

## Index

- Académie de Dijon, 82  
 Adams, Abigail, 105  
 Adams, John, 105  
 Adams, John Quincy, 15  
   class politics and, 119, 128–130  
   Indian removal policies and, 123, 124  
   Jackson and, 104–113, 120–121, 129–130,  
     161–163  
   marriage of, 109–112  
   on morality, 108–109, 123  
   presidential race of 1824 and, 107–109  
   presidential race of 1828 and, 103,  
     108–113, 114, 115–116  
   on shame, 103, 119  
 Adams, Louisa, 105, 109–112  
 African Americans. *see also* civil rights  
   movement  
   in Arendt's discussion of school  
     desegregation, 145n39, 146–151,  
     153–154  
   media images of Black girls, 146n42  
   political activism of, 155, 163–166  
   respectability strategy used by, 162–163  
   stereotypes about, 32–33  
   unashamed citizenship of, 160–161  
   violence against, 157–158, 164, 171–173  
   Wells's antilynching campaign, 154–155  
*aidōs*  
   cosmopolitan critique of, 53–54  
   Cynicism and, 66, 69–72  
   Diogenes' rejection of, 49  
   gender and, 62–63  
   “good” shame and, 120–121  
   identity and recognition politics and, 32  
   intersubjective relations and, 16  
   lament for shame and, 174–176  
   mythology of, 3–12  
   *parrhesia* and, 64–66  
   reappraisal of, 167–176  
   social order and, 20–21  
   Socrates' critique of, 10n32, 14  
   tragedy and, 25–31  
 Alexander, Diogenes' disrespect for, 48, 49  
 Allen, Danielle, 141–142, 143n28, 165–166  
 Ancien Régime, 81–85, 86–87  
 antiphilosophes, 86  
 anti-Semitism, Arendt on, 121n81, 145–146,  
   149–150  
 Antisthenes, 67–69  
 Anzaldúa, Gloria, 32n37, 171  
 Appiah, Anthony, 40, 54–55, 63–64  
 Arendt, Hannah, 14, 26–27, 29n28, 40–41  
   on action and freedom, 145–146  
   on anti-Semitism and shame, 121n81  
   on decline of authority, 16  
   on equalization of the social realm, 160  
   feminist theory and work of, 139–141  
   on girl heroes and absent fathers, 146–151  
   on natality, 150–151  
   on Rousseau, 152–153  
   on school desegregation, 134–137, 151–152,  
     153–154, 163–164  
   shame discourse and, 138, 159  
   shame scholarship and work of, 137–141  
   Tocqueville's democratic theory and, 133  
   on totalitarianism, 153  
   on violent antipolitics, 119  
 aristocracy. *see* elites

- Aristotle, 47
- artifice
- civilizing cosmopolitanism and, 52–55
  - of elites, 123
  - false solace of shame and, 128–130
  - of modernity, 152–153
  - Plato's discussion of, 51–52
  - shame and, 62–63
- Artists Rights Society, xiii
- asceticism, Cynicism and, 70–72
- Athenian values
- aidōs* and, 20–21, 174–176
  - citizenship and, 11
  - critiques of, 47–51
  - Cynicism and, 58, 70–72
  - moral virtue *vs.* democratic politics and, 52–55
  - parrhesia* and, 67–69
  - politics and, 14, 61–62
  - power of wealth and, 62–63
  - Rousseau and, 84–85
  - shame and, 13
  - Socrates and, 56–57
- authenticity
- in civil rights movement, 160–161
  - contextual approach to, 12
  - cosmopolitanism and, 52–55
  - Cynics' ideal of, 14, 65, 69–72
  - dangers in ideology of, 28–29
  - identity and recognition politics and, 31–36
  - Lament That Shame Is Dead and, 73–75, 93–97
  - romanticization of, 56–57
  - Rousseau's ideal of, 15
  - shame and, 6, 10–12, 21–22
  - unashamed citizenship and, 37–43
- Bakhtin, Mikhail, 58–59
- Bartky, Sandra, 33–34
- Bates, Daisy, 134–137
- Beaumont, Gustave de, 103, 114
- Berger, Martin, 164
- Berlant, Lauren, 26–27, 39–40, 41–43
- “beyond the pale” ideology, 22–24
- Grub Street hacks and, 81–82
  - Jackson characterized as, 111–112
  - origins of, 22n6
  - public confession and, 28
  - shame in context of, 126–127
  - Wells's antilynching campaign and, 158–159
- Black Lives Matter, 16, 171–173
- Black political theory, critique of Arendt in, 141–142
- Black Power, 22–24, 160–161
- boundaries, Cynicism's transcendence of, 56
- Brown, Elsa Barkley, 141–142, 162–163
- Brown, Wendy, 27–28, 30, 151–152
- on political freedom, 30–31
  - on vulnerability of self-exposure, 28
- Brown v. Board of Education*, 134–141
- Arendt's critique of, 141
  - backlash against, 146–151
  - current scholarship on, 141–142
- Burke, Edmund, 22–24
- Cairns, Douglas, 3–5, 63, 66
- Calhoun, Floride, 114–115
- Calhoun, John C., 114–115, 116–119
- children
- Arendt on school desegregation struggle and, 134–137, 141–142, 144n32, 151–152, 163–164
  - European context in Arendt's discussion of, 150–151
  - girl heroes in school desegregation and, 146–151, 165–166
  - politicization of, 137–141, 160, 160n91, 164–166
  - Rousseau on, 152, 164–166
  - shame as protection for, 161–163
- citizenship. *see also* unashamed citizenship
- cosmopolitanism and, 52–55
  - Cynicism and, 60–61
  - French Revolution framing of, 93–97
  - in Jacksonian era, 104–105
  - lack of *aidōs* and, 10–12
  - Socratic concept of, 57n39
- civil rights movement
- Arendt's comments on, 16
  - politicization of children in, 164–166
  - respectability politics and, 158–159, 162–163
  - school desegregation and, 163–164
  - therapeutic discourse and, 160–161
  - as unashamed citizenship, 155
- civil society
- Arendt on, 152–153
  - Indian Removal project and, 123–128
  - lack of *aidōs* and, 10–12
  - neo-Toquevillians and, 121–122
  - shame and, 6, 14
- civility
- aidōs* and, 25–31
  - code of, 103
  - cosmopolitanism and, 54–55
  - Cynics and, 69–72

## Index

193

- democratic theory and, 55–57, 130–133  
 equality and, 159–166, 171–173  
 Jacksonian democracy and, 112–113,  
 120–121, 123, 128–130  
 loss of, 6, 93–97  
 norms of, 49–51  
 of republicanism, 104–105, 107  
 Rousseau on, 75–79  
 slavery and, 126–127  
 unashamed citizenship and, 37–43, 171  
 violence and, 172
- civilization  
 death of shame and decline of, 21–22,  
 159–166  
 identity politics and, 30–31  
 Jacksonian democracy and securing of,  
 123–128
- class politics  
*aidōs* and, 66  
 Arendt on school desegregation and,  
 141–146, 165–166  
 cosmopolitanism and, 52–55  
 Cynics’ politicization of, 61–62, 70  
 French “Republic of Letters” and, 80–81  
 in Jacksonian era, 101–103, 104–105,  
 119–123  
 Jackson’s identification as “self-made” man  
 and, 119–124, 129–130  
 morality of founding fathers and, 128n104  
*parrhesia* and, 67–69  
 Rousseau and, 83n40  
 shame and, 32–33, 161–163
- Classics scholarship, Cynicism and, 60–61
- Clay, Henry, 107–108
- Clément, Jean-Marie-Bernard, 86–87, 94
- codes of conduct  
*aidōs* mythology and, 3–12  
 Cynicism and, 70  
 shame and civility and, 14
- Cohen, J. M., 75
- colonialism  
 Indian Removal policy and, 124–125  
 shame and, 33n39
- comedy  
 Cynicism and, 58–59  
 politics of Cynicism and, 67–69  
 “coming out”  
 confessional politics and, 27–28, 30–31
- Commentary* magazine, 141–142
- confessional jurisprudence, 30
- confessional politics  
 political freedom and, 30–31  
 in Rousseau’s writing, 76
- skepticism concerning, 26–27, 29n28  
 tragic character of, 25–31
- Confessions* (Rousseau), 73–79, 82, 95–96
- Cooper v. Aaron*, 142–143
- Corday, Charlotte, 93n86
- cosmopolitanism  
 Appiah’s comments on, 54–55  
 Cynicism and, 51–60, 67–69  
 moral virtue. *vs.* democratic politics  
 and, 52–55  
 Nussbaum’s comments on, 53–54  
*parrhesia* and, 67–69
- Counter-Enlightenment, 96–97
- Counts, Dorothy, 143n28, 165–166
- Crates, 53, 54–55, 62–63
- crime  
*aidōs* mythology and, 5  
 “good” shame concerning, 119–123  
 “The Crisis in Education” (Arendt), 134–137,  
 142–143, 147–148, 151–152
- Crito* (Socrates), 10n32
- Cynicism  
 cosmopolitan approach to, 52–55  
 death of shame and, 47–51, 170, 174–176  
 Jackson compared with, 119–123  
 Kynics’ redemption of, 57–59  
*parrhesia* deployed by, 64–66  
 Plato and, 55–57  
 politics of critique of, 60–69  
 radical individualism in, 63–64, 67–69  
 as unashamed citizens, 14
- D’Alembert, Jean le Rond, 73, 80–81  
 Rousseau and, 84–85, 91–93  
 Sabatier and, 85–87
- d’Houdretot, Sophie, 86–93, 114–115,  
 116–119
- Dalton, Susan, 84
- Darnton, Robert, 73–75, 80–81  
 on “Grub Street,” 81–85
- David, Jacques-Louis, 82
- d’Epinay, Madame, 82
- de Gouges, Marie-Olympe, 73–75, 89–91,  
 92–93, 94, 96–97
- de Maistre, Joseph, 22–24
- De Schweinitz, Rebecca, 136n7, 143n28,  
 153–154, 161–163
- The Death of Marat* (David), 82
- deference  
 Cynics’ politicization of, 62–63, 69–72  
 identity and recognition politics and, 32  
 women of French Revolution and, 92–93
- Delvaux, Paul, xiii

- democratic theory  
*aidōs* and, 66–67n87  
 Arendt's discussion of school desegregation and, 145–146  
 Athenian democracy and, 47–51  
 cosmopolitanism and, 52–55  
 Cynicism and, 60–61, 69–72  
 Jacksonian democracy and, 104–113, 126–127, 128–130  
 lack of *aidōs* and, 10–12  
 Lament for Shame and, 130–133, 159–166  
*parrhesia* and, 67–69  
 presidential race of 1824 and, 107–109  
 presidential race of 1828 and, 103, 108–113, 114, 115–116  
 shame as essential to, 22–24  
 social equality and, 12  
 Demosthenes, Diogenes' disrespect for, 48  
 Derrida, Jacques, *différance* concept of, 4n5  
*Dialogues* (Rousseau), 86  
 Diderot, Denis, 77–78, 80–81  
 difference  
   Cynics' politicization of, 62–63, 69–72  
   identity and recognition politics and, 32  
   women of French Revolution and, 92–93  
 Diogenes the Cynic, 13, 14  
   alteration of currency by, 48–49  
   cosmopolitan approach to, 52–55  
   critique of wealth by, 62–63  
   death of shame and, 47–51  
   exile of, 47–48n1, 48n5  
   folklore concerning, 52n20  
   humor deployed by, 67–69  
   Kynics' redemption of, 57–59  
   on *parrhesia*, 64–66  
   performativity of, 69–72  
   Plato and, 55–57  
   political theory and, 51–52  
   public masturbation by, 61–62  
   Rousseau compared with, 84–85  
   Socrates and, 56–57  
   unashamed citizenship of, 70–72  
 disattendability, Geuss's concept of, 56  
 'disloyal daughters,' of Rousseau, 73–75, 87–97  
*Dissent* magazine, 141–142  
*The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson*, 127n99  
 Donelson, Lewis, 115–116  
 Du Bois, W. E. B., 158–159  
 Dudley, Donald, 47, 48n3–n4, 49n7, 57  
 Eaton, Margaret. *See* Margaret "Peggy" Timberlake  
 Eaton, John, 113–119  
 Eaton Affair, 103, 113–119  
 Eckford, Elizabeth, 134–137, 165–166  
 Eichmann, Adolf, Arendt's coverage of trial of, 141  
*Eichmann in Jerusalem* (Arendt), 141  
 election of 1824, 107–109  
 election of 1828, 103, 108–113, 114, 115–116  
 elites  
   Cynics' criticism of, 60–69, 70–72  
   French "Republic of Letters" and, 80–81  
   in Jacksonian era, 101–103, 104–105, 119–123  
   necessity of shame and, 170–171  
   nostalgia for shame among, 22–24  
   *parrhesia* and, 64–66, 67–69  
   presidential race of 1824 and, 107–109  
   in Rousseau's writing, 76  
   shame as tool of, 161–163  
 Ellison, Ralph, 141–142  
 Elshstain, Jean Bethke  
   on Arendt and children, 140n17, 141–142, 150–151, 160n91, 163n105  
   on gay rights, 160n91  
   on shame, 5n10, 6n11, 8n22, 24, 27, 31n35, 159, 160n91  
 embarrassment, 18–25  
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 101  
*Emile* (Rousseau), 77–78, 86, 87–88, 92  
*Encyclopedia*, 83, 91–93  
 Enlightenment philosophy  
   authenticity and, 73–75  
   Jackson and, 119–123  
 environmental politics, 8–9, 167–176  
 equal protection clause, school desegregation movement and, 137–141  
 equality. *see also* class politics; gender issues; inequality; racism  
   *aidōs* and, 10–12  
   in Ancient Greece, 12, 61–62  
   cosmopolitanism and, 53–54  
   Cynics' arguments for, 49–51, 53–54, 69–72  
   democratic theory and, 130–133  
   identity and recognition politics and, 31–36  
   in Jacksonian era, 104  
   Lament That Shame Is Dead and, 159–166  
   "necessity" of shame discourse and, 167–176  
   *parrhesia* and, 60–69  
   in "Republic of Letters," 80–93

## Index

195

- in school desegregation movement, 137–141
- shame as force for, 161–163
- social transformation through, 12
- Essai sur les gens de lettres et les grands* (D’Alembert), 81
- ethics
  - aidōs* mythology and, 3–12
  - limitations of, 167–176
  - shame and, 8–9, 18–25
- Euben, Peter, 28–29, 56–57, 68n94
- Euripides, 66
- facticity, Arendt’s defense of, 145–146
- family structure
  - Arendt on the erosion of, 142–143, 146–152
  - in Black political theory, 141–142
  - European context in Arendt’s discussion of, 150–151
  - girl heroes and absent fathers, Arendt’s discussion of, 146–151
- Fanon, Franz, 33n39
- feminist theory
  - Arendt’s writing and, 138, 139–141
  - historical context in, 14
  - Jacksonian era and, 103, 108–109
  - Kynicism and, 58–59
  - necessity of shame and, 171
  - shame in, 27–28, 33–34
- First Discourse* (Rousseau), 82, 95–96
- Foster, Thomas, 127n99, 127n101, 128n104
- Foucault, Michel, 26–27
  - confessional politics and work of, 30–31
  - on Cynics, 61–62
  - on *parrhesia*, 65n75
- founding fathers, republican virtue ideology and, 105, 106, 109–112, 115–119, 127–128
- fragility, Lament That Shame Is Dead and, 93–97
- freedom
  - Arendt on, 145–146, 150–151
  - confessional politics and, 30–31
- French Revolution
  - Arendt’s discussion of, 150–151, 152–153
  - authenticity in, 15
  - “Grub Street” and, 81–85
  - Jacksonian era and, 104
  - rewriting of calendar during, 48–49
  - unashamed citizenship and, 93–97
  - women and, 91–93, 94–95
- gay liberation, 22–24, 160–161
- Gay Shame, 35, 37–39
- gender issues
  - cosmopolitanism and, 52–55
  - Cynics’ politicization of, 62–63, 70
  - girl heroes in school desegregation and, 146–151
  - Indian removal policies and framing of, 124–125
  - in Jacksonian era, 103, 105–107, 113–119
  - Rousseau’s *pudeur* theory and, 73–75, 87–93, 126–127
  - Tocqueville on, 107
- Geneva, 83, 89–91, 95–97
- genocide, shame and, 129
- Geuss, Raymond, 55n30, 56–57
- ghettoization, 22n6
- Gines, Kathryn, 141–142
- Girondins (Girondists), 88–89
- Givhans, Walter C., 155–156
- “good” shame, arguments for, 119–123, 161–163
- Gordon-Reed, Annette, 127–128
- government
  - Arendt on school desegregation and role of, 145–146
  - Athenian Assembly, 10–12, 67–69, 70
  - French Revolutionary, 92–93, 152
  - Jacksonian, 108–109, 115–116, 118–119
- Greeley, Horace, 124
- Green, Ernest, 134–137
- Grimm, Friedrich Melchior, 78–79
- “Grub Street” writers, 73–75, 81–85, 94
- guillotine, 92–93, 152
- Habermas, Jürgen, 59
- Hamer, Fannie Lou, 35, 155
- Hamilton, Alexander, 128n104
- Hanchard, Michael, 141–142
- Harlan, John Marshall, 166
- Harris-Perry, Melissa, 32–33
- Hemings, Sally, 127–128
- heroism, Arendt’s concept of, 134–137
- Hesiod, 66
- heterosexuality
  - aidōs* and, 25–31
  - identity and, 32
  - normative structures and, 35, 70–72
- Hill, Anita, 25
- Hipparchia, 52–55, 62–63
- Hitchens, Christopher, 24n9
- Holocaust, shame and, 129

- Homer  
*aidōs* in works by, 4–5, 10–12, 66  
 Diogenes's *chreia* compared with, 63–64  
 shame in works of, 9, 19
- homosexuality, shame and, 35
- Honig, Bonnie, 18, 66n81, 70n103
- hubris  
*aidōs* and tragedy of, 25–31  
 of Jackson, 103  
 shame and, 140–141, 155–156  
*The Human Condition* (Arendt), 138, 143–144, 147n146
- humanism, French “Republic of Letters” and, 80–81
- humiliation, 7–8, 26–27, 28–29, 41–43  
 Arendt on, 145–146, 165  
 Rousseau on, 77–78, 94–95
- humor, Cynicism and, 67–69
- identity politics  
 feminist scholarship and, 139–141  
 gender, sexuality and race and, 138  
 reappraisal of, 31–36
- Idle No More group, 173–174
- The Iliad* (Homer), *aidōs* mythology in, 3–12, 63–64
- imperialist concepts of shame, 22–24  
 Cynicism and, 69–72  
 Indian Removal project and, 123–128
- Indian Removal Act, 122
- Indian Removal project, 15, 119–123, 129, 161–163
- indigenous sovereignty  
 Anglo-Saxon expansion and destruction of, 123–128  
 Jackson's violation of, 122–123  
 unashamed citizenship in advocacy for, 173–174
- inequality. *see also* equality  
 Cynics' politicization of, 61–62  
 legal equality and persistence of, 32–33  
 sentimentalization of, 164–166  
 social order and, 12, 160  
 as source of shame, 26–27
- injury, confessional politics of, 29–30
- inter-racial sex, segregationists' fear of, 154–159
- Jackson, Andrew, 15  
 characterizations of, 125–126  
 class politics and, 119, 128–130  
 democratic theory and legacy of, 130–133  
 Eaton Affair and, 113–119  
 false solace of shame and legacy of, 128–130  
 Indian Removal project and, 123–128, 161–163  
 marriage to Rachel Robards, 109–112  
 moral panic in era of, 101–103  
 presidential race of 1824 and, 107–109  
 presidential race of 1828 and, 103, 108–113, 114, 115–116  
 shamelessness characterization of, 112–113, 129–130, 161–163, 170  
 Tocqueville and, 104–113
- Jackson, Rachel, 15, 103  
 bigamy of, 109–112  
 death of, 112–113
- Jacobinism  
 critiques of, 93–97  
 execution of women by, 92–93, 173  
 Jacksonian era and, 104
- Jacobins, “Grub Street” writers, 73–75, 81–85
- Jefferson, Thomas, 105n7, 127–128, 129  
 Arendt's romanticization of, 159
- jeremiads, tradition of, 6, 59, 119
- Jewish identity  
 Arendt and, 149–150  
 assimilationism and, 145–146  
 shame and exposure of, 29n28  
 Varnhagen's salon and, 140–141
- Jim Crow segregation, 153–154, 155, 160–161
- Johnson, James Weldon, 155
- Julie* (Rousseau), 75–79, 88–89, 95–96
- Kasson, John, 14
- Kennedy, Kristen, 58–59, 65
- King, Martin Luther Jr., 32–33, 160–161
- Kipling, Rudyard, 134
- Kynics  
 redemption of Diogenes by, 57–59  
 Sloterdijk on, 57–59, 65  
 tragedy and, 67–69
- L'Ami du Peuple* (pamphlet), 82
- La Nouvelle Héloïse* (Rousseau), 82, 88–89
- Laertius, Diogenes, 48–49, 52n20, 53
- Lament That Shame Is Dead  
*aidōs* and, 7–8, 11–12, 25–31  
 American founding fathers and, 15  
 Arendt's critique of school desegregation movement and, 137–141, 159–166  
 authenticity and, 73–75, 93–97  
 basic principles of, 18–25  
 contemporary political activism and, 16  
 contextual approach to, 12

## Index

197

- cosmopolitanism and, 54–55  
 democratic theory and, 130–133, 159–166  
 Eaton affair and, 116–119  
 fragility and, 93–97  
 French Revolution republicanism and, 15  
 “good” shame concerning criminal behavior and, 119–123  
 hubris and tragedy and, 25–31  
 Jackson’s presidency in context of, 125–126  
 legacy of Cynics and, 51–60  
 morality and, 101–103  
 necessity of shame and, 167–176  
 research methodology and context for, 12  
 Rousseau and, 73–75, 77–78  
 Socrates and, 55–57  
 unashamed citizenship and, 37–43  
 women of the French Revolution and, 89–91  
*Lawrence v. Texas*, 39n58  
*Le divan du village* (Rousseau), 90n75  
*Le Philosophe Corrigé* (de Gouges), 89–91  
 Lebron, Christopher, 8n23, 9n29, 24n9  
 legal equality, persistence of inequality and, 32–33  
*Les Rêveries de Jean-Jacques, le Mort de Rousseau à Ermenonville* (de Gouges), 90  
*Les Saisons* (Saint-Lambert), 86–87  
 Lespinasse, Julie, 84–85  
*Letter to M. d’Alembert on the Theatre* (Rousseau), 84–85, 91–93, 95–96  
 Lewinsky scandal, 6  
 Lewis, Jan, 118–119  
 LGBT politics, unashamed citizenship and, 37–43  
 Lipman, Matthew, 144n32  
 Lippmann, Walter, 104  
 Little Rock. *see* “Reflections on Little Rock” (Arendt)  
*Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* (Laertius), 48–49  
 Long, Anthony, 66  
 Lorde, Audre, 32  
 lynching campaigns, 156–157, 163–164
- maleness and masculinity  
 Adams and, 109–112, 125  
*aidōs* and, 62–63  
 Ancient Greece and, 62–63, 70  
 Arendt’s discussion of, 138  
 cosmopolitan ideal and, 53–54  
 fatherhood and, 146–151  
 Jackson and, 105–109, 125  
 Rousseau’s fragile male and, 95–96
- Marat, Jean-Paul, 82, 94  
 Markell, Patchen, 26n15, 30n29, 36n50, 144n32  
 marriage  
 Arendt on protection of, 143–144, 148  
 Eaton Affair and norms of, 113–119  
 in Jacksonian era, 108–109, 120–121, 128–130  
 pathologization of Jacksons’ marriage and, 109–112, 129–130  
 Marso, Lori Jo, 75–76  
 Marx, Karl, Arendt’s critique of, 138  
 Mazella, David, 50n13  
 McGuire, Danielle, 35  
 McMahan, Darrin, 73–75, 85n46, 85–86  
*Medea* (Euripides), 66  
 “me generation,” 12, 21–22  
 Memphis Riot (1866), 157–158  
 military power, Jackson’s use of, 124  
 miscegenation laws, civil rights struggle against, 155–156, 166  
 modernity  
 cynicism and, 57–59  
 Rousseau’s critique of, 48–49  
 Moles, John, 67–69  
 Monroe, James, 107–108  
 morality  
 Cynics’ view of, 63–64  
 and democratic politics, 52–55  
 exclusion of Native Americans from, 124–125  
 as framework for shame, 161–163  
 “good” shame concerning criminal behavior and, 119–123  
 Jackson’s critique of, 105–107, 108–109, 115, 116–123  
 Lament That Shame Is Dead and, 101–103  
 legacy of Cynics and, 51–60  
 necessity of shame and, 167–176  
*parrhesia* and, 64–66  
*pudeur* and, 119n77  
 “Mother’s Leagues,” resistance to  
 desegregation and, 153–154  
 motherhood, 142–143, 146–151, 153–159  
 Moynihan Report, 151  
 Myrdhal, Gunnar, 154–155
- Nagel, Thomas, 6n13, 24n9, 25, 27, 153n69  
 nakedness  
 concepts of shame and, 24–25  
 Cynics’ politicization of, 62–63  
 natality, Arendt’s discussion of, 150–151

- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 134–137  
 Arendt's critique of, 141, 144–145, 146–148, 151–152, 163–164  
 politicization of children by, 137–141, 160, 164–166  
 racial uplift strategy of, 159  
 resistance to miscegnation bans and, 155–156, 166  
 school desegregation strategy of, 134–137, 163–164
- National Association of Colored Women (NACW), 158–159
- Native Americans  
 Anglo-Saxon framing as “children,” 123–128  
 Indian Removal project and, 15, 119–123, 129, 161–163
- nature  
 Cynicism's endorsement of, 56, 65–66, 69–72  
 dangers in ideology of, 28–29  
 romanticization of, 56–57  
 Rousseau on, 15, 78–79, 91–97  
 shame and ideology of, 21–22  
 unashamed citizenship and politics of, 37–43
- negative emotions, value of, 41–43
- “The Negro Family: The Case for National Action” (Moynihan), 151
- neo-Toquevilleans, 106, 121–122
- New Yorker* magazine, 141
- New York Times*, images of girl heroes of desegregation in, 146–147
- news media  
 culture of public confession and, 6  
 images of black girls in, 146n42  
 Tocqueville's discussion of, 105–107
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, 26–27  
 genealogy of morals and, 48–49  
 on *ressentiment*, 119n77
- Norton, Anne, 141–142
- nostalgia for shame. *see* Lament That Shame Is Dead
- Nussbaum, Martha, 7n19, 8n21, 8n24, 53–55
- Ober, Josiah, 70–72  
*The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Arendt), 145–146
- parental control of education  
 African American views on, 154–159
- Arendt's support of, 142–143, 146–151, 153–154  
 white parents' views on, 154–159
- pariahs  
 Arendt's discussion of, 40–41  
 in French Revolution, 15  
 Jackson as, 119–123  
 in Jacksonian presidency, 113–119  
 Rousseau's identification with, 76, 95–96  
 unashamed citizenship of, 93–97  
 Varnhagen as, 140
- Parks, Rosa, 155
- parrhesia*  
*aidōs* and, 66–67n87  
 politics of Cynicism and, 60–69  
 Socrates' concept of, 10–12
- Payne, Charles, 163
- peer group  
 Cynics and, 63–64, 67–69  
*parrhesia* and, 61–62  
 Jackson's lack of, 119  
 of Rousseau, 73–75  
 shame and, 129  
 unashamed citizenship and, 40–41, 173–176
- Pericles, 66, 70  
 “personal is political” ideology, 25, 138, 139  
 “Petticoat War,” 114–115
- phenomenology of shame, feminist theory and, 33–34
- philosophes, 80–82, 84–85, 86
- Physiocratic theory, 80–81
- Pitkin, Hanna, 130, 132
- Plato  
*aidōs* and, 66  
 criticism of Diogenes by, 49–51  
 Diogenes' disrespect for, 48  
 The Lament That Shame Is Dead and, 14, 55–57
- plurality  
 Arendt's commitment to, 40–41, 133  
 in early republic, 119  
*parrhesia* and, 61–62  
 unashamed citizenship and, 141–142, 171
- police brutality, against African Americans, 164, 171–173
- polis  
 Diogenes' vocabulary of, 52–55
- political theory  
 Arendt on, 137–141, 150–151  
 authenticity and, 37–43  
 Cynicism's antipolitics and, 49–51  
 feminist scholarship and, 139–141



## Index

199

- historical context and, 12
- in Jacksonian era, 104–113
- Lament That Shame is Dead and, 25–31, 174–176
- legacy of Cynicism and, 51–60
- policing of politics and, 42–43
- shame and, 3–12, 161–163, 167–176
- unashamed citizenship and, 93–97
- popular sovereignty, 5–6
- populism, shaming and, 15
- postmodernism, legacy of Cynics and, 51–52
- poverty, Cynics' politicization of, 61–62, 63–64, 70–72
- Povinelli, Elizabeth, 26n15, 36n50
- Powell, Colin, 23
- privacy
  - Arendt's plea for protection of, 143–144, 147
  - Jackson's concept of, 129–130
  - selective reticence and, 6
  - shame and, 8n22, 24n10, 27–28, 101, 140n18, 159–160
- psychological belonging
  - Arendt's discussion of, 137–141
  - recognition politics and, 30n29, 31–36, 160–161
- public confession, culture of, 6
  - maintenance of commonality and, 29–30
  - political theory and, 27–28
  - therapeutic paradigm and, 28
- public-private boundaries
  - Arendt's plea for protection of, 143–144, 147n46, 151–152, 153
  - civil rights movement and, 16, 154–155, 159, 166
  - Cynics' discourse on, 60–69
  - Lament That Shame is Dead and, 24n10, 55n31, 56–57
- pudour* (feminine modesty)
  - Eaton affair and concept of, 115–116
  - exclusion of indigenous women from, 124–125
  - gender disorder and, 126–127
  - “good” shame concerning criminal behavior and, 119–123
  - ideal of authenticity and, 93–97
  - Indian Removal project and, 123–128
  - Jacksonian era and, 103, 116–119, 128–130
  - morality and, 119n77
  - Rousseau's lament for, 73–75, 91–93, 156
- punishment, skepticism concerning *aidōs* in
  - Athenian concepts of, 10–12
- queer theory
  - politics of respectability and, 38n53
  - shame and, 14, 35, 39–40, 160–161, 171
- racism
  - in Arendt's discussion of school
    - desegregation, 145–146, 147n46
  - girl heroes and absent fathers in Arendt's discussion of, 146–151
  - “necessity” of shame discourse and, 167–176
  - sexual violence and, 35
  - shame and, 28–29, 32–33
  - whiteness in Jacksonian era and, 111–112
- Rancière, Jacques, 132
- Rawls, John, 38n53
- recognition politics, 30n29, 37, 41–42
  - in civil rights movement, 160–161
  - reappraisal of, 31–36
- Reconstruction era, 16, 32–33, 137–142, 151–159, 164–166
- “Reflections on Little Rock” (Arendt), 134–137
  - girl heroes and absent fathers in, 146–151
  - rejection of past in, 151–152, 153–154
  - shaming in, 160–161
- “Reply to Critics” (Arendt), 144–145
- republican mother and wife ideology, 103, 106, 125n93
- republican virtue ideology
  - Jacksonian democracy and, 105, 106, 109–112, 115–119
  - Jefferson as founding father and, 127–128
- “Republic of Letters”
  - Grub Street and, 81–85
  - Rousseau and, 73–75, 80–93
- respectability politics, civil rights movement and, 138, 158–159, 162–164
- respectful shaming model, 8–9
- Reynolds, David, 113n52, 123n85, 124n92
- The Rights of Woman* (de Gouges), 89–91
- Ritterhouse, Jennifer, 156
- Robards, Lewis, 109
- Rogin, Michael, 123–125
- Roland (Madame), 73–75, 88–89, 92–93, 96–97
- Romanticism, of Rousseau, 75–79
- rooted cosmopolitanism, 54–55
  - Cynicism and, 63–64

- Rosen, Hannah, 157–158
- Roth, Philip, 28–29
- Rousseau  
on Geneva, 83, 89–91, 95–97
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 14, 15, 18  
Arendt's critique of, 152–153  
breastfeeding campaign of, 87–88  
on childhood, 152n66, 164–166  
confessional politics and, 93–97  
d'Alembert and, 84–85  
“Grub Street” cultural scene and, 81–85  
lament for *pudeur*, 73–75, 91–97  
Lament That Shame Is Dead and, 73–75  
on marriage, 110n35  
“Republic of Letters” and, 80–93  
Romanticism of, 75–79  
Sabatier and, 85–87  
unashamed citizenship and, 93–97  
on women, 73, 87–93, 114–115,  
116–119, 156
- Sabatier, Antoine, 85–87, 94
- Saint-Lambert, Jean François, 86–87
- Samnotra, Manu, 140–141
- Saxonhouse, Arlene, 57n39, 66–67n87
- Scham*, 24
- school desegregation  
Arendt's discussion of, 16, 150–151  
equal protection clause and, 137–141  
fear of inter-racial sex and, 154–159  
girl heroes in struggle for, 146–151,  
165–166  
historical background on, 134–137  
shame as strategy in, 163–164
- Scottsboro Boys, 161–163
- Second Discourse* (Rousseau), 83, 95–96
- Sedgwick, Eve, 35
- segregationism  
Arendt's overlap with, 160–161  
fear of inter-racial sex and, 154–159  
white supremacy and, 153–154
- selective reticence, 6
- self-determination, 5–6
- self-esteem  
identity and recognition politics and, 31–36  
Rousseau's concern over, 81–85
- self-fulfillment  
Lament That Shame Is Dead and, 73–75  
shame and ideology of, 21–22  
unashamed citizenship and, 93–97  
“self-made man,” Jackson's self-identification  
as, 119–124
- sexual morality. *see also* republican virtue  
ideology  
of founding fathers, 128–130  
segregationist invocation of, 154–159  
shaming and, 15
- sexual violence, civil rights movement and, 35
- shame. *see also* *aidōs*; Lament That Shame  
Is Dead  
Arendt's discourse on, 137–141  
collective shame, 8–9  
Cynicism's approach to, 55–57  
eighteenth-century dynamics of, 73–75  
ethic of obligation and, 18–25  
false solace of, 128–130  
as fetter, 15, 32–33  
“good” shame, arguments for, 119–123,  
161–163  
identity and recognition politics and, 31–36  
intensification of, with attempted  
erasure, 29–30  
in Jacksonian era, 103  
King's discussion of, 32–33  
necessity of, 16, 167–176  
nostalgia for, 159–166  
political action and, 20, 101–103  
proclaimed death of, 20–21  
psychological and bodily sensations  
of, 19–20  
Rousseau's discussion of, 76  
school desegregation and strategy of,  
163–164  
segregationist invocation of, 154–159  
self-respect and, 31–36, 81–85  
typologies, 5, 22–24, 120, 174–176  
unashamed citizenship and, 93–97
- shamelessness  
*aidōs* and, 5  
Cynics' politicization of, 60–69  
“good” shame and, 119–123  
Jacksonian era and trope of, 103, 112–113  
in political theory, 69–72, 167–176  
as resistance tactic, 57–59  
social order and, 20
- shaming punishments, use of, 7–8
- slavery, 15  
Jackson and, 119–123  
Jefferson and, 127–128, 129
- Sleeping Venus* (Delvaux), xiii
- Sloterdijk, Peter, 57–59, 65
- “slut-shaming,” Adams's version  
of, 116–119
- The Social Contract* (Rousseau), 95–96

## Index

201

- social order  
 Arendt's discussion of, 137–141, 145–146  
 cosmopolitanism and, 52–55  
 Cynicism's disruption of, 60–61  
 death of shame and, 20–21  
 equality and disturbance of, 12, 160  
 identity and recognition politics and, 31–36  
 Jacksonian democracy and, 126–127  
 social transformation, equality and, 12  
 Socrates  
 Athenian values critiqued by, 48–49  
 contemporary redemption of, 55–57  
 death of, 67–69  
 legacy of Cynics and, 51–52  
 shamelessness of, 8–9  
 skepticism concerning *aidōs* and, 1032, 14  
 Sophocles, 70  
 sovereignty  
 Arendt on, 150–151  
 Jackson's obsession with, 107–109, 120  
*spoudogelois*, 69  
 states' rights, Arendt's defense of, 145–146,  
 153–154  
 Stelzig, Eugene L., 77–78  
 Strong, Tracy B., 75–76, 78–79  
 Sullivan, Andrew, 38n52
- Tableau, philosophique de l'esprit de M. de  
 Voltaire*, 86  
 Tarnopolsky, Christina, 8n23, 24n8, 120n79  
 Tate Modern, xiii  
 Taylor, Charles, 11, 18, 22n4, 75–76  
 Taylor, Gabriele, 8n23, 24n8, 120n79  
 therapeutic turn  
 civil rights and, 160–161  
 criticism of, 41–42n63  
 negative emotions and, 41–43  
 political theory and, 27–28  
 in Rousseau's writing, 77–78  
 shame and ideology of, 21–22  
 unashamed citizenship and, 16, 39–40  
 Thomas, Clarence, 25  
 Till, Emmett, 163–164  
 Timberlake, Margaret "Peggy," 113–119  
 Tocqueville, Alexis de, 14  
 Adams and, 103, 119  
 on American anti-intellectualism, 107–108  
 Arendt and, 144–145  
 on citizenship and self-governance, 10–12  
 on democracy, 15, 129–130  
 democratic theory and influence of, 130–133  
 on Eaton Affair, 113–119  
 on gender, 107, 126–127  
 on indigenous sovereignty, 122–123  
 on Jackson, 104–113, 119–123  
 Rousseau and, 110n35  
 tragedy  
*aidōs*, hubris and, 25–31  
 Cynicism and, 67–69  
 "tragic" in democratic theory, 25–36, 40–43  
 "Trail of Tears," 122  
*Trojan Whore*, 38  
 Trouille, Mary, 88–89
- unashamed citizenship, 11–12  
 authenticity and, 37–43  
 civil rights movement and, 155, 158–159  
 contemporary forms of, 16  
 of Cynics, 61–62  
 in French Revolution, 15  
 in Jacksonian era, 116–119  
 necessity of shame and, 171  
 protests against police brutality and,  
 171–173  
 recognition politics and, 36n50  
 Rousseau and, 93–97  
 school desegregation and, 165  
 Wells's antilynching campaign as, 158–159  
 Usher, M. D., 63–64
- Van Buren, Martin, 116–119  
 Varnhagen, Rahel, 29n28, 140–141  
 Villa, Dana, 57n39  
 violence  
 against African Americans, 164, 171–173  
 allegations of Native American proclivity  
 for, 124–125  
 Jackson accused of, 125n93  
 "necessity" of shame discourse and,  
 167–176  
 school desegregation and, 154–159,  
 160–161  
 against women of French Revolution,  
 91–93, 94–95  
 Voltaire, 77–78, 80–81  
 Rousseau and, 81–82, 84–85  
 Sabatier and, 85n46, 86  
 voting rights, civil rights struggle for, 166
- Walker, Betsey, 127n99  
 War of 1812, 107–109  
 Warner, Michael, 19n2, 24n8–9, 37–39,  
 120n80, 130, 161n95, 171n4  
 Wells, Ida B., 154–155, 158–159

- white supremacy  
 backlash against desegregation and,  
 153–154  
 fear of inter-racial sex and, 154–159  
 rape as weapon of, 139, 154–159  
 shame as tool for, 161–163
- whiteness  
 identity and, 32–33  
 in Jacksonian era, 111–112  
 visible invisibility and, 156
- Williams, Bernard, 29n23, 174–176
- Williams, Patricia, 30
- Wilmington Riot, 156–157
- Wilson, Darren, 172
- Wingrove, Elizabeth Rose, 76
- women  
 African American women, sexual assault of,  
 158–159  
 in Ancient Greece, 62–63, 70  
 “disloyal daughters” of Rousseau,  
 73–75, 87–97  
 Eaton Affair in Jacksonian era and role of,  
 113–119  
 as French opera composers, 90n75
- girl heroes in school desegregation and,  
 146–151, 165–166
- indigenous women, Jacksonian framing of,  
 124–125
- Jacksonian era and morality of, 103,  
 105–107, 124–125, 128–130
- Jacobin execution of, 91–93, 94–95, 129
- media images of black girls, 146n42
- Rousseau’s misogyny concerning,  
 73–75, 87–93
- stereotypes of African American  
 women, 32–33
- Tocqueville on, 116–119
- Wood, Kirsten, 114, 115–116
- xenophobia, Cynics’ arguments against,  
 49–51, 70
- Young-Breuhl, Elizabeth, 141–142,  
 149–150
- Zerilli, Linda, 126n97, 139
- Zivi, Karen, 30n32, 37n50, 165n112
- Žižek, Slavoj, 58