

Both Haan's book on Milton's Italian journey and Maselli's edition of the Latin poems serve to remind readers of the importance of locating Milton's poetry in a continental context.

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Julie Ellison, *Cato's Tears and the Making of Anglo-American Emotion* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), XI + 229 pp.

Cato's Tears investigates the cultural history of public emotion. It focuses on the British and American literatures of sensibility and sentiment between the English Exclusion Crisis of 1681 and the end of the Tripolitan War in 1815 in order to trace the relationship between politics, sensibility, and masculinity. The specimen for Julie Ellison's project is "the curiously absorbing figure of the sensitive man" (3). She is motivated by the view that "emotion, including personal emotion felt to be inward or private, is a social phenomenon, though one not separable from bodily response" (5). This means that "[e]motion takes on the defining attributes of social life: it is gendered; it is old or young; it is associated with experienced individual and group identities; it partakes of national character; it assimilates landscapes, architectures, and other geographies. Never univocal or transparent, feeling inheres in the shapes and conventions of social and cultural life" (6). She emphasizes that masculine sensibility is part of the cultural inheritance of all Anglo-American eighteenth- and nineteenth-century intellectuals. Ellison claims that prior to *Cato's Tears* "the dominant discourse of sensibility has never been decisively identified as a masculine political invention, nor have the consequences of this fact been explored" (9). She asserts that Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) captures the ambivalence of masculine sensibility in its mixed signals about how the spectator is implicated in the sympathetic relation. "For Smith, the ideal manifestation of moral sentiment involves a dignified upper-class sufferer whose very self-control provokes his friends to vicarious tears" (10). Smith portrays moral sentiment as a bond between elite males belonging to "the neoclassical scenario of the Roman Stoic surrounded by his sympathetic friends" (10). Ellison's approach is to select texts from drama, poetry, and fiction that have not been substantively discussed before or related to one another.

Chapter 1 examines Nathaniel Lee's *Lucius Junius Brutus* (1680), Otway's *Venice Preserved* (1682), and Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681). Ellison presents these texts as evidence of the Roman republic playing a lead role in the ambivalent masculine culture intrinsic to political legitimization in the early parliamentary period. She then moves to the grandson of the first earl of Shaftesbury, who provoked the Exclusion Crisis. Ellison characterizes the third earl, Anthony Ashley Cooper, in his book *Characteristics* (1711), as the philosopher of a high masculine sensibility that launders the factional passions of the early Whigs while modifying their emotional legacies for the Hanoverian era. The relationship between the two Shaftesburys thus replays, Ellison asserts, the generational drama enacted in the Roman plays between the stern republican and the sensitive younger son or son surrogate.

Chapter 2, "Cato's Tears," is the heart of the book. Here Ellison presents Addison's *Cato* (1713) as the most politically significant drama of the century. She describes Addison dramatizing an extended debate over the relative value of African and Roman cultures. Ellison sees the emotional life of the male citizen represented as negotiating between the domain of civil sensibility where elite male bonding prevails and a more physical, 'wild,' or foreign condition. She observes that the category of race in the eighteenth century signified ethnicity, nationality, and tribe, as well as the ideology of color. In *Cato*, sensitive masculinity relies on cultural comparisons grounded in race in all these senses. She sees similar dynamics in Thomson's *Sophonisba* (1730).

In chapter 3 Ellison investigates how republican manhood merged with sensibility located in mid-eighteenth century writing. Her texts are John Dennis's *Liberty Asserted* (1704), the printed drama *Ponnteach* (1766), attributed (wrongly, Ellison believes), to the American Indian fighter Robert Rogers, and Edward Young's *The Revenge*. On her reading of these, the deep-feeling, fragile man of sensibility is thoroughly masculine, for his emotional nature is crucial to the drama of homosocial relationships.

The "prospect poetry" of Anna Letitia Barbauld and Phillis Wheatley occupies chapter 4, which was the least interesting. Ellison argues that for both poets sensibility is a form of affective hypermobility that allows the speaker to veer between the moods of power and weakness. She contends that fancy gives these writers the authority to address slavery and the politics of race.

Chapter 5 examines three American poets: Sarah Wentworth Morton, Ann Eliza Bleecker, and Philip Freneau. Ellison emphasizes Morton's advocacy for the emotional potential for whites of virtuous and vanishing Native Americans. In contrast, Bleecker's poems of maternal grief derive their emotional energy from the fear of attack by the Iroquois in upstate New York.¹ Freneau gives his readers a tour of theories of racial origins and comparative colonialism and "fancies" the American nation into existence through the use of a global time and a planetary overview.

In chapter 6 Ellison characterizes Charles Brockden Brown's *Edgar Huntly* (1799) as an unnervingly porous landscape that makes the masculine paranoia about Native Americans central to the meaning of race and land. In the closing chapters of *Edgar Huntly*, Ellison is most interested by the way in which the sleepwalker Huntly rejects his "stoic mentor" Sarsefield in favor of the Irishman and murderer Clithero who represents "unreason." The chapter ends with a quick study of Royall Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* (1797). On Ellison's analysis of this play, "The exposure of white men to the economy of the Atlantic slave trade fosters patriotism, for sentiment arises from a world of racial difference" (170).

The final chapter tries to link the analyses of masculine sensibility with a diagnosis of contemporary liberal guilt and the revival of conservative libertarianism. Ellison situates her account among various "recent liberal philosophers" (177). The last section of the chapter is entitled "The Return of Cato," and its point of departure is Richard Brookhiser's cover story of the 1996 issue of *Atlantic Monthly*. The article is about George Washington and his concern with courtesy and reputation; it ends with a quotation from Addison's play *Cato*. This is highly significant for Ellison because

1. [On Bleecker in the perspective of the classical tradition see Roxanne M. Gentilcore, "Ann Eliza Bleecker's *Wilderness Pastoral*: Reading Vergil in Colonial America," in this journal (IJCT) 1.4 (Spring 1995), pp. 86-98. — W.H.]

Brookhiser edits the conservative *National Review*, and his point in the *Atlantic* essay is "that the public performance of manly authority is both culturally constructed and highly desirable" (187).

Moreover, Ellison is intrigued by a recent surge of interest in Trenchard and Gordon's *Cato's Letters* that birthed the Cato Institute in Washington, D.C. She reports that the institute's aim of maximizing the impact of conservative intellectuals on public policy is successfully achieved by regularly briefing members of Congress and judges, sponsoring conferences, funding resident fellows, and publishing actively. Ellison thinks "[t]he Cato Institute represents a stoical opposition to liberal sensibility, an exhilarating adamancy that, as we know by now, is historically inseparable from sympathy" (189). Why do the conservative libertarians of this institute take Cato as their emblem? Why do they embrace his model of hard-hearted compassion? Ellison believes it is because "post-cold war secular conservatives with no taste for the religious right find the moral equivalent of war in the role of the stoic citizen" (189). She thinks that "Liberal guilt is generated by the sensation that we all participate in corrupt economies, and that sense of system, most of the time, is history today" (193). Ellison concludes that study of the eighteenth-century interdependence of stoic disinterestedness and weeping men shows that "libertarian toughness arises in order to prevent government from serving as the medium of 'needs talk'" (193).

Let me preface my critical comments with the admission that I am a philosopher trained in the classical tradition. The audience for this book appears to be the cultural historians and literary critics who share Ellison's methodology rather than classicists, philosophers, or other humanists outside her ideological niche. This book struck me as a kaleidoscope of interpretive remarks on a jumbled assortment of books, plays, and poems whose selection by the author nowhere appears guided by any clearly articulated or obviously coherent method. This is not to say that the texts are uninteresting, or that Ellison's observations fail to clarify certain aspects of them. She does a service by bringing to light a unique collection of texts. Each of the chapters, however, in whole or in part, was previously published, and no adequate internal connections between chapters unify the book as a whole. Moreover, rigorous, discursive, structured argument is neglected in place of a dense pastiche of observations. Consequently, *Cato's Tears* is difficult to read and more difficult to fully appreciate.

A further worry is a lack of interest in the *accuracy* of eighteenth-century depictions of Roman Stoicism. For example, failure to distinguish Addison's portrayal of Cato's dramatic performance from real ancient Stoicism leads to the gravely misleading assertion that libertarian tough love is "the stoicism of the nineties" obsessed with sensibility (190). Tom Wolfe's latest bestseller *A Man in Full* offers a much more credible and philosophically informed literary depiction of stoicism in the nineties, for example. Or perhaps Ellison could have looked for the contemporary legacy of ancient Stoicism among philosophical circles, such as Lawrence Becker's *A New Stoicism*.² Instead, Addison's dramatization of Cato and the conservative libertarians' Cato Institute crowd out all other sources of cultural insight. Thus *Cato's Tears* fails to account for the broader and richer classical tradition of Cato and real Roman Stoicism. The result is a curiously narrow view of the connection between some Anglo-American

2. [On Becker's book see William O. Stephens's review article "A Stoicism for Our Time?", in this journal (*IJCT*) 6 (1999/2000), pp. 438-446. — W.H.]

portraits of sensibility from the eighteenth century and the liberal guilt and libertarian sensibility of the last decade.

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Volker Schröder, *La Tragédie du sang d'Auguste. Politique et intertextualité dans Britannicus*, Biblio 17, n° 119 (Tübingen : Gunter Narr Verlag, 1999), 327 pp.

Dès le «Départ» (p. 11 sq.) Volker Schröder fait de la conjonction de deux intérêts distincts un facteur de cohérence pour son étude de *Britannicus* : «il s'agit de mettre [...] en évidence et en valeur le caractère pleinement *politique* de la tragédie ainsi que ses multiples rapports *intertextuels* avec d'autres écrits, anciens et modernes, qui l'entourent et la nourrissent. Ce double protocole de lecture répond à une stratégie de *contextualisation* dont le but n'est pas de "réduire" l'œuvre racinienne à des "faits" ou "sources" extérieurs mais de rendre justice à sa *spécificité* historique et de déployer ses significations à partir d'une prise en compte élargie et approfondie de sa situation dans une certaine *conjoncture culturelle*» (p. 11). Rendre au théâtre racinien, par-delà le structuralisme et l'analyse exclusivement psychologique, une dimension politique qu'un large consensus critique lui dénie—and les premières pages sont consacrées à *Andromaque* au moins autant qu'à *Britannicus*, parce que les débats autour de la survie d'Astyanax, invoqué dans la «mythistoire» du régime louis-quatorzien, permettent de comprendre le rapport des textes de Racine avec l'histoire et la tradition—, corriger la vision devenue traditionnelle d'un lien sans véritable passion entre Junie et *Britannicus*, et décapier l'image du jeune homme, quasi universellement décreté falot aujourd'hui que la familiarité avec les textes qui ont présidé à l'élaboration de la pièce s'est distendue : il y a un parti pris de réhabilitation dans cette entreprise. De manière fort convaincante, l'auteur rappelle que la pièce peut résonner des préoccupations politiques contemporaines sans que la cour de Néron soit la France de Louis XIV. L'analyse est certes focalisée sur une pièce, mais la «restitution "érudite" et "archéologique" [...] de données textuelles et historiques qui, mises en relation avec la tragédie de Racine, sont susceptibles de l'éclairer d'un jour nouveau» (p. 11) vise à «placer cette enquête au ras des mots sur un vaste horizon composé d'éléments apparemment disparates, dont [l'auteur] voudrai[t] montrer la pertinence et l'utilité pour notre compréhension actuelle de la tragédie» (*ibid.*). L'érudition—très vaste—est ici double : d'un côté, les sources antiques (en particulier une étude très minutieuse des textes dont Racine pouvait avoir eu connaissance); de l'autre, les études sur Racine, depuis son époque jusqu'à la nôtre.

S'il voit dans une mise en contexte intertextuelle la clé du sens de la création racinienne dans *Britannicus*, Volker Schröder est soucieux de dégager, non seulement un projet *conscient* plus ou moins *systématique* de la part de Racine, mais un processus de transformation de matériau que cette transformation même autant que le passage du temps a occulté : véritable enquête philologique, *La Tragédie du sang d'Auguste* identifie chez Tacite, Suétone, Sénèque, Dion Cassius et leurs commentateurs et leurs traducteurs-continuateurs, les phrases, les expressions, les mots qui ont servi de matri-

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