it survive the reign of corruption."[58]

Lesser themes of the Jacksonian campaign of 1828 appeared also in the toasts offered at these partisan celebrations. The Jacksonians introduced the use of appeals directed to specific voting blocks.[59] The yeomanry of Pennsylvania received praise for "their greatful, honest hearts, too firm and wise to be swayed or intimidated by hobgobins, ghosts, coffins, perjury or forgery."[60] Jacksonians referred to "The Farmer of Tennessee"[61] and predicted that "The farmers of Pennsylvania will lend him a 'strong hand' at the threshing in October next."[62] In an outburst which no doubt contributed to the tradition of baroque oratory, a Kentuckian hailed:

> ANDREW JACKSON, the farmer of Tennessee, the soldier of his country, equally endeared to us by his republican principles and his invaluable public services. Whilst the Mississippi rolls its waves, or gratitude is accounted a virtue, we will remember his proud achievements, and will visit with our utter detestation his infamous calumniators.[63]

Aware of the sensitivity of immigrant groups, the Jacksonians, in some states at least, took care to recognize their republican virtue. In New York, home of numerous recently arrived voters, the aristocratic Van Renssalaer, serving as a vice-president of the January 8, 1828 celebration, dutifully offered a toast to:

The native and naturalized citizens of the United States---United by the strong ties of common interest, and joint efforts in the great cause of civil and religious liberty in America. Perdition to the policy that would sow among them the seeds of jealousy and discord by a second alien and sedition law.[64]

One of several instances in which Jacksonians capitalized upon politically inept utterances of their opponents provided the materials for a toast to:

The Germans and Irish of Pennsylvania. They may be called "stupid" and "turbulent" by the subjects of the house of Braintree [Adams' home]--- but they possess sufficient intelligence and patriotism to protect them from being guiled by "coffin and monument" scare crows, or forced into subjection by the denunciation of an Adams' Secretary of the Navy.[65]

The Irish should have been heartened to hear "Old Ireland" hailed as "the land that gave birth to the father of Gen. A. Jackson,"[66] or to hear a Jacksonian celebrant wish: "May the oppressors of the Irish, the enemies of Jackson, a descendant of the Emerald Isle, ever meet the same reception he gave them at New Orleans," followed by a chorus of "Erin Go Bragh."[67] Remembering that the Irish, too, had had troubles in '98, and promising social uplift, a Jacksonian in St. Louis toasted:

The brave sons of Erin---who made the bold attempt for liberty in 98---they will not be refused a shelter under the administration of Andrew Jackson as the next President of the United States.

The hickory and shamrock united,
they cannot be blighted
But will flourish and twine,
on the President's chair eighteen-twenty nine.[68]

The object of such rhetoric, perhaps, was more clearly reflected in the toast: "May the friends of John Q. Adams, at the ensuing election, be as scarce as the snakes and toads in Ireland."[69]

Realizing rather late the extent of the Administration's difficulties in the summer of 1828, Clay, Webster and members of the cabinet began stumping the country on behalf of Adams. The Jacksonians professed dismay. Of "*The Travelling Cabinet*" one Jacksonian lamented, "It is the first, known in our history; it is for the people to say whether it shall be the last."[70] Another celebrant offered the pun: "The travelling cabinet, they have eaten their dinners, and will in due season get their deserts."[71]

While many toasts dealt with more than one common theme of the campaign, few attempted the difficult task of summarizing the party's message. One version of a toast approximating this task attempted to define the party's conception of its historic role:

> Gen. George Washington, chief in erecting our government on the republican track---Thomas Jefferson, chief in bringing back our government to its republican track in 1801---Gen. Andrew Jackson, chief holder in readiness to restore our government to its republican track in 1828.[72]

This profession of fear for the republic coupled with the promise of reform expressed the essence of the Jacksonian rhetorical message of 1827-28. In graphic language confident Jacksonians hailed "Andrew Jackson—the political Hercules who is to 'cleanse the Augean stable.' "[73]

As the date of the election grew near, partisan newspapers frequently featured prominently displayed tickets accompanied by a variety of slogans and explanations. These, too, were attempts to convey in a few words the significance of the contest. Some Jacksonian editors had already added "Jackson and Reform" or "Andrew Jackson is the candidate of the People" to the front or editorial page, and some such caption frequently accompanied the ticket, which sometimes included the names of candidates for offices other than those of President, Vice-President, and Presidential Elector. A Pennsylvania editor spread the banner "*Gratitude! Glory! Patriotism!*" above an eagle atop a shield beneath which was the reminder "REPUBLICS *are* not UNGRATEFUL."[74] The caption "THE PEOPLE'S NOMINATION!" preceded the names of Jackson, Calhoun, and the remainder of the ticket.[75] The New York state party organ used the heading "Republican National Ticket." A brief statement pointing to Jackson's services and Jefferson's presumed sanction declared: "Honor and gratitude to the man who has filled the measure of his country's glory."[76]

One other element common to the political ritual of 1828, while technically neither toast nor slogan, contained elements of both. There were songs. In at least some instances, carefully selected songs, such as "Hail Columbia," "Old Virginia," "Life let us Cherish," or "Erin Go Bragh," followed each of the formal toasts.[77] Under the title "THE VOTERS OF KENTUCKY" the Jacksonian newspapers circulated a new campaign version of the popular song, "The hunters of Kentucky," the original glorification of the frontiersmen's exploits of January 8, 1815 and the ancestor of Johnny Horton's

1960 hit song "The Battle of New Orleans."[78] A somewhat shorter musical summary of the importance of electing Old Hickory employed the tune, "The Campbells are Coming:"

> Columbia's eagle o're him flies
> Columbia's freemen around him rise,
> And all with stern resolve proclaim,
> Their much loved chieftain's deathless name.
> Oh! JACKSON is coming oho! oho!
> Oh! JACKSON is coming oho!
> Jackson is coming his country to rule,
> A republican pure from the Jefferson school.
> With Roman virtue for his guide,
> He comes! he comes his country's pride;
> To drive corruption to her den,
> And turn John Adams, out again.
> Oh! Jackson is coming, &c.
> Hark! Hark! the loud huzzas! hear,
> The home of victory is near,
> And millions unborn of the brave and the free,
> Shall repose in the shade of the hickory tree.
> Oh! Jackson is coming, &c.[79]

The shortest summary of what the Jacksonians said they thought they had been trying to do for the last year and a half appeared over an item announcing the certainty of Jackson's victory. The bold headline proclaimed, "THE REPUBLIC IS SAFE!!"[80]

NOTES

1. Andrew Jackson to William B. Lewis, February 14, 1825, in *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson,* Vol. III, ed. by John Spencer Bassett, (Washington, D.C.: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1828), p. 334.

2. Robert V. Remini, *The Election of Andrew Jackson* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1963), pp. 25-26, 34-61.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-71, 108-111.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-86.

5. See Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., "Andrew Jackson versus the Historians, "*Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* 44 (March, 1958), 615-634; and Alfred A. Cave, *Jacksonian Democracy and the Historians* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964).

6. Glyndon G. Van Deusen, "Some Aspects of Whig Thought and Theory in the Jacksonian Period," *American Historical Review,* 63 (January, 1958), 321

7. Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion, Politics and Belief* (1960 ed.; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), pp. vii-viii.

8. Richard P. McCormick, *The Second American Party System, Party Formation in the Jacksonian Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), pp. 4, 13,

353. Duverger's *Political Parties*, 2nd edition (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1959), is a pioneer attempt at a genuinely comparative study of political parties in a number of countries.

9. Major L. Wilson, "The Concept of Time and the Political Dialogue in the United States, 1828-1848," *American Quarterly*, 19 (Winter, 1967), 620, 621, 624, 632, 634.

10. Lynn L. Marshall, "The Strange Stillbirth of the Whig Party," *American Historical Review*, 72 (January, 1967), p. 448.

11. Edward Pessen, *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics* (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1969), pp. 156, 351, 315, 178.

12. James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, Vol. III (New York: Mason Brothers, 1860 [Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1967]), p. 695.

13. Murray Edelman, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964), p. 5.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7, 12.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13. Cf. Meyers, *Jacksonian Persuasion*, p. 13, and Wilson, "Concept of Time and the Political Dialogue," pp. 621-622.

16. Edelman, *Symbolic Uses of Politics*, pp. 16-17.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

18. Harrisburg, *Pennsylvania Reporter, and Democratic Herald*, January 11, 1828.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Daily Albany* [New York] *Argus*, January 10, 1828.

21. *Richmond* [Virginia] *Enquirer*, January 15, 1828.

22. *Pennsylvania Reporter*, July 11, 1828; Fayette, *Missouri Intelligencer*, July 5, 1827.

23. *Albany Argus*, January 10, 1828.

24. These circumstances may account for the appearance of military terms and metaphors discussed by Perry M. Goldman, "Political Rhetoric in the Age of Jackson," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 29 (Winter, 1970-71), 360-371.

25. Remini, *Election of Andrew Jackson*, pp. 153-155.

26. *Missouri Intelligencer*, July 5, 1827.

27. Lexington, *Kentucky Gazette*, September 14, 1827.

28. *Pennsylvania Reporter*, July 11, 1828.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Richmond Enquirer*, January 15, 1828.

31. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1827.

32. *Ibid.*, July 27, 1827.

33. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1827.

34. *Ibid.*, July 27, 1828.

35. *Albany Argus*, July 8, 1828.

36. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1828.

37. *Pennsylvania Reporter*, September 19, 1828.

38. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1828.

39. *Albany Argus*, July 15, 1828.

40. *Pennsylvania Reporter*, July 11, 1828.

41. *Albany Argus*, January 10, 1828.

42. *Richmond Enquirer*, July 20, 1827.

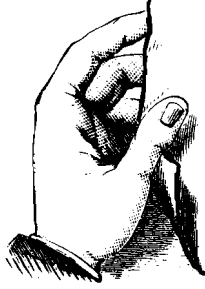
43. *Albany Argus*, January 19, 1828

44. *Ibid.*, July 8, 1828.

45. *Pennsylvania Reporter*, July 11, 1828.

46. *Albany Argus*, July 15, 1828.

47. *Pennsylvania Reporter,* July 11, 1828.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Kentucky Gazette,* September 26, 1828.
50. *Missouri Intelligencer,* July 19, 1827.
51. *Richmond Enquirer,* July 6, 1827.
52. *Pennsylvania Reporter,* July 11, 1828.
53. *Missouri Intelligencer,* July 12, 1827.
54. *Kentucky Gazette,* July 27, 1827.
55. *Pennsylvania Reporter,* July 11, 1828.
56. *Ibid.*
57. Remini, *Election of Andrew Jackson,* pp. 102-104, 108-112, 192.
58. *Richmond Enquirer,* January 17, 1828.
59. Remini, *Election of Andrew Jackson,* pp. 104-107.
60. *Pennsylvania Reporter,* July 11, 1828.
61. *Albany Argus,* July 11, 1828.
62. *Pennsylvania Reporter,* September 19, 1828.
63. *Kentucky Gazette,* September 26, 1828.
64. *Albany Argus,* January 10, 1828.
65. *Pennsylvania Reporter,* September 19, 1828.
66. St. Louis, *Missouri Republican,* July 15, 1828.
67. *Pennsylvania Reporter,* December 11, 1827.
68. *Missouri Republican,* July 15, 1828.
69. *Pennsylvania Reporter,* July 11, 1828.
70. *Kentucky Gazette,* September 26, 1828.
71. *Pennsylvania Reporter,* July 11, 1828.
72. *Missouri Intelligencer,* July 19, 1827.
73. *Richmond Enquirer,* July 6, 1827.
74. Remini, *Election of Andrew Jackson,* pp. 74, 102.
75. *Pennsylvania Reporter,* June 27, 1828. A strikingly similar series of exclamations on behalf of Jackson's candidacy appeared as early as August 26, 1824 in the *St. Louis Enquirer,* edited by Duff Green, subsequently editor of the *United States Telegraph* which played such a prominent role in distributing Jacksonian campaign material from Washington, D.C.
76. *Albany Argus,* September 27, 1828.
77. *Pennsylvania Reporter,* December 11, 1827; *Richmond Enquirer,* July 10, 1827.
78. *Kentucky Gazette,* November 7, 1828.
79. *Ibid.,* July 25, 1828.
80. *Ibid.,* November 7, 1828.



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