HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ JOURNAL OF ANGLOPHONE STUDIES

Hradec Králové Journal of Anglophone Studies

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Cause for Concern and/or Admiration:

Introduction to *Hradec Králové Journal of Anglophone Studies*

The ongoing successful running of the Hradec Králové Conference of Anglophone Studies has proven that the event has established itself as a staple in the field of English cultural, linguistic and literary research. This year's conference provided platform to academics, school teachers, as well as to postgraduate students, which enabled them to share the outcomes of their work, to discuss important concerns, or simply to find inspiration. The wealth of the discussed topics, which attests to the rich variety of the field, is reflected in the two current issues of the *Hradec Králové Journal of Anglophone Studies*. The one which you are reading is devoted to cultural and literary topics, the other one explores linguistic and methodological themes. Despite the fact that overall both the issues provide for an uplifting reading, some of the authors indicate that the matters they inform about have caused grave concern. This is particularly the case with the articles in this issue.

When the current president of the United States, Donald Trump, announced his decision to pull out of the Paris Climate Change Agreement, public indignation arose. Such a measure confirmed Trump's unwillingness to deal with the consequences of climate change. To some it actually demonstrated his reluctance to acknowledge this phenomenon existed at all. However, the increasing number and frequency of natural disasters that have recently plagued certain regions of the Earth produce evidence for the contrary. Since the issues related to environmental problems pervade our everyday lives, it is only to be expected that they should manifest themselves in art as well, fiction included. Indeed, numerous authors have dealt with our ethical relationship with the natural environment. Cormac McCarthy is one of the contemporary writers whose literary works are fine specimens of ecocriticism. McCarthy, Kateřina Bártová's article informs us, does not reflect on the most up to date American environmental politics only. He has been a longstanding advocate of eco-consciousness. The invaluable asset of his works which transcends the literary lies in the urge to appreciate and protect nature.

Another contentious question at the centre of current socio-political debate, this time mainly in the European context, are the consequences of the British referendum on Brexit. One of the particularities people in academia are mostly concerned with is the effect Brexit is going to have on education and research in the UK and the EU. What is going to happen with the exchange programmes, and/or funding of collaborative research? Hana Pavelková whose article addresses this question in the current issue states that despite the initial high levels of anxiety brought about by the said uncertainty, the situation has already calmed down a little. Her contribution lists a number of strategies the European academic community has come up with to avert or lessen the negative impact of Brexit. The prospective withdrawal of the UK from the EU, some might suggest, can be put down as one of the consequences of austerity measures prevalent in politics following the financial crisis of 2008. While the necessity of various budget cuts counts as a widely discussed topic, the human cost of austerity tends to appear on politicians' agenda less often. Alice Tihelková details implications of austerity measures for the British citizens' psychological wellbeing effected by the policies of David Cameron's government. Her article thereby offers a link between such policies and the outcome of the aforementioned referendum on Brexit.

An inquiring retrospective angle prevails, however, in all the articles present in this issue even when they do not deal with specifically political questions but inform about the output of literary or cultural figures. The readership has an invaluable opportunity to learn about the work of Czech cultural icons

Alois Hrdlička or Jiří Levý; or to find out more about the legacy of significant authors such as the Venerable Bede, William Blake, and William Shakespeare. It is also enlightened about the works of less known female authors: Jean Binta Breeze, Kate Atkinson and Anya Ulinich. Examination of the means Ulinich uses to explore the topic of self and identity, graphic rather than solely written, pervades, in fact, a number of articles in this issue. Jozef Pecina's piece attests to the fact that not only did the first American comic book superheroes appear already in the late 1930s, but that American popular fiction was populated by characters possessing various superpowers much earlier. Martin Holub's contribution then elaborates on the field of comics further, writing on the unparalleled fruitfulness of the 1980s and on the introduction of postmodernist themes and devices to the superhero genre.

The question of the means seems, indeed, quite an important one. While a number of teachers of English might have voiced their frustration over their students' unwillingness to read, Šárka Bubíková's article suggests that the situation might not be as dire as feared. Bubíková writes on the phenomenon of fan fiction and on what challenges it poses to our perception of texts as stable artefacts. The complexity of the matter, and its development through time, becomes even more evident in comparison to the subject discussed in Eva Čoupková's contribution which deals with the nautical drama. Both articles talk about the intricacies of literary productions and about the inveterate preconceptions concerning literature in general. The topic of the borders of texts is then expanded on in the pieces by Ema Jelínková and Lenka Pánková, which focus on film adaptations of literary works by Jane Austen and Jean Rhys respectively.

This short introduction provides just a brief overview of the major topics covered in the articles present in this issue. Their richness, coupled with the contributors' deep erudition, will surely provide for an interesting reading. It is, as has been mentioned above, mirrored in the richness of contributions included in the other issue devoted to linguistic and methodological topics. The marked increase of submissions on those topics sent to *HKJAS* is reflected by the separate issue as well as by the detailed introduction to that issue, kindly provided by my colleague from the department, Věra Tauchmanová. Contributions in both the issues are listed alphabetically according to the authors' surnames.

<div align="right">Michaela Marková</div>

Martin Procházka

Senses against Proportions: Visuality and Vision in the Czech Modernist Reception of William Blake

Abstract: *The article discusses the so-far neglected influence of Blake's illuminated books on Czech Modernism, specifically on the conflicts between apocalyptic mysticism and avant-garde constructivism, Expressionism and Analytical Cubism. The impact of Blake's work on the prints, books and paintings of the Czech artist Josef Váchal (1884-1969), and Váchal's controversy with the Czech pioneer of Cubism, Bohumil Kubišta (1884-1918), may help to understand the modernist (and originally romantic) changes of the traditional concept of visuality based on proportions into an expressive notion of vision rooted in the transformation of senses. The wider meaning of these changes will be traced in the development of Czech art-nouveau mysticism from the efforts to revive and modernize Catholic religion to Váchal's experimental synthesis of esoterism, romantic imagination and avant-garde art, anticipating post-modernism.*

Czech reception of Blake cannot be compared to the length and richness of Blake's reception in Germany, where it started as early as 1804 (with a reference to Blake's illustrations to Young's *Night Thoughts* in Jean Paul's *Introduction to Aesthetics*), or in Italy where it began in 1820 (with a mention in an encyclopaedia of fine arts), or in France, where it was heralded by Amédée Pichot's biographical account published in 1830. As in many other European countries, such as Spain, Belgium, Poland, Sweden or Finland, Blake was discovered by the Czech audience at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century. The first stage of Czech Blake reception is concurrent with the arrival of Modernism, although the nineteenth-century Czech writers might have read about him a long time ago in German literary magazines, such as *Vaterländisches Museum* (Patriotic Museum), which in 1811 published an article based on Henry Crabb Robinson's account of Blake's early poetry and several illuminated books, including *The Songs of Innocence and Experience*, *Europe* and *America*. Even though some Czech nineteenth-century writers owned facsimiles of his works, Blake has not left any trace in Czech literature and art before 1898.[1]

When the translation of his "Season Poems" from the early, not yet illustrated collection *Poetic Sketches*, appeared in an anthology *Moderní básníci angličtí* (Modern English Poets), Blake was just one among fifty names representing English poetry of the past two centuries. The translator, Jaroslav Vrchlický (1853-1912), a leading Czech poet and professor of comparative literature, erroneously connected Blake with James Thomson's Spenserianism. Only the progress of Czech Modernism led to the discovery of the contemporaneity of Blake's art and its enormous creative potential in the combination of text, visuality and prophetic vision.

The tension between visuality and vision is crucial for the understanding of Blake's illuminated books as well as for the developments of the Czech Modernism between Expressionism and Cubism, typical of the second decade of the twentieth century. Whereas the Czech pioneer of analytical Cubism, a painter, graphic artist and art theoretician Bohumil Kubišta (1884-1918) saw its major role in transforming traditional symbolism of mystical visions into a new visual order based on the rational use geometric forms, his opponent, an unusually versatile visual artist and writer Josef Váchal (1884-1969) managed to demonstrate that the new visuality of modernist paintings does not require separation from traditional mysticism and symbolism, since the transformation of senses had always been one

of their major purposes. My hypothesis is that the Kubišta-Váchal controversy was at least partially caused by Blake's influence on the latter artist and that Blake's power consists in a different concept of visuality than those traditionally ascribed to him.

According to a recent collaborative monograph on visuality, Blake's illuminated books represent a kind of "literate, or writing-cued, imaging" characterized by "a progression from the visual perception of graphemes to the visual imaging of what the words, represented by these graphemes, signify." Such an approach, however, leads to the conflation of Blake's illuminated books with medieval illuminated manuscripts.[2] Despite this, the figures on the margins and between the lines of Blake's books cannot be said to represent chiefly the functioning of "literate imagination prior to standardized movable print."[3]

In contrast to many recent approaches,[4] I suggest that Blake's "visions" including textual and pictorial representations as well as theoretical reflections, can be discussed in relation to Deleuze's interpretation of Plato's distinctions between "Essence-Appearance" and "Original-Copy".[5] These distinctions are not based on the criteria of *mimesis*, but of hierarchy, legitimacy and power. In *The Logic of Sense* and other works, Deleuze contrasts Plato's notions of original and copy with the Nietzschean view of power as the "affirmation" of chance, heterogeneity and diversity. Simultaneously, Blake's concepts of time and of its specific apocalyptic dimension can be explained in the context of Deleuze's philosophy of time.

At first glance, Blake's notion of imagination may seem related to Plato's metaphysics and to Christian understanding of the Bible as the book containing "All that Exists"[6] (this and subsequent quotes are from Blake's commentary to his watercolour "A Vision of the Last Judgement", 1808). However, Blake's "Eternal Vision or Imagination" (*Complete Writings* (herafter *CW*) 604) cannot be identified with Plato's Ideas or with the Christian or Hebrew God. Blake does not emphasize the difference between the original (the Eternal Ideas) and the copy (their shadowy representations in human world). Rather, he suggests that imagination can erase the difference between presentation (that is, "what Eternally Exists, Really and Unchangeably") and representation (i.e., the activity of imagination), as well as between eternity and temporality. In contrast to mere fiction ("Fable" *CW* 604) or allegory which always represent something else (features of characters, moral and religious truths, philosophical concepts, Ideas, God), the imaginative vision is called "*The* Fable" (*CW* 604; emphasis added), that is, a myth creating "the Worlds of Vision" (*CW* 605). The double genitive in Blake's last quoted phrase de-hierarchizes the relation between the original and the copy, the representation and the represented.

Blake's vision-myth is incommensurate with individual myths (such as those of Ancient Greece) or with philosophical systems, since it combines creativity, knowledge and power. Blake comments on this incommensurability: "Let it here be noted that the Greek Fables originated in Spiritual Mystery & Real Vision, which are lost & clouded in Fable and Allegory (...)" (*CW* 605). He calls his art "an Endeavour to Restore what the Ancients call'd the Golden Age" (*CW* 605), that is, the mythical condition of humanity living in harmony and unity with cosmic forces.[7]

The unity of the vision is not static, given by the relationships of unchangeable symbols, but dynamic, resulting from a changeable perspective. The meaning of this perspective and of "All Art" is wisdom consisting of the ability to discriminate among "Particulars" ("The Vision of the Last Judgement" *CW* 611). As a result, imagination can provide "the Real Vision of Time (...) in Eternal Youth" (*CW* 614). Since the discrimination among an endless number of particulars is always at its outset, the vision can never be completed and the world can never be grasped in its entirety. Later—in Blake's marginalia to Berkeley's *Siris* from about 1820—this endless process is called "(t)he Divine Body in Every

Man" and identified with "Imagination" (*CW* 773). In Blake's understanding, God and his body are only a particular moment of "(t)he Eternal Body of Man" or the imagination, which—according to *The Laocoön* (1820)—"manifests itself in his Works of Art" (*CW* 776).

In contrast to the time called the Chronos, characterized by the hierarchical relationship of the past and the future to the all-determining present (the presence of God, the Absolute Idea, etc.), Blake's visions are characterized by a different time called "the unlimited Aion".[8] This time is "an entity infinitely divisible into past and future and into the incorporeal effects which result from bodies, their actions and their passions (...)." It is a time of "events" and "surface effects," in which language is "becoming" or being "endlessly born".[9] An example of a passage which is particularly close to Deleuze's "reading" of time are the following lines from *Vala, or the Four Zoas*, Night the First:

> Then Eno a daughter of Beulah, took a Moment of Time
> And drew it out to ~~twenty years~~ seven thousand years with much care and affliction
> *And many tears, & in* (*the*) ~~*twenty*~~ *every year*(*s*) ~~*gave visions towards heaven*~~ *made windows into Eden.*
> She also took an atom of space & opened its centre
> Into infinitude & ornamented it with wondrous art.
>
> (*CW* 270)

The finite time, the Chronos of the great biblical week, whose "seven thousand years" correspond to the seven days of Creation,[10] is transformed into paradisiac timelessness in "a Moment" (*CW* 270) (corresponding Deleuze's term is "instant" [11]). Similarly, the centre of "an atom of space" expands into an infinite number of extensions of astonishing beauty. What was in the depth, in the core of the matter, becomes a "surface effect",[12] an endlessly developing ornament. "Wondrous art" is also the name of prophetic, imaginative poetry which can create a multi-dimensional and pluralistic universe, "a World in a Grain of Sand" ("The Auguries of Innocence," before 1803; *CW* 431) distinguished not only by other spatiality and temporality but also by other structural, semantic and value relationships, and by a different deployment of emotional energy.

The ultimate aim of the vision is not the achievement of wholeness and unity but a *fragmentary* creation of the universe in its multiplicity and diversity. Blake's later aphorisms express this quite succinctly. The unity of the whole work of art is the unity of a *fragment*: "the Torso is as much a Unity as the Laocoon" (*On Homers Poetry & on Vergil*, ca. 1820, *CW* 778). Metaphysical philosophy based on a priori categories of the one and total Being is dangerous for art and humanity: "Platonic Philosophy (...) blinds the Eye of Imagination, The Real Man" ("The Laocoön" *CW* 775). Moreover, it is a deployment of power, a discourse, which by forming the a priori categories of Good and Evil and abstract notions of moral virtues "promote(s) Eternal Wars & Dominency (*sic*) over others" (*CW* 774).

Given all this, Blake's graphic art cannot be understood as a mere guiding power of "literate imagination," but as a tool of mystical imagining subverting conventional semiotic understanding of the relationship between text and image as well as between time and space, and developing imagination as a political power. As Blake himself points out in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (ca. 1790-93), his graphic technique can be compared to Hell's invasion of the finite world, where bodies are separated from souls. The dualism of the body and the soul, claims Blake, can be overcome by his graphic technique, which includes "printing in the infernal method, by corrosives, which in Hell are salutary and medicinal, melting apparent surfaces away, and displaying the infinite which was hid" (*CW* 154, Plates 15-17). "The infinite" is the other space (or heterotopia),[13] a virtual space beyond the

mirror surface of the polished copper plate corroded by a caustic substance, which is symbolized by alchemical "Dragons" (*CW* 154).The emerging shapes and colouring are represented by "Vipers" (*CW* 154, signs of energy, time, intensity and dynamism). They affect the imagination symbolized by "an Eagle" and "numbers of Eagle-like men" (*CW* 154, biblical symbols of divinity and the divine nature of humanity). As a result, "the inside of the cave," or the cavities corroded by the caustic substance, delimited by the shapes of letters and represented things, are transformed into "palaces in the immense cliffs" towering in infinite space (*CW* 154). In contrast to Plato's and Bacon's caves of shadows and idols,[14] Blake's graphic technique opens the infinity of human imagination by means of miniature cavities in the mirror of copper plate. However, this infinity is not a fixed, static space. It is a moving vector of desire and delight, but also a verbal statement, a rhetorical question, which does not need an answer. According to Deleuze's *Logic of Sense*, it can be called an "event (...) becoming"[15] on the interface of language and the bodies:

> How do you know but ev'ry Bird that cuts the airy way,
> Is an immense world of delight, clos'd by your senses five?
>
> <div align="right">("A Memorable Fancy," Plate 7, CW 150)</div>

The transformation of the limited world of the five senses by means of imagination is symbolized by the "Lions of flaming fire" (medieval symbols of rebirth) which are "melting the metals into living fluids" (*CW* 155). The world of imagination structured by these living flows of metals, lines and colours on the copper plate is the germ of the future world (of "Unnam'd forms" Plate 15, *CW* 155), though humans still tend to perceive it according to the existing system of representation, as a specific order of knowledge, or books "arranged in libraries".[16]

Blake's imagination is a power disrupting and transforming the system of representation which Foucault names "the classical episteme" and which is based on the assumption of the transparent correspondence between signs and things represented by them. Blake may be said to have anticipated Foucault, realizing that this system is no mere organization of knowledge but a power structure; hence the emancipatory nature of his notion of imagination. At the same time Blake, like Foucault, was aware that it is a self-delusion to assume that humans can ever emancipate themselves from the repressive nature of forces. In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* there is, apart from the assertion that "every thing that lives is Holy" (*CW* 160), also a statement that the metaphoric language of poetry used by "the ancient Poets" to animate "all sensible objects with Gods or Geniuses" (*CW* 153) can become instrumental to the enslavement of common people. Thus, in the order of representation, poetic metaphors often yield abstract concepts endowed with the false authority of "divine" power.

Blake envisaged the solution of this contradiction in the transformation of the aesthetics of representation into the aesthetics of intensity. The expression of this aesthetics is a line, typical of Michelangelo's paintings and contrasting with the modelling of shapes and objects by means of "tints" of colour, a technique used by Titian, Rubens or Rembrandt. As Blake indicates, his line not only has an expressive power but also a structuring, architectonic force ("(Public Address) Additional Passages," 1810, *CW* 603). Whereas "Nature has no Outline, (...) Imagination has" ("The Ghost of Abel, 1820, *CW* 779).

From what has been said it should be clear that visuality in Blake's art is not concerned with a mere relationship between text and images. Its chief purpose is the transformation of human senses, subverting the power and authority of traditional images, myths and ideologies and developing the potentialities for grasping the multiplicities and temporal complexity of existence. As evident from

The First Book of Urizen (1794), the scientific, Newtonian image of the cosmos, set in an empty, three-dimensional space and structured by geometric proportions, amounts to the repression of "the myriads of Eternity" (CW 222) and leads to an unstoppable disintegration of the universe into chaos. Blake's work not only expresses this situation by the chilling allegory of the breakup of Urizen's body and the vain attempt of Los to keep it together, but also shows the direction of its overcoming in the transformation of human sense by art, which is a technology able to change the very conditions of visuality (as Blake shows in his brilliant reflection of the function of cavities in his etchings) and create alternative, fictional worlds.

In the Czech Modernism, the transformative and emancipatory power of Blake's art was first noticed among the adherents of different kinds of mysticism, among whom there were many leading artists of that time. The first evidence of some awareness of the existence and beauty of Blake's illuminated books can be traced to 1909 when the first Czech translation of *The Book of Thel* appeared in the magazine *Meditace* (Meditations, 1908-11), "A Catholic Review for Literature, Art and Philosophy." The periodical, edited and published by Vilém Bitnar (1874-1948), a literary and cultural historian and an enthusiastic promoter of the Czech Baroque literature and art, became a platform for a heterogeneous though substantial group of Catholic intellectuals, called "Catholic Modernists" (Katolická moderna). The circle of the *Meditace* included leading art-nouveau figures, such as the sculptor and engraver František Bílek (1872-1941), and attracted a number of young artists, for instance, the writer Jakub Deml (1878-1961, the painter Jan Zrzavý (1890-1977), or the photographer František Drtikol (1883-1961), all of whom became prominent representatives of the Czech Modernism.

The efforts to integrate various literary and artistic trends of the time, ranging from Symbolism to Expressionism and early Cubism, on the basis of contemporary esotery were first successful. Their result was an informal community of authors and artists called "Sursum" (1910-12; after the opening phrase "Sursum Corda" of the dialogue before the Eucharist prayer in the Roman Catholic mass, referring to the mystery of transubstantiation). However, the group as well as the periodical soon started to lose momentum and in 1911and 1912 they disintegrated under the pressure of diverse, mainly occultist, trends as well as the incipient avant-garde developments, particularly Cubism.

The most interesting figure from the fringe of the *Meditace* group and perhaps the greatest writer of the Czech Catholic Modernism was Jaroslav Durych (1886-1962), a military physician and militant intellectual. Durych sharply criticized the political, spiritual and moral "quagmire" of the modern Czech society, as well as the failure of the Catholic church to oppose social decay. His Neo-Thomist philosophy, resembling in some respects the early aesthetic of James Joyce, and his search of the positive mystical interpretation of Christian faith, stimulated by the teaching of Thérèse de Lisieux, soon gave way to a caustic irony based on "literary and psychic sado-masochism".[17]

Durych's translation of *The Book of Thel*, published in the *Meditace* in 1909, had a twofold function: to integrate Blake into a tradition of Christian mysticism represented by St Hildegard of Bingen, St John of the Cross, St Theresa of Ávila, Angelus Silesius, Jakob Böhme and St Catherine of Emmerich, and to establish him as a prophet of the rebirth of authentic Christianity in decaying modern age. Blake's poetry was read as an apocalyptic vision, revealing, as the journal editor Bitnar pointed out in a short interpretive essay, "the love to all creation" and "expanding the love of our neighbour to the work, cloud and clod of earth, since they are also taking share in the physical and intellectual being of the whole".[18] Despite all efforts to represent the poem as a Christian allegory of a reluctant acceptance of carnality, finally leading to its resolute refusal,[19] both the translation and the introduction eventually have to confirm the paradoxical relationship of desire and mystic enlightenment, sensuality and

spirituality. Bitnar refers to the "sombre motto" of the poem pointing out the unattainability of ideal Wisdom and Love in the world driven by power and desire and emphasizes the absolute separation of spirit and matter as well as of "true" and "sensuous" love.[20] The most impressive lines of Durych's translation are those linking the senses and their organs with their "own destruction" in "terror, trembling & affright" (*CW* 130) and confirming the poem's final message, the impossibility to reveal "the bed of our desire" behind "the little curtain of our flesh" (*CW* 130).

In this way, Durych's translation, despite its religious aims, integrated Blake into the cultural context of the time, represented by Gustav Mahler's symphonies or the paintings by Gustav Klimt and Egon Schiele. The strenuous effort to present Blake as a Christian mystic gave way first to the acknowledgement of his independence from patriarchal notions Christianity (the identification of the feminine with spirituality) and later to the emphasis on the formal affinities of Blake's art with incipient Modernism, namely Walt Whitman's "free verse"), which under the influence of Émile Verhaeren became popular in Czech early twentieth-century poetry.[21] The sophistication and dramatic qualities of Blake's colouring described by Bitnar (who might use facsimiles of several copies of the poem)[22] resemble the accounts of art nouveau-paintings. As a result, in spite of Durych's preoccupation with the modernization of Christianity, his translation and the accompanying essay by Bitnar revealed both the visionary and the aesthetic qualities of Blake's art and its incompatibility with doctrinary interpretations.

The volumes of the *Meditace* were illustrated by the woodcuts of Josef Váchal, one of the most interesting figures of Czech Modernism, integrating in his extensive and extremely variegated multi-media work medieval mysticism and Baroque spirituality with the genres of popular art, such as the horror novel, the topics and techniques of pulp literature or the boldest experiments of avant-garde painting (including Expressionism, Cubism and Orphism). Váchal, who started his career as a bookbinder, and soon mastered diverse graphic techniques and typographic design, might have learned about Blake from Durych's translation of *The Book of Thel* and Bitnar's accompanying essay, but also from his friend Sigismund Bouška (1867-1942), a writer and Catholic priest, who borrowed from the late Romantic and Symbolist writer Julius Zeyer (1841-1901) the critical edition of Blake's work by E.J. Ellis and W.B. Yeats including also black-and-white facsimiles of most illuminated books.[23]

Blake's mysticism might also have been among the topics discussed at the meetings of theosophical societies, including that called Flammarion and frequented by Váchal.[24] Váchal was not an obedient acolyte of self-appointed hierophants. In his memoirs he mentions that at these meetings "various initiations were sold and credulous people's money was pouring down the drain".[25] He adds that he "always laughed at the efforts of numerous *mahatmas*, or people who were leasing their leaderships in things mystical and occult".[26] His role in occultist societies was clearly subversive: he relished in antagonizing the factions within them as well as their individual members by communicating slanders to the slandered.[27] For him, the only actual authorities were the sculptor František Bílek, who had a dominant influence on the *Meditace* circle,[28] and also his friend Karel Weinfurter (1867-1942), whose later three-volume work on Christian mysticism and yoga *Ohnivý keř, čili Odhalená cesta mystická* (A Bush on Fire, or, The Revealed Way of Mysticism, 1923-30)[29] had a considerable influence on Czech modernists, including the leading photographer, František Drtikol. Weinfurter drew mainly from Rosicrucianism and the Hinduist and Tantric Buddhist teaching on the *chakras* but was also familiar with William Blake, whose illustration to Robert Blair's poem *The Grave*, namely the last plate called *The Reunion of the Soul and the Body* (1808), appeared on the cover of the first edition of his tome.

Váchal's artistic manifesto, *Vidění sedmera dnů a planet* (A Vision of Seven Days and Planets,

1910)[30] is a series of woodcuts combining features of medieval manuscripts, early modern chapbooks and Blake's illuminated books. Blake's influence is especially evident on the pages, where pictorial and ornamental elements interrupt and articulate the text field,[31] and also in the composition of some illustrations.[32] The last image, representing sexuality as a natural force, shows Váchal's tendency toward abstract Expressionism. The book depicts human existence in the cyclical form of the apocalyptic week (an opposite of the week of the Creation), where the destructive influences of wars (Tuesday, *Dies Martis*), sexuality (Friday, *Dies Veneris*) and death (Saturday, *Dies Saturni*) triumph over the synthetic vital powers of human senses and imagination (Monday, *Dies Lunae*), reason and knowledge (Wednesday, *Dies Mercurii*) and authority (Thursday, *Dies Jovis*), bringing the human microcosm to the threshold of annihilation. The balance is renewed by the macrocosmic power, represented by the Sun (Sunday, *Dies Solis*). Apart from its traditional roots in Rosicrucianism, the thematic structure of the book may be said to anticipate modern reflections of the relationship between the "general" and "restrictive" economies, especially, Georges Bataille's trilogy, *The Accursed Share* (1945-49), which opens with a motto from Blake's *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*: "Exuberance is Beauty" (Proverbs of Hell, Plate 10, *CW* 152).

It is quite likely that Váchal's symbolic scheme was a response to the "theorizing"[33] of Bohumil Kubišta (1884-1918), a major Czech representative of analytical Cubism. Váchal, who himself created a number of Cubist works—both paintings and sculptures—, could not stand Kubišta, who in his painting and theory stressed the importance of mathematical and logical principles of composition and elementary geometric forms. Váchal criticized the "atheistic" core of Kubišta's art,[34] raged against his paintings, which he called "messy daubs",[35] and deplored his influence on the leading painter of the Sursum group, Jan Zrzavý.

Kubišta's theory of analytical Cubism was influenced by Karl Wyneken, who in his treatise *The Construction of Form* (*Der Aufbau der Form*, 1904) interpreted the organic forms of nature geometrically, in keeping with the harmony of numbers expounded in Plato's *Timaeus*, and claimed that there was a structural harmony between the human being and planetary system, displayed only in "higher natural forms," which, together with forms of art, could be referred back to "a single construction plan" of the universe.[36] The origin of Wyneken's reflections can be found in Goethe's "secret law" invoked in his poem "The Metamorphosis of Plants" (Die Metamorphose den Pflanzen, 1798), as well as in Ernst Haeckel's book *General Morphology of Organisms* (*Generelle Morphologie der Organismen*, 1866) which included a critical reflection of the "mechanical nature" of Darwin's evolution theory. Kubišta also followed Adolf Hildebrand's theory of expressive formal types (expounded in his book *The Problem of Form—Das Problem der Form*, 1898) which are not only seminal for the projection of space in artworks but also for the viewers' emotions produced by them. As a result, for Kubišta, the composition of artworks but also their impact on viewers depended on the precision of mathematical formalisation of their spatiality. As his fellow-painter Jan Zrzavý reports, Kubišta's art was based "on the magic effects of geometric forms and psychic power of colours, which please the viewer's senses bringing his mind to the openness of the subconscious, when the mental state and the emotional mood of the artist are communicable."[37] Kubišta, who was also significantly influenced by Cézanne and Seurat, often returned to traditional mathematical theories of proportions, especially to that of the golden ratio, used also by Salvator Dalí and Piet Mondrian, as well as Le Corbusier. Kubišta's essay on Cézanne was constructed on this mathematical basis determining the proportionality of the essay's sections. According to Kubišta, "modern age" has provided humanity with mathematical formalization, which was an "equally valuable" substitution of "religious ideas" and could produce a similar "unity" as Christian spirituality. However, emphasized Kubišta, these modern ideas are "hidden

from the uninitiated" and will be revealed "only to those who are strong enough to remove the veil covering them".[38]

In contrast to Kubišta, Váchal's modernist project, deriving from Rosicrucianism and Christian spirituality, emphasized the synthesis of Plato's *theia mania* with the madness of romantic creative vision. Unlike Kubišta's science of proportions and projective functions of forms, Váchal's works are attempts at grasping the limits of sensibility, which, as Deleuze has shown, is not a function of signs (including geometric forms) but an effect of minute unconsciously perceived differences, in the process of "involuntary perception."[39] In this way, Váchal's work is not heading for "abstract art" but anticipating "abstract *expressionism* (...) dissolving all forms in a fluid and chaotic texture of lines and colours."[40]

Váchal paid a tribute to Blake in a series of 10 black and white woodcuts called *Mystikové a vizionáři* (Mystics and Visionaries, 1913), placing him among Christian mystics of his choice. The series opened with a representation of the mystic as a burning androgynous Christian/Buddhist figure called "the-mystic-as-tree" (clearly referring to the "burning bush" of the Old Testament and to the title of the mystical treatise of Váchal's friend Weinfurter) and flanked by two other trees, the Tree of Life and The Tree of the Fall. In this way, mysticism was presented as a new life of humanity nurtured by the fire of spiritual transformation. The imaginary portrait of Blake is located between Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim, who extolled occultism and the virtues of women and deplored the decay of sciences, and St Hildegard of Bingen, a medieval nun, mystic and musician, the author of the *Symphonia*, a treatise on the "harmony of the heavenly revelations." This positioning of Blake stresses his close relationship to female soul and sexuality (mediated most likely by *The Book of Thel*) and to the feminine principle of spiritual life, poetry, music and the harmony of the universe. The conceptual nature of Váchal's design is confirmed by the image representing Blake as an emaciated Christ figure, whose hand touches his head as if it pointed to the confusion of reason in the exhausted bodily form. The much larger figure of an archangel with distinctly female features (evidently of Váchal's wife Máša) brandishes sword and touches the forehead of the man as if checking his temperature or imparting healing energy. The angel figure seems to rise from another reclining and dark female figure which may represent Mother Earth as a source of vital energy. The image can be read as a symbolic tribute to female energy and its power to effect spiritual regeneration of humanity. In contrast to other woodcuts of the cycle it can be seen as a gesture against the constructivist rationality of Kubišta's theory and painting.

The cycle on "Mystics and Visionaries" is not the only evidence of Váchal's reflection of Blake's work. The arabesques from another illuminated book of linocuts called *Odchod člověka* (Man's Departure, 1914) representing the decomposition of human body, transform the floral motifs from *The Book of Thel*, while the frontispiece polemically refers to Kubišta's analytical Cubism. In another illuminated book of coloured pen drawings, called *Modlitby* (Prayers, 1917), Váchal experiments with Pointilistic distribution of colours on the scale of individual letters and in the whole text field. In other Váchal's works, Blake's cosmic visions are transformed into partially abstract, Orphic visions of macrocosm as well as microcosm. In this way Váchal's Protean work integrates Blake's stimuli into modern esoteric trends as well as several movements of avant-garde art.

Notes

(1) General ignorance of Blake's art in Czech *fin-de-siècle* culture is thematized in the correspondence and writings of Zdenka Braunerová (1858-1934), an important painter and graphic designer of the time. A keen supporter of several Czech artists, she strove to make her friend Julius Zeyer (1841-1901)—a late Romantic poet, novelist and translator with a deep interest in ancient

Irish, Welsh and Breton mythologies and Christian mysticism—aware of the emerging Czech mystical Symbolism in the work of the sculptor and engraver František Bílek (1872-1941). In a letter to Zeyer of 20 August 1896, Braunerová refers to Bílek as "the misunderstood Czech Blacke (sic)" and complains of the absence in Czech culture of "the avant-garde of subtle refined minds, which exist in England or France." Therefore Bílek's fate may resemble that of Blake: "And so our Bílek may die as William Blacke (sic), taken for a fool, and may be discovered, like he, after a hundred years" (Zdenka Braunerová, Letter to Julius Zeyer, 20 August 1896, in Marek, J. R., ed., *Básník a sochař* (Prague: Za svobodu, 1948) 37). Although Braunerová was deeply familiar with contemporary French art and literature (she was a close friend of Auguste Rodin and Paul Claudel), before 1897 her 'knowledge' of Blake seems to have been based on hearsay. Braunerová attempted to develop her comparison between Bílek and Blake in an essay "Úvod k Bílkovým 'Modlitbám'" (Introduction to Bílek's 'Prayers', in *Básník a sochař*, 196-205), written in November 1898. She refers to the black and white facsimiles and lithographs in the third volume of the Ellis-Yeats edition (*The Works of William Blake, Poetic, Symbolic, and Critical*, ed. Edwin John Ellis and William Butler Yeats, 3 vols (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1893)), but there is virtually no evidence of her response to, let alone reflection on, Blake's art. In his correspondence with Sigismund Bouška (1867-1942) Zeyer claimed that he "had just been reading and studying" Blake at the time when he had lent the book (Ellis and Yeats's edition) to Braunerová (quoted in Karel Dostál-Lutinov, *Přátelství básníků: vzájemná korespondence Karla Dostála-Lutinova s Juliem Zeyerem a Otokarem Březinou*, ed. Oldřich Svozil and Stanislav Batůšek (Brno: Host, 1997) 102). However, Zeyer's copy of the edition does not display any trace of intense reading, let alone studying. The only rather superficial mention of Blake's art can be found in another letter, where Zeyer writes about the contrast of "infernal darkness and

heavenly radiance" and "a horror" by which "some Blake's drawings" affected him (quoted in *Přátelství básníků*, 130). The first mentioned letter provides evidence of Braunerová's use of Zeyer's copy from an unspecified time in 1897 to late February 1898, when, before her departure for Paris, Braunerová sent the book directly to Sigismund Bouška. (Julius Zeyer, *Přátelství básníka a malířky: vzájemná korespondence Juliuse Zeyera a Zdenky Braunerové*, ed. Vladimír Hellmuth-Brauner (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1941) 213).

(2) Christopher Collins, "Writing and the Nature of Supernatural Image, or, Why the Ghosts Float," *Languages of Visuality: Crossings between Science, Art, Politics and Literature*, ed. Beate Allert (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1996) 246.

(3) Collins 255.

(4) Cf., e.g., David Baulch, "Repetition, Representation and Revolution: Deleuze and Blake's *America*," *Romanticism and the New Deleuze*, ed. Robert Mitchell and Ron Broglio. <http://www.rc.umd.edu/praxis/deleuze/baulch/baulch_wc.html> (accessed 25 August 2010); Ron Broglio, "William Blake and the Novel Space of Revolution," *ImageTexT: Interdisciplinary Comics Studies*, 3.2 (2007). <http://www.english.ufl.edu/imagetext/archives/v3_2/broglio/> (accessed 25 August 2010); Edward Larrissy, *Blake and Modern Literature* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2006); Joseph Viscomi, *Blake and the Idea of the Book (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

(5) Gilles Deleuze, "Appendix 1: Simulacrum and Ancient Philosophy," in *The Logic of Sense*, trans. Mark Lester and Charles Stivale, ed. Constantin Boundas (London: The Athlone Press, 1990) 262.

(6) William Blake, *Complete Writings with variant readings*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972) 604. Subsequent page references in parentheses are marked by *CW*.

(7) See also *Vala*, Night the First (*CW* 264).

(8) Deleuze, *The Logic of Sense*, 5.

(9) Deleuze 5, 167.

(10) Morton Paley, *Apocalypse and Millennium*

in English Romantic Poetry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

(11) Deleuze 150-51.

(12) Deleuze 5.

(13) "The mirror functions as a heterotopia in the sense that it makes the place I occupy at the moment I look at myself in the glass both utterly real, connected with the entire space surrounding it, and utterly unreal—since, to be perceived, it is obliged to go by way of that virtual point which is over there" (Michel Foucault, "Different Spaces," in *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology* (*Essential Works*, vol. 2), ed. James Faubion, trans. Robert Hurley et al. (New York: The New Press, 1998) 179). According to Blake, this "virtual point" is the "void", the "inside of the cave" (*CW* 154). The products of Blake's imagination resemble Lucretius's simulacra (Deleuze 275)—they are not perceptible but can be only thought on the basis of perceptible traces. This interpretation is also supported by Blake's perspectivism discussed above.

(14) In Blake's case the decisive influence could be, as Kathleen Raine has shown, Porphyry's Neoplatonic allegory *The Cave of the Nymphs—De antro nympharum* (Kathleen Raine, *William Blake* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970) 37).

(15) Deleuze 5.

(16) Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of Human Sciences*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Random House, 1970) 76.

(17) Martin Putna, *Česká katolická literatura v kontextech 1918-45* (Prague: Torst, 2010) 456.

(18) Vilém Bitnar, "William Blake, Kniha Thel," *Meditace*, 2 (1909): 146, 147. (Bitnar's essay is plagiarized from the contemporary monograph of Helene Richter, *William Blake* (Strassburg: Heitz and Mündel, 1906) 56, 59-60).

(19) In the accompanying essay, Bitnar invokes the "Cantico del Sole" by St Francis of Assisi and explains Thel's desire as "the longing to leave the coarse matter of earthly body and to ascend the heights controlled by the eagle aiming for the heavenly paradise of Virgin Saints" (Bitnar 146). Durych translates "Mne Seraphim" as "the daughters of Seraphs" ("dcery Serafínů", William Blake, "Kniha Thel," *Meditace*, 2 (1909): 120), although "Bne Seraphim" means "sons of the Seraphs" and, according to Damon, refers to "the Intelligences of Venus" in Agrippa's *Occult Philosophy* (Samuel Foster Damon, *A Blake Dictionary: The Ideas and Symbols of William Blake*, rev. edn. (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1988) 283). He also changes the name of the river Adona, possibly an allusion to Edmund Spenser's "Gardens of Adonis" (*The Faerie Queene* III.vi.) in Milton's *Paradise Lost* (I.450-52), to "Adonai" (Blake, "Kniha Thel" 120), the Hebrew name of God (Master, Lord) read only during prayer but not pronounced and referred to as *HaShem* (the Name).

(20) Bitnar 147.

(21) Bitnar 147.

(22) It is difficult to identify which copy was a basis for the facsimile, since Bitnar's description (plagiarized from Helene Richter's monograph—see above) corresponds with individual features of Copies H, R, J, F and O. Although referring to the "original in the British Museum" (Bitnar 148) the description does not at all correspond to the British Museum copy (D). The main difference is the "yellowish colour" (Bitnar 148) of Thel's robe, while her garment on the British Museum copy is very pale blue. Although it is quite likely that the facsimile did not faithfully reproduce the colours of any available copy, it seems more plausible that Richter, whose monograph Bitnar plagiarized, was using facsimiles of prints from *A Small Book of Designs* (1796), objects 10, 16, 22 and 23 (*The Book of Thel*, plates 2, 6, 7 and 4). As will be pointed out below, these facsimiles could also inspire some works of Josef Váchal.

(23) Sigismund Bouška, "Josef Váchal," *Týn. Sborník literární a umělecký*, 3 (1919): xx.

(24) Josef Váchal, *Paměti Josefa Váchala dřevorytce* (Prague: Prostor, 1995) 169.

(25) Váchal, *Paměti* 170.

(26) Váchal, *Paměti* 169-70

(27) Váchal, *Paměti* 170.

(28) In his memoirs Váchal quotes Bílek's expression of the high esteem: "If you were known to the friends in the *Modern Review* (the leading artistic and critical magazine of the time), they would lift you to skies with praise" (Váchal, *Paměti* 169).

(29) The book appeared in English under the title *Man's Highest Purpose (The Lost World Regained)*, trans. Arnold Capleton and Charles Unger (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger, 1992). On the relationship between Weinfurter and Váchal as well as other important artists of the time, e.g. Gustav Meyrink, see Josef Sanitrák, *Dějiny české mystiky* (Prague: Eminent, 2006).

(30) Josef Váchal, *Vidění sedmera dnů a planet* (Litomyšl: Paseka, 1998).

(31) Váchal, *Vidění* 46, 60.

(32) Váchal, *Vidění* 56, 40.

(33) Váchal, *Paměti* 202.

(34) Váchal, *Paměti* 202. Both Váchal and Kubišta were influenced by diverse philosophies of the "vital power" and by Expressionism (Edward Munch, the German group "Die Brücke") but their influence on Váchal was recognizably stronger.

(35) Váchal, *Paměti* 202.

(36) Karl Wyneken, *Der Aufbau der Form bei natürlichen Werden und künstlerischen Schaffen* (Dresden: G. Kühtmann, 1904) 120.

(37) Quoted in Mahulena Nešlehová, *Bohumil Kubišta* (Prague: Odeon, 1984) 123.

(38) Bohumil Kubišta, "O duchovém podkladu moderní doby" (On the spiritual foundation of modern times,1912), in Jiří Padrta, *Osma a Skupina výtvarných umělců* (Fine Art Groups Osma and Skupina výtvarných umělců) (Prague: Odeon, 1993) 90.

(39) See Daniel W. Smith, "Deleuze's Theory of Sensation: Overcoming the Kantian Duality," *Deleuze: A Critical Reader*, ed. Paul Patton (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996) 30-39.

(40) Smith 43.

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Kateřina Bártová

The Environmental Ethics in Cormac McCarthy's Novels

Abstract: *This paper intends to present an overview of major natural images with ecological undertones in the ten novels written by Cormac McCarthy. Nature has always been a substantial part both of the novels themselves and the criticism concerned with McCarthy. In recent years, the ecocritical or environmental readings of McCarthy have begun to dominate the study of nature in his novels. This paper follows the work of Georg Guillemin, Andrew Keller Estes and others and focuses on the key images of nature and the relationship between the human and non-human world. An ecocritical terminology as presented in the work of Lawrence Buell is used for naming crucial concepts. The intention is to read McCarthy's novelistic oeuvre as a whole and to demonstrate how certain images reappear and intensify throughout the novels, and therefore become a crucial aspect of their interpretation.*

Introduction: Environmental Ethics, Ecocriticism, and McCarthy

Environmental ethics is a field concerned "with human beings' ethical relationship with the natural environment" (Cochrane, "Environmental Ethics"). Although this topic appeared in philosophy much earlier, the formation of environmental ethics as an independent discipline dates to the 1970s. The growing interest in environmental ethics is connected with the growth of environmental awareness both among scientists and general public, including topics such as an impact of population growth or industry on the natural environment (Cochrane, "Environmental Ethics"). The debate was strongly influenced by Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring*, published in 1962, and Wilderness Act of 1964, which presented a legal definition of wilderness and was a result of long-term effort to legally protect American wilderness on the national, not only regional, scale (Nash 221-222).

It did not take long for the topic of environmental issues to enter literary circles. Although the significance of nature in literature had been studied prior to the so-called environmental crisis, the term ecocriticism was first used by William Rueckert in his essay "Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism", published in 1978, where he suggested to invite ecology to literary criticism as one of the possible ways to approach a text. Rueckert emphasized the ethical aspect of ecocriticism and defined one of its main issues: "(t)he conceptual and practical problem is to find the grounds upon which the two communities—the human, the natural—can coexist, cooperate, and flourish in the biosphere" (Rueckert 107). This originally experimental approach evolved into an independent discipline that may be defined as "a study of the relationship between literature and the physical environment, usually considered from out of the current global environmental crisis and its revisionist challenge to given modes of thought and practice" (Clark xiii). Ecocriticism also provides specific terminology and concepts helpful for grasping the complex issue of the role of environment in literature and other arts. As one of the main theoreticians of ecocriticism (although in his last book he uses the term environmental criticism instead), Lawrence Buell defined four criteria of an environmental text:

1. The nonhuman environment is present not merely as a framing device but as a presence that begins to suggest that human history is implicated in natural history.
2. The human interest is not understood to be the only legitimate interest.
3. Human accountability to the environment is part of the text's ethical orientation.

4. Some sense of the environment as a process rather than as a constant or a given is at least implicit in the text. (Buell 7-8)

Buell also introduced several concepts that tend to reappear in literature concerned with the environment, such as the toxic discourse connected with fear of living in a poisoned world, the importance of watershed imagery that demonstrates the complexity of the environment (what is done in one place influences the rest), the oscillation between local and global which challenges our conception of place, border, and scale, and the topic of environmental apocalypse in American literature.

Starting his literary career in 1960s, Cormac McCarthy (*1933) wrote majority of his novels in the midst of a rather passionate debate on man's relationship to the natural environment and, lately, ecocritical readings have begun to dominate criticism concerned with McCarthy and nature. The novels' natural environment meets Buell's four criteria of environmental text and as such deserves to be interpreted not only as a stage for human actions but for its own sake (Buell 52). This paper intends to analyse the relationship between people and their environment in the ten novels and to present an overview of this topic throughout his novels with an objective to demonstrate the presence and gradual intensification of ecological appeal in McCarthy's novels. In order to do so, it will focus on crucial passages from individual novels and their interpretation.

McCarthy, Natural Environment, and the Man-nature Relationship

As mentioned above, nature in McCarthy's novels is not a mere stage or setting. Also, it should not be valued only by its aesthetic quality. In his ecopastoral reading, Georg Guillemin offers to interpret land in McCarthy's first novel, *The Orchard Keeper*, as a protagonist of the story and claims that the whole text needs to be read as an allegory because some passages are narrated from the point of view of wilderness (22-23). Although Guillemin highlights the role of nature in the novel, he does not reflect the fact that this way of reading necessarily anthropomorphizes it. Understanding nature as a protagonist diminishes its significant characteristics in McCarthy's novel(s), which is its otherness. It does not mean that McCarthy's natural imagination abandons pathetic fallacy[1] altogether, but the word "protagonist" necessarily implies a human aspect. McCarthy's natural environment is far from being simply realistic, yet even in almost mysterious passages in *Outer Dark* nature is not portrayed as possessing human characteristics. Nature's otherness and the complexity of the man-nature relationship belong to the characteristics all McCarthy's novels share.

The natural environment as a human counterpart is to be found in all ten novels. All of them are also set in a specific geographic location[2] which can be familiar or completely strange for the characters and corresponds with culturally as well as environmentally significant locations of American South and West. Another crucial factor is that McCarthy describes humans' relationship to nature on a rather large time scale, from the middle of the 19th century and the Westward expansion in *Blood Meridian* to the near future in *The Road*. The only period McCarthy does not comment on is the first European settlement in America, yet many of the characters find themselves in a situation reminiscent of the first settlers and pioneers.

The individual characters represent first of the three levels of the man-nature relationship that we can find in the novels, the second and third being the society and the narrator. McCarthy's characters usually live on the outskirts of civilization and have first-hand experience with nature, as if they were living on a frontier even in the 20th century. They seem to remain in a kind of primary state of pioneers facing dangerous nature that both provides their living and endangers it; they still experience the

original struggle that made the uncivilized environment man's enemy (Nash 23). Although McCarthy's novels tend to be read as elegies for the past, this primary state is anything but harmonious. Most characters ignore their environment, they discard refuse everywhere, kill animals without thinking etc. However, the actions of individuals cause rather minor damage to the environment, in another words a damage that nature is able to deal with, unlike the civilization or society, the second level of the man-nature relationship.

The growing scale of settlement necessarily causes systematic exploitation of nature and landscape, the main example being the Westward expansion and its impact on American nature. Extensive logging, extermination of whole animal species, or dam building may serve as other examples of socially conditioned encroachment. While individual characters are not able to significantly threaten their surroundings, the society causes damage beyond repair and in many cases leaves nature in the state of irreversible destruction.

The third level of the man-nature relationship is represented by the narrator. Although the narrator is not openly critical, his perspective obviously differs significantly from both characters and society because he possesses the modern man's awareness of the environmental issues and applies a revisionist view. This aspect of McCarthy's work points to the basic paradox of the environmental literature described by Dana Phillips, who claims that "in order to begin to understand nature, we had first to alter it for the worse" (598). The environmental crisis is the reason why we started to give nature so much importance in the first place. And McCarthy's unnamed narrators show the errors of the past.

The Orchard Keeper (1965)

McCarthy's first novel is a point of departure of his attitude towards the natural environment. The very first scene of the novel describes mutual interdependence and wedging of the natural and the artificial. It begins with an image of an elm tree that has a fence grown into it. While there has been many a discussion whether the scene depicts the victory of the former or the latter, the tree and the fence that became gradually inseparable primarily demonstrate that nature is interwoven with the human creation and the relationship between the human and the non-human is a complex one.

The Orchard Keeper depicts regenerative power of nature which is able, to a certain extent, incorporate the artificial. This ability of nature is also connected with the differences in the scale, which is emphasized in the last paragraph of the book:

> They are gone now. Fled, banished in death or exile, lost, undone. Over the land sun and wind still move to burn and sway the trees, the grasses. No avatar, no scion, no vestige of that people remains. On the lips of the strange race that now dwells there their names are myth, legend, dust. (The Orchard Keeper 210)

While the man is gone, the sun, trees, and grass remain. The novel's ending summarizes the belief that nature exceeds man both on spatial and time scales and it will undoubtedly outlast humankind. For man it is simply impossible to create something that would survive forever as all his creations gradually decay and are doomed to disappear. In *The Orchard Keeper* McCarthy addresses the topic of man's finality and infinity of nature, a stance that will gradually change in the following novels.

The Southern Novels

The novels *The Orchard Keeper* (1965), *Outer Dark* (1968), *Child of God* (1973), and *Suttree* (1979) belong to the so-called Southern novels, that is novels that take place in the American South. In these

novels, the belief in regenerative power and eternity of nature begins to be seriously questioned and challenged. On the individual level, the characters often experience situations when they find themselves at the mercy of nature. In *Outer Dark* Culla Holme almost drowns, Suttree's love affair is ended by a natural disaster, Lester Ballard in *Child of God* is exposed to the elements etc. Nature is not described as a refuge friendly to the exiles but as a dangerous and rough place that challenges human beings. The characters generally remain indifferent to their environment, not out of hostility but because they take it for granted, as mentioned above.

While the individual characters cause minor damage, the first notions of systematic exploitation of nature, mainly in form of decreasing numbers of wildlife, deforestation, and dam building, appear in the Southern novels. Those are mentioned several times, yet the main issue concerning environmental ethics is the toxic discourse. Human settlement is inseparably connected with waste and people gradually make their environment toxic. The constant discarding refuse of generations takes its toll on nature, although it seems to be able to deal with human debris and regains dominance of the abandoned places, such as the deserted houses and ever-increasing value of trash, but the situation changes when the waste enters water at the beginning of the novel *Suttree*:

> Here at the creek mouth the fields run on to the river, the mud deltaed and baring out of its rich alluvial harbored bones and dread waste, a wrack of cratewood and condoms and fruitrinds. Old tins and jars and ruined household artifacts that rear from the fecal mire of the flats like landmarks in the trackless vales of dementia praecox. ... the blown lightbulbs like shorn polyps semitranslucent and skullcolored bobbing blindly down and spectral exes of oil and now and again the beached and stinking forms of foetal humans bloated like young birds mooneyed and bluish or stale gray. (*Suttree* 4-5)

In this particular scene, reminiscent of T. S. Eliot's poem *The Waste Land*, toxic discourse is combined with the watershed imagery. The objects are no longer only laying on the ground, they enter the water through which they pollute the whole area. The description attacks multiple senses and slowly escalates towards the image of dead foetuses that do not provoke emotional reaction but rather very physical sensation of nausea. The human foetuses floating on the water surface among trash underline the fact that the waste becomes an emblem of man's estrangement from nature. The image of a dead body in a water reappears several times in the novel and none of them suggest any kind of dignity, only uselessness and potential risk of contamination. Man deliberately steps out of the natural cycle and isolates himself which leads to the state when human beings become waste after their death since nothing is born out of their bodies (Svěrák 107). Not only people scatter trash all over during their lives, after their death they join it and become trash themselves in a vicious circle.

The fact that the Southern novels are set in more or less isolated region of the Appalachian Mountains may give a false impression that the problems addressed are rather of local character and caused by isolated benighted individuals and communities living in the forests, yet the following novels prove this vision very wrong because the exploitation of nature spreads through America like contaminated water. There are two main differences to be found between the representation of the man-nature relationship in the South and in the West. The first is that the Southern novels show quite an intimate relationship between man and nature by depicting places with constant settlement surrounded by wilderness while the Western novels describe journeys to the unknown land that is yet to be conquered. The second difference is the scale. While sense of certain region is substantial for

the Southern novels, the image of vastness is emblematic for the West. And the change of scale also means much greater harm done to the natural environment.

Blood Meridian (1985)

When the kid leaves American South to American West, McCarthy's fifth novel, *Blood Meridian*, introduces a new region and a new spectrum of man-nature relationship. The novel is set in the midst of the Westward expansion that is described not as a progress of civilization but as a systematic and basically barbarous exploitation of the land that caused irreparable damage to nature in attempt to tame and control it (Estes 120). The plains and forests are turned into pastures for cattle, the land is parcelled out, the buffaloes deliberately extinguished. The novel presents an image of a process that leads to an ecological disaster, which is not sudden, but all the more terrifying because the reader is given the perspective of the 20th century. While the damage in the Southern novels was caused mainly by ignorance, the Westward expansion is a purposeful operation. Landscape is changed in desire to remodel wilderness into cultivated land, a safe place that can be mastered by man (Estes 107).

Judge Holden is an extreme example of this desire to know and to control. In one scene, he portrays birds just to kill them in the next moment. To kill or to destroy means to have an absolute control over something, be it living creature or place. Holden sees the freedom of birds as an insult and perceives nature as a machine supposed to serve mankind (Estes 107). Although his attitude towards nature is extreme, this utilitarian vision of the environment is nothing unusual in McCarthy's world. Man's ambition to conquer nature is one of his motives for settlement and for pushing the boundary of civilization.

Blood Meridian is also McCarthy's first novel that explicitly presents fear of possible destruction of the world:

> You can find meanness in the least of creatures, but when God made man the devil was at his elbow. A creature that can do anything. Make a machine. And a machine to make a machine. And evil that can run itself a thousand years, no need to tend it. (Blood Meridian 20).

"A creature that can do anything" is no longer only a short chapter in the natural history. Man suddenly becomes a creator of his own and Earth's destiny. Humankind has the potential to create something utterly destructive and as eternal as nature. The tables start to turn and nature will be sooner or later at the mercy of humankind.

The Western Novels

The change of the region introduced in *Blood Meridian* continues in *The Border Trilogy*, consisting of the novels *All the Pretty Horses* (1992), *The Crossing* (1994), and *The Cities of the Plain* (1998), and *No Country for Old Men* (2005). As mentioned above, the change of the territory is accompanied by the change of the scale from local to more and more global, which corresponds with vastness of the landscape. The ecological connotations also become more general and applying for the whole America, although still based on particular locations. The ethics towards natural environment oscillates between the levels of the individual characters and whole society.

The Border Trilogy takes place several decades after the closing of the American frontier, yet the desire for danger and excitement did not disappear. The young protagonists of the Western novels seek their own frontier on a border with Mexico, which they imagine as the Garden of Eden.

Their individualism and idealism is confronted with the society and with the reality that Mexico is no Promised Land. With their disillusionment the sheer quantity of nature gradually decreases through the Western novels, which demonstrates man's further estrangement from nature that is completed in *No Country for Old Men*, where nature becomes a place where only drug dealers meet and given the extinction of wolves it is no longer dangerous because of the wildlife but because of man. This ultimate detachment immediately precedes the image of apocalypse in *The Road* where the man becomes the ultimate and sole predator.

Extermination of a whole species is a topic that appears in both *Blood Meridian* and *The Crossing*. More generally, animals in the Western novels seem to be ambassadors of nature because people treat them the same way they treat the landscape. While there were both domestic and truly wild animals in the Southern novels, in the Western novels wildlife is either tamed and then bred as horses in *Blood Meridian* and *All the Pretty Horses*, trapped and tied as she-wolf in *The Crossing*, or destroyed as the wild dogs in *The Cities of the Plain*. In *Blood Meridian*, there are two appearances of a bear. In the first one it is a dangerous animal that attacks and kills one of the men, but the bear in the end of the novel is a circus animal serving only for amusement (Spurgeon 99). The majestic predator undergoes the same process of taming like the landscape. Man gains almost absolute control over the land and wildlife but lacks the responsibility for the definitiveness of his decisions. And extermination of a whole species is one of the points of no return.

The Crossing

The first section of *The Crossing* narrates a story of a young rancher Billy Parham who attempts to save a pregnant she-wolf he trapped with his father, who wanted to kill her because she was preying on their cattle. Given the fact that wolves no longer live in New Mexico Billy decides to take her to Mexico, which he imagines as her original home and a paradise where she can live and thrive. However, in order to do so he has to bind her and undergo a journey full of suffering. The mission fails and Billy kills her out of mercy after the she-wolf is forced to fight against dogs. As mentioned above, the she-wolf is one of the animal ambassadors of nature that demonstrate man's desire to control. The whole story begins when the she-wolf comes and kills a calf, and therefore threatens Parhams' otherwise controlled living based on breeding cattle. They want to prevent another loss by killing the she-wolf but Billy decides to save the predator and return her to where he believes she belongs. Yet this both noble intention and attempt to impose his will on wildlife ends in a disaster (Sanborn 143-145).

The story of Billy and the she-wolf is an example of tension between the first and the second levels of the man-nature relationship. While Billy's intentions are essentially noble, he is also forced to his decision by the fact that if he lets her go, another farmer will kill her. This is the reason why he has to take her away in the first place. In a man-ruled world, there is no place for an uncontrollable predator. Billy's failed attempt to rebel against the system is similar to the scene from *The Orchard Keeper* where John Wesley Rattner returns money he got for a chicken hawk when he finds out that they are not worth money, only their death is because they are considered vermin. Both young men suddenly have to face the reality of the general public and authorities' attitude towards the wildlife. However, crossing the border is not a solution because the situation is the same or even worse in Mexico (Sanborn 144). The magnificent predator is deprived of the remains of her dignity and ends up as a pitiful creature. In McCarthy's world, this is what happens to nature in hands of humankind. *The Crossing* is a novel full of crossings of various boundaries, and an irreversible damage of extinction is one of them.

Another topic discussed in the novel is a boundary between true and false knowledge of the world:

The names of the cerros and the Sierras and the deserts exist only on maps. We name them that we do not lose our way. Yet it was because the way was lost to us already that we have made those names. The world cannot be lost. We are the ones. And it is because these names and these coordinates are our own naming that they cannot save us. That they cannot find for us the way again. (The Crossing 398)

When Billy Parham looks for the remains of his brother in order to bring them back to America, Quijada explains to him that his brother found his place in the world and should remain there. That he had the luck to find his place in a world where almost everybody lost their way. In fact, the whole mankind already lost their way because they do not understand the world. To name a place does not mean to know it and a map is an embodiment of this self-delusion of knowing a place.

The Road (2006)

In his last novel, McCarthy employs the image of an apocalypse, "the single most powerful master metaphor that the contemporary environmental imagination has at its disposal" (Buell 285). From an environmental perspective, *The Road* is a climax of McCarthy's literary work as it fulfils what preceding novels suggested and warned against (Frye 164). Both natural and man-made environments are destroyed by a catastrophe of unknown origin. It is not certain whether man is the architect of the apocalypse but he outlived nature, something completely unthinkable in the world of *The Orchard Keeper*. However, it is not a victory of mankind because the bleak vision of world without nature seems to be more distressing than the man's plight. The world is deprived of its colours and life and people survive only thanks to the remnants of civilization and cannibalism.

While in the former novels the environmental ethics was always connected to a particular location, *The Road* operates on the most global scale because the apocalypse seems to be worldwide. The three levels of the man-nature relationship are also transformed. The boy and the man are the individuals who stand against everybody. The social level disappears completely as there is no structure, only few gangs. Humankind can no longer do any good or harm to the natural environment because it is dead. The ruins of nature are no longer a threat and the only predator left is the man himself. *The Road* provides an image of man's absolute control over the natural environment: a complete destruction.

Since the story is set in near future, the narrator obviously cannot apply a revisionist view but the novel works the other way around; it provides an image of the future in an attempt to prevent it as becomes clear in the last paragraph:

Once there were brook trout in the streams in the mountains. You could see them standing in the amber current where the white edges of their fins wimpled softly in the flow. They smelled of moss in your hand. Polished and muscular and torsional. On their backs were vermiculate patterns that were maps of the world in its becoming. Maps and mazes. Of a thing which could not be put back. Not be made right again. In the deep glens where they lived all things were older than man and they hummed of mystery. (The Road 306-307)

This image is in stark contrast to the rest of the book and is probably the most targeted ecological appeal. The narrator's past tense is used for our present and the scene chosen is quite accessible for Euro-American imagination, nothing spectacular or sublime. Similarly to the above quoted passage from *Suttree* it emphasizes the role of water and employs all senses even more vividly. However, in this

case the view is not a poisonous gutter but a pristine beauty demonstrating that there is a lot to be lost and man's relationship to nature needs to be redefined when we still have time and we can save what we have. A moment might come when humankind loses everything and for good. The man is put in charge of his future and the ending of *The Road* is a clear warning against causing more damage to the natural environment. Although the origin of the apocalypse remains oblivious, the only chance is to reassess man's desire to know and control if there should be any potential for the future, because these approaches failed. The nature now depends on the willingness of humankind to preserve it and all the responsibility falls on man's shoulders.

Conclusion

This paper presented an overview of environmental ethics in Cormac McCarthy's novels. The reason for including all the novels was to demonstrate that the questions of environmental ethics appear throughout McCarthy's novelistic work and should not be marginalized. Although necessarily selective, the paper presented several essential scenes and attempted to make connections across the novels to show how certain images reappear. While the Southern novels introduced the topic of exploitation of nature and the risks of man's irresponsible behaviour, the Western novels expanded these topics on the scale and seriousness—from the decreasing numbers of wildlife to a complete extinction, from extensive logging in a certain region to a destruction of whole biotopes and their inhabitants. The above discussed excerpts should provide a sufficient proof that there is an environmental appeal in McCarthy's novels and it gradually intensifies—from local to global in terms of scale, from belief in nature's infinity to the ultimate destruction.

The ethical aspect of the man-nature relationship in McCarthy is a complex issue, mainly because his nature stands beyond human moral codes. McCarthy's nature is undoubtedly beautiful, but on the other hand dangerous, enigmatic, and mysterious. Majority of the discussed images describe lack of responsibility towards nature and man's negative impact on the natural environment. In McCarthy's world, almost every human encroachment into natural environment ends up in a disaster, regardless the original intentions (Sanborn 144). Yet the narrators only present the individual scenes and the actions of the characters, and the final meaning of the text depends very much on the reader because McCarthy's agenda is much less obvious than in the majority of openly environmental texts.

Various passages from *The Orchard Keeper* through *The Crossing*, to *The Road* suggest that man's relationship to nature needs to be redefined and not based on an illusionary hegemony. McCarthy's texts represent a challenge to anthropocentric vision of the world which is potentially immensely destructive. To know and name the nature does not mean to understand it and the ability to control particular place should always go hand in hand with responsibility for it. In the end, McCarthy's ethical approach to nature is based on the respect to its otherness and understanding its value, regardless of its utility for mankind.

Notes

(1) Personification of nature (Buell 188).

(2) A hint of particular location is to be found even in The Road in a form of emblematic advertisement from Tennessee (Estes 209).

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Mark A. Brandon

The Cultural Legacy of Aleš Hrdlička: Changing Ideas about Race since 1943

Abstract: *This essay explores how scholars have interpreted the ideas of the Czech-American anthropologist Aleš Hrdlička (1869–1943) since his death. The academic discourse surrounding race has shifted drastically since World War II, and few figures have escaped a thorough re-interpretation as times and ideas have changed. Hrdlička was the first Curator of Physical Anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution (1903–42), and since the investigation of racial difference was one of his main tasks, his views about race have always been in the spotlight. This paper will describe the journey his legacy has taken from a vocal enemy of Nazi-style racism after World War II, to a proponent of human unity in the 1960s, to an insensitive racist in the last few decades. The course of his post-mortem reputation mirrors changing ideas about race in American culture since World War II.*

Introduction

Aleš Hrdlička (1869–1943), a Czech-speaking immigrant, was the Curator of Physical Anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution for nearly forty years. In the United States, Hrdlička is remembered as one of the founding fathers of American physical anthropology. According to renowned anthropologist Ashley Montagu (1905–99), "physical anthropology in America owes more to the missionary zeal of Hrdlička than to any other single worker" (114). Not only did he play a foundational role at the Smithsonian, but he was also the founder of the prestigious *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* in 1918. In the Czech and Czechoslovakian environment, Hrdlička has been revered, at least among academics, for several contributions. He actively supported the development of Czechoslovakian anthropology as the founder of the Hrdlička Museum of Man in Prague, and he was also an important founder of the Czech journal *Anthropologie*. He is likewise remembered for his personal commitment to the Czechoslovakian state, and one Czech author has written that his "scientific activities were notably accompanied by an attempt to support the concept of the Czechoslovakian nation" (Kostrhun 598). Although Hrdlička was clearly interested in many topics, race issues were always central to his career, and part of his job description at the Smithsonian was "the comprehensive biological study of the many and diverse racial elements of the American nation" (Spencer 248).

Despite his notoriety among experts, there remains much uncertainty about Hrdlička's views on race and racism. Some authors, mostly Czech, have portrayed Hrdlička as an enemy of all racial hierarchy and an early proponent of equality. Others, mostly in the United States, have been far more critical of Hrdlička as a well-placed scientist who used his authority to indoctrinate the American public with racist ideas.

One reason for this discrepancy is that the concepts of "race," "racism," and "anti-racism" have no fixed meanings outside of specific historical contexts (Brattain, Fields). For those who emphasize Hrdlička's sharp hatred for Nazi-style racism in the 1930s and early 40s, he appears to be a liberal advocate of equality. For others, who focus more on his theories about blacks, "yellow-browns" (his term), and Native Americans, he looks like a racist. This paper will not resolve the problem by examining Hrdlička' ideas directly. Instead it focuses on how his legacy has evolved over the years, in different historical contexts, and in accord with changing notions of racism and anti-racism. In some contexts, scholars have portrayed Hrdlička as a champion of racial equality; in others, they have depicted him as a racist.

Although not always dissimilar, Czechoslovakian and American portrayals of Hrdlička have often diverged. There could be many reasons for this, but two practical considerations should be taken into account. The main deficiency for Czechoslovakian and Czech scholars (with the exception of Miroslav Prokopec) has been lack of convenient access to the bulk of the primary sources, which are found in the Hrdlička Papers collection at the Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institute, just outside of Washington, D.C. Lacking immediate access to most of the archival data, Czech authors have had to make deductive conclusions solely from published sources. The main obstacles for American scholars have been their inability to read the Czech language, and, frequently, their uncritical understanding of Czech and Czechoslovakian history. Although Americans have easy access to the Hrdlička Papers, a surprising amount of the archived documents are written in Czech, which is today a fairly obscure language for Americans. Furthermore, almost all of the Americans writing about Hrdlička have been physical anthropologists, not historians. This means that some of the analysis has lacked a critical approach to the complexities of central European and Czech history. For example, even for those who are well trained in European history, it is still easy to forget, as one author has, the significant truth that Hrdlička was not "born in Czechoslovakia," which of course did not exist in 1869 (Ortner 88).

A Czechoslovakian Equalitarian

Czechoslovakian and Czech assessments of Hrdlička have tended to portray him positively as a hero in the struggle against racism. This makes sense given the political situation in central Europe, especially in the years after World War II. Hrdlička died in 1943, when ideas about race were closely bound to the polemical needs of the war, and it was important, for political reasons, to contest specific aspects of Nazi-style racism. Writing in 1947, Czech author Viktor Palivec (1908–89) praised Hrdlička for refuting Nazi ideas about Slavic inferiority. Palivec was especially insulted by the theory, which he labeled a "German fantasy," that the Slavs had originally migrated to Europe from Asia. For Palivec, Hrdlička was a hero because he helped to demonstrate that Slavs were "aboriginal" inhabitants in Europe and not migrants from Asia (27). He extoled Hrdlička for safeguarding the rightful place of Slavs as "the last great biological reserve of the white race" (27).

In Communist Czechoslovakia in the 1950s, altered political circumstances engendered new perceptions of race and racism, and Hrdlička's legacy mutated accordingly. The urgency of refuting specific Nazi racial theories about Slavs gave way to the new imperative of opposing colonialism, and this made racism in Britain, France and the United States more visible to soviet eyes. Writing in 1953, the Czech anthropologist Vojtěch Fetter (1905–71) transformed Hrdlička from an opponent of Nazi racism specifically into an outspoken enemy of all racism, generally. According to Fetter, Hrdlička's ideas were a broad denial that "whites" have a "natural right (...) to rule the colored colonial nations" and that the "white lord can rule colored slaves" (7).

Fetter based his broad assertions on the fact that Hrdlička believed in monogenesis. This is the theory that all humans have evolved from a single biological source and are therefore one species. The opposite of monogenesis was polygenesis, which held that the various races were different species with separate evolutionary lineages. Fetter presumed that Hrdlička's rejection of polygenesis was also a clear refutation of "racial superiority and inferiority" (11). This conclusion, founded on deduction rather than empirical evidence, has continued to shape the Czech-language historiography of Hrdlička until the present.

Another Czech anthropologist and a student of Fetter's, Miroslav Prokopec (1923–2014), further developed the myth that Hrdlička was a full-fledged proponent of racial equality. Prokopec's works on

Hrdlička appeared in both Czech and English and had some influence in the United States, which he visited in 1992–93 (Brůžek). Early in his long career, Prokopec boldly announced that human equality was Hrdlička's personal "creed." (In a later publication, co-authored with Smithsonian anthropologist Stephen Loring, he modified this assertion) Like Fetter, he based this claim entirely on Hrdlička's advocacy of monogenesis, which he assumed was a clear denial that there are "naturally higher and lower human races" (Prokopec 10).

Following this interpretation, the Czech Anthropological Society has issued the Commemorative Medal of Dr. Aleš Hrdlička to selected scholars every ten years since 1959. The reverse of the medal shows a neandarthal skull with an anthropologist's calipers and proclaims: "All mankind is of one origin" (Bečvář 16-17). This statement is accurate in the sense that Hrdlička believed it. However, the equalitarian message that some believe it conveys in a modern context is probably not representative of the beliefs that Hrdlička expressed in his own day. Particularly in the Czech environment, there remains a tendency to exaggerate Hrdlička's dedication to racial equality. For example, the current website for the Museum of Dr. Aleš Hrdlička proudly proclaims that he "was a leading representative of the idea of the equality of human races (...) The result of Hrdlička's research is the slogan: 'All mankind is of one origin'" ("Dr. Aleš Hrdlička"). Similarly, the page for "Aleš Hrdlička" at the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs website proclaims, "he proved that human races have a single origin and are therefore equal" (Dubovický).

Although this essay focuses on Hrdlička's legacy and not directly on his own ideas, it might be worthwhile to compare this heroic interpretation with some of Hrdlička's own words about racial equality. In a Czech publication in 1924, Hrdlička claimed, "there will (in the future) be great and small people, mainly in terms of their mental abilities; and the weaker, wherever they come into contact with the stronger, will submit, just as today the Negritoes, various Blacks, Australians, Siberians, and American Indians have already succumbed" (*On the Origin and Development of Man* (*O Původu a vývoji čověka*) 63). He also placed whites at the top of the hierarchy, for "the future belongs to the mentally stronger. These are today comprised mostly of the white and to lesser extent the yellow-brown races" (*On the Origin and Development of Man* 63). Just a few years later, in 1928, he made a similar statement in the United States: "races, especially the further distant ones like the white and the negro, if the accumulated observations of anthropology count for anything, are not equipotential" ("Race Deterioration" 84). This is not the place for a more careful examination of Hrdlička's conception of race, but there appears, at least momentarily, to be a contradiction between his equalitarian reputation and his own beliefs.

USA: The Anti-Racist And The Racist Hrdlička (Circa 1979–Present)

While Czechoslovakian and Czech scholarship has tended to celebrate Hrdlička as a champion of racial equality, American authors have been more divided, and they fall roughly into two unreconciled interpretive categories (sometimes even expressed by the same author). One strain of thought is similar to the more heroic Czech tradition. On the other hand, the majority of American scholars have been critical of Hrdlička's race beliefs. While both countries have their own controversies concerning race, the topics of public discussion have often been very different. While World War II and Nazi racism are important topics in the United States, other race issues have become equally significant to Americans. As the world war receded into the past, Americans became more concerned with segregation aimed at American blacks, discrimination and racism towards Asians, acknowledgement of the murderous treatment of Native Americans, and participation in an increasingly nuanced and disturbing discussion about the global pervasiveness

of anti-Semitism in the years leading up to World War II. Concern over these topics has of course shaped evaluations of Hrdlička.

By far the most comprehensive and influential study of Hrdlička is a 1979 dissertation by the well-known anthropologist Frank Spencer (1941–99), and this work belongs to the more heroic interpretive strain, mirroring in some ways, albeit with a few notable exceptions, the Czech literature. In Spencer's view, Hrdlička accepted "the general futility of formal racial classifications and the fallaciousness of racial arguments that supposed the biological superiority of one race over another" (310). Even today, Spencer's dissertation is still important because it is the only full-length treatment of Hrdlička and his contributions to physical anthropology. It is also the first, and most thorough, study based on unpublished archival sources. Today, most scholarly publications dealing with Hrdlička resort to Spencer's work for basic historical data.

As magnificent as it is, Spencer's dissertation suffers from some of the deficiencies noted above. First, Spencer entirely neglected the huge amount of Czech-language sources in the Hrdlička Papers. Second, like many American scholars, Spencer unquestionably accepted an overly opinionated and hyperbolic view of Czech history. For example, he never sought to examine the politically charged assertion that before the creation of Czechoslovakia, Bohemia "suffered" "under the yoke of Austria" (5). Elsewhere, Spencer vaguely assumed that the "Czechs at this time were denied sociopolitical freedom" (24). Spencer's easy acceptance of emotive language drawn from an explicitly patriotic perspective sometimes blinded him to the most glaring prejudices of that age. For example, when describing Hrdlička's visit to the Austrian capital in 1896, Spencer wrote, "unlike Paris, the gaiety of Vienna was marred by the disagreeable sight of a platoon of cavalry or a squadron of marching Bosnian infantry—sharp reminders that Vienna was after all the center of a despotic Empire" (122). A more dispassionate analysis, and one more cognizant of world history, might question why, in the 1890s, Hrdlička did not notice the fact that Paris was also the center of a "despotic" empire. There is no harm in respecting and even admiring Hrdlička's personal moral commitment to a patriotic cause, but it is not the place of the modern scholar to endorse it by unquestioningly embracing the exaggerated tones used to promote it.

Uncritical acceptance of Hrdlička's Czechoslovakian nationalism has sometimes been important in shaping his legacy in America. It has led some to believe that his Czech-language background somehow made him resistant to racial and ethnic prejudice. For example, Donald Ortner writes, "Hrdlička was less influenced than most" by prejudice, "probably because of his own early cultural heritage in central Europe" (88). Following Spencer's lead, Ortner felt that Hrdlička's formative experience as a child in central Europe must have been "repression of the Czechs by the Austro-Hungarian Empire" (94). Such untested assumptions have sometimes even blinded modern scholars to Hrdlička's occasional bigotry. Hrdlička nursed a life-long chauvinism toward German-language culture, which Ortner exonerates as the result of "repression" by Austria-Hungary (94). When Spencer found a hint in the archive that the young Hrdlička once held anti-Semitic views, he defensively insisted that they must be understood "strictly within the Bohemian frame of reference" (15). For Spencer, the "Bohemian frame of reference" was apparently the frustration of the Czech patriot who was "obliged to suppress his own national feelings down to the smallest detail" (13). Setting aside the obvious question of whether this explanation is even accurate, it rests on the assumption that some types of "frustrated nationalism" make anti-Semitism more palatable that other kinds. Thus in America, an overly generous endorsement of the Czechoslovakian national cause, which was very dear to Hrdlička himself, may have prompted some scholars to embrace the heroic narrative and ignore or dismiss some of the more disagreeable data.

There is one more interesting and nuanced American view that puts Hrdlička in a positive light. Although today's scholarly consensus is that race is socially constructed and cannot exist outside of specific historical contexts, some writers have argued that race categories, even if imagined, may not necessarily be a bad idea. As surprising as it may seem, some have even gone so far as to argue that it is now "racist" to deny the existence of race. Ian Haney López, author of *White by Law*, captures this sentiment with these words: "proponents of reactionary colorblindness wear their antiracist pretensions boldly, professing their deep commitment to ending racial inequality. But this is a sham, for colorblindness promises to curtail race-conscious efforts to promote racial justice" (162). As odd as it may seem, this notion makes some sense as one begins to understand the history of Hrdlička's discipline, physical anthropology. In the nineteenth century, early anthropologists promoted the idea that race was an indisputable biological reality, but since approximately World War II, most scientific authorities have changed their minds, and today they almost unanimously insist that it is socially constructed. In the meantime, many groups around the world built cherished identities around race, and some have been reluctant to accept the new notion that racial identity is merely a product of human imagination. Given this history, it is understandable that some would view "colorblindness" as the latest imperialist trick to undermine now treasured "race" identities.

This thorny historical problem rests behind anthropologist Robert Oppenheim's analytic assessment of Hrdlička's race ideas. Oppenheim's article, "Revisiting Hrdlička and Boas: Asymmetries of Race and Anti-Imperialism in Interwar Anthropology," is complicated and hard to summarize, but it suggests that Hrdlička used racial language to fashion an identity for Czechs and protectively distinguish them from other groups. Hrdlička divided humanity into three great races, which he called "White," "Yellow-Brown," and "Black." Within the superior white race, Hrdlička identified what he called "racial types," such as Czechs and Germans. During World War II, Hrdlička used this frankly racist structure to belittle his enemies and praise his friends. For example, he mocked the German type as mixed and unstable, but he elevated the Czech type as unique. Viewing the war's Pacific Theatre as analogous to Europe, he attacked the Japanese type as indistinct but championed the Korean type as biologically special. Indeed, Oppenheim notes that nationalists seeking to assert a distinct Korean racial identity found Hrdlička's system attractive (99). Oppenheim calls this "racialist antiracism" in support of an "anti-imperialist commitment" (101). The gist of all this is that Hrdlička used an admittedly "racist" way of thinking to protect favored group identities, like those of Czechs and Koreans, from other forms of "racism" and from "imperialism."

One of the strengths of Oppenheim's study is that it places importance on Hrdlička's pronounced self-identification as a Czech-American. Oppenheim suggests that Hrdlička's broader understanding of race was rooted in his patriotic and personal commitment to Czechoslovakia. Given the amount of personal time and energy that Hrdlička devoted to the Czechoslovakian cause, this conclusion seems reasonable. Indeed, Oppenheim is the only author to make public mention of the immensity and significance of Hrdlička's Czech-language correspondence, a reality that is immediately apparent in the archive yet never mentioned in the literature. According to Oppenheim, "a fuller examination of Hrdlička's role awaits a reader of his considerable Czech correspondence" (94). Although American scholars know about Hrdlička's Bohemian origin, strident Czech identity, and patriotic commitment to Czechoslovakia; they often treat them in a vague and uncritical way, as noted above. Oppenheim is the first American author to grasp the intensity of Hrdlička's self-identification with Czech national ideals and to suggest that these beliefs were a central point from which his more general ideas about race may have emanated.

Although some American writers fall roughly into the "heroic" school of interpretation, a larger strain

of American scholarship focuses on Hrdlička's more ugly racist assumptions. Despite its prevailing optimism, even Spencer's work betrayed some discomfort with Hrdlička. In the archive, Spencer found a letter in which the youthful Hrdlička expressed hatred toward Jews (only one such expression has ever been found, which strongly suggests the he abandoned these views). In 1896, he wrote from Bohemia: "The land is beautiful, (and not) spoiled by the people: by the parasitic Jew, by the mean, rough, boastful German (...) I shall always, always deplore the Jews and the Germans" (Spencer 15). Spencer, writing not long after the Civil Rights Movement, also seemed a little uncomfortable with Hrdlička's characterization of blacks as lazy and unreliable (258).

Although Fetter, Prokopec, and later Czech authors saw Hrdlička's belief in monogenesis as proof of his dedication to racial equality, further study of scientific racism in the United States has demonstrated that the argument over monogenesis and polygenesis was not a discussion about racial equality at all. Advocates of monogenesis, including Darwin himself, were perfectly comfortable believing in superior and inferior races (Degler 72). As Stephen Jay Gould wrote in 1981, most scholars accepted the Darwinist version of monogenesis and simply "continued to construct linear hierarchies of races" (Gould 73; see also Starn 176). Hrdlička's acceptance of monogenesis was nothing revolutionary and did not preclude his belief in racial hierarchy.

On both sides of the Atlantic, Hrdlička won accolades for his opposition to Nazism in World War II, but interpretations of the war also began to change, as Americans became more cognizant of long-lasting racist presumptions on the victorious Allied side. In his 1986 study, *War without Mercy*, John Dower claimed: "apart from the genocide of the Jews, racism remains one of the great neglected subjects of World War Two" (4). Dower frankly reevaluated the war as an American race struggle against Japan. Part of his argument was that American scientists, biased by their racism, underestimated and dehumanized the Japanese. According to Dower, Hrdlička once explained to President Roosevelt, "the Japanese (are) 'as bad as they (are)' because their skulls (are) 'some 2,000 years less developed than ours'" (108). Other historians have reminded the public that while Americans were fighting against Nazi-style racism overseas, they continued to practice their own brand of racism at home. Segregation in the south is a clear example of this, and so is the continued practice of segregating blood and plasma supplies throughout the war, regardless of overwhelming scientific evidence that there was no difference between "white" and "colored" blood (Guglielmo). There was plenty of racism in the world that was not specifically Nazi racism, and the Second World War, at least for historians of race, could no longer be seen simply as a dualistic struggle between "racism" and "anti-racism." This interpretative swing put Hrdlička, whose reputation depended so heavily on his public stance against Nazi-style racism, in a very different light.

In fact, since World War II, Hrdlička's beloved discipline of physical anthropology has come under attack for supporting racist assumptions with scientific authority. Some scholars of early American anthropology, most notably Robert Rydell (1984) and Lee Baker (1998), have emphasized the role that elite scientists such as Hrdlička played in popularizing racial theories. Rydell studied how fairs and exhibitions visually depicted racial concepts for millions of Americans. For example, Hrdlička designed the Physical Anthropology Exhibit at the Panama-California Exposition in 1915, which about 3.5 million people attended. According to Rydell the exhibit reflected "the anthropology of government science and the evolutionary racial doctrines espoused by Aleš Hrdlička" (223). Interestingly, in the 1920s Hrdlička deliberately modeled the Prague Museum of Man after the San Diego exhibit.

As public sensitivity toward the plight of Native Americans has increased, Hrdlička has been named as the villain in several cases of violating sacred burial sites. Hrdlička was an enthusiastic hoarder of crania, and he was proud of his massive skull collection at the Smithsonian. His feverish bone hunts

took him mostly to Native American burial sites, which he pillaged recklessly and without permission from local Indians. Ann Fabian, author of *The Skull Collectors*, writes that Hrdlička was "not known for great empathy" and was willing "to ignore the hard stares of locals as he packed up boatloads of skeletal remains" (211). Charles Mann, in his survey of modern scholarship on pre-Columbian America, has expressed a more passionate condemnation of Hrdlička's behavior. Mann writes that Hrdlička's "fascination with the bones of old Indians was not matched by an equivalent interest in the sensibilities of living Native Americans" (184). The most famous case, which anthropologist Orin Starn skillfully documents, was the removal and storage of the brain of Ishi, the last surviving member of an extinct California tribe. Ishi's brain, removed in the name of science but against the man's requests, ended up floating in a vat in Hrdlička's collection. Starn implies that insensitivity to Ishi was rooted in ugly race beliefs found in Hrdlička's writings, which "reflect all too clearly the stereotypes of nineteenth-century scientific racism" (179).

Finally, the recent historiographic trend toward so-called "whiteness studies" in America might help to reconcile Hrdlička's anti-racist and the racist legacies. For historians, the most influential statements from this school are Matthew Frye Jacobson's *Whiteness of a Different Color* and David R. Roediger's *Working Towards Whiteness*. Although the "whiteness" perspective has now been applied to many specific immigrant groups, one of the seminal studies is Noel Ignatiev's *How the Irish Became White*. Aside from a very brief discussion in Cynthia Skove Nevels' *Lynching to Belong*, Czech immigrants still await this kind of analysis. According to this theory, European immigrants, however lightly pigmented they may have been, were once considered racially inferior, and, essentially, not quite "white." With time, they found ways to identify as white, largely by distancing themselves from "black." In this way, the category of "white" became more inclusive and "liberal" by embracing non-Nordic immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. However, the price for joining the white master race was accepting the inferiority of blacks. In a sense, new immigrants became "white" by adopting American-style racism toward blacks. This interpretive structure, now prevalent in the field of American Studies, might help to explain Hrdlička's thinking on race. It would explain why he hated Nazi-style racism (which divided people he considered "white" into hierarchal races) but at the same time persistently held to white racial superiority over blacks and Asians ("yellow-browns" in his terminology). In the end, both the racist and anti-racist accounts might offer some valid insight into Hrdlička's thought. Direct examination of the primary archival sources (including the Czech ones) will be the only way to know if this intriguing proposition helps to resolve the contradictory interpretations surrounding Hrdlička and race.

Conclusion

This short historiography of Hrdlička illustrates how ideas about race and racism have shifted over the years. Awareness of this constant change in meaning makes it easier to understand why Hrdlička has been seen both as a proponent of human equality and as a racist. In contrast to Nazi racism, he appears to be a promoter of racial equality. Since World War II, however, the concept of race itself came to be questioned, and the definition of racism expanded. There was, after all, much racism that was not specifically Nazi. Hrdlička's rousing polemical opposition to Nazi-style racism did not necessarily make him a crusader for racial equality in a more general sense. Contemporary scholars are likely to admit that while Hrdlička disagreed with Nazi-style racism about specifics, he nevertheless shared a few, maybe a few too many, of its foundational assumptions.

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Veronika Briatková

Freeze-dried Immigrant Heart: Discovering Identity and a Sense of Self in Anya Ulinich's Graphic Novel *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel*

Abstract: *Anya Ulinich's graphic novel Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel (2014) captures the intricacies of immigrant experience and its potential influence on identity development. The sense of not truly feeling at home at either Russia or the United States of America impacts various areas of Lena Finkle's life. Nevertheless, she feels a sense of belonging to both cultures because she immigrated as a teenager and was old enough to remember growing up in a different country. The paper focuses on immigration's impact on Lena's views on sex and love. Lena's contrasting views on these topics get expressed in the visual form which also becomes a part of the analysis.*

Ulinich described her characters as "idiots—they're not very insightful, so the stuff that happens to them ambushes them. They don't arrive at an understanding of things naturally; it has to slap them in the face" (Ulinich, *Jewish Book Council*). The same can be said about the main character of her graphic novel *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* (2014). This essay traces Lena Finkle's journey towards self-discovery and the narrative techniques of the graphic novel that Ulinich used to implement several perspectives on the unfolding events. Immigration and events of its aftermath impacted different areas of Lena's life and this essay focuses on the two of them: love and sex. The emotional processes of grief, guilt, and gratitude might help Lena to overcome her troubles but this paper proposes to include another stage that is crucial at least in this story; rebellion. The analysis would be incomplete without recognition of the graphic medium form and what it adds to the narrative and interpretation itself. The analysis attempts to bring a more concise picture of the complexity of Lena Finkle's journey towards self-discovery.

Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel took inspiration and its title from Bernard Malamud's short story "The Magic Barrel" (1964) in which Leo Finkle undergoes a crisis of faith during his quest to find love. The story concludes with Leo meeting a girl of his dreams but being surprised by hesitation before greeting her: "She wore white with red shoes, which fitted his expectations, although in a troubled moment he had imagined the dress red, and only the shoes white" (Malamud 214). The short story itself is featured in the graphic novel and Lena interprets it as "a story about a crisis of faith and the rush to self-delusion . . . he projects his emotional need onto this random picture . . . there should be a sequel where they get together and disappoint each other" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 188–89). *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* is a reworking and an extension of Malamud's story with a modern twist and autobiographical elements. Leo Finkle is confronted with a crisis of religious faith and Lena Finkle deals with an identity crisis.

Lena and her parents work for their landlords following their immigration from Russia to the United States of America in 1991. Lena's younger brother Crybaby attends a local high school while she dreams of studying at the Arizona State University; an unobtainable dream without permanent resident status. Her wish comes true after her marriage to Chance, a young American boy, who introduces her to skateboarding, delicious American food, weed, and sex. She divorces Chance and marries her second husband Josh with whom she has two children, Jackie and Dasha. Readers meet Lena for the first time in her new apartment as she is preparing to go on a book tour to Russia during which she spends a night with her childhood sweetheart, Alik. Lena confuses sex with love and her friend Eloise

advises her to date other people before completely devoting herself to Alik so soon after her divorce. Lena agrees and signs up for a modern version of the matchmaker's barrel from Malamud's short story; an online dating service OkCupid.

The concept of freedom permeates the novel in its various forms: religious freedom, casual sex, free education, and a freedom to make a choice. Every immigrant interprets the vision of freedom and success promised by the Statue of Liberty differently. People have been immigrating to the United States of America for various reasons: money, career, fleeing from persecution, annihilation, or holocaust. Earlier literature often portrays immigrants' struggle to become fully integrated into the society by letting go of the connection with their home country. Yelena Furman considers the publication of Gary Shteyngart's *The Russian Debutante's Handbook* in 2002 the beginning of contemporary Russian-American literature (Furman 20). She compares these works to earlier publications and concludes that the current generation attempts to maintain relationships with their home country as well as with the United States (20): "Like the writers that create it, this literature is hybrid: both Russian and American, neither wholly Russian nor wholly American, it is precisely Russian-American" (21). Ulinich's Lena Finkle struggles with this "lack of straightforward affiliation" to her Russian or American identity (23) but like other contemporary writers who feel removed from Russia, she does not shy away from a complex investigation of her feelings and discusses differences between the two cultures (Furman 24). Adrian Wanner also recognizes this importance of the contemporary autobiographical writing characterized by "the self-portrait of the author as a translingual and transcultural storyteller" (58). Anya Ulinich and Lena Finkle dissect Lena's life on both continents using two languages and persistent juxtaposition.

Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel is "a semi-autobiography, but it is a fiction" (Ulinich, *Jewish Book Council*) despite many similarities between the author and the character she created. Ulinich modernized and extended Malamud's "The Magic Barrel" and layered over it aspects of her life without losing the authenticity of her immigrant experience. The novel openly discusses sex despite the reservations of the main protagonist (Chute 18) who thinks that "sex was a private thing" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 247). Ulinich walks the path taken also by other contemporary autobiographical female writers (Marjane Satrapi, Lynda Barry) who

> return to events to literally re-view them, and in so doing, they productively point to the female subject as both an object of looking and a creator of looking and sight. They provoke us to think about how women, as both looking and looked-at subjects, are situated in particular times, spaces, and histories. (Chute 2)

Ulinich's graphic novel doubles this effect by making Lena a co-author of the novel. The semi-autobiographical element enables the looking Ulinich to become the looked-at subject and the same applies for Lena who gathers and creates the material for her story. This is achieved visually by employing elements of a diary in a scrapbook form and blending them with a comic book narrative of Lena's main storyline. The material collected within the novel includes notebook sketches, napkins, photos, and comic book illustrations scattered across the pages. Anya Ulinich and Lena Finkle are actively involved in presenting their story by providing the material in which they are looked-at subjects. Ulinich's choice to adopt scrapbooking for the graphic novel emphasizes its "subjectivity of perception" (Wolk 21) and therapeutic purpose.

The sequences of drawings through which Lena revisits her past are drawn on lined notebook pages. David L. Ulin contemplates that the notebook background represents "working drafts" because "so much of the book deals with her efforts to find a through line, to make sense of the disparate

pieces of her life" (Ulin, "'Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel Conjures a new Literary Form'"). Additionally, backgrounds "indicate invisible ideas, and emotions" (McCloud 132) but it is important to ask, "whose are these feelings?" (32). First and foremost, they belong to the fictional character but they also belong to Ulinich due to the semi-autobiographical nature of this work. Adopting scrapbooking and diary writing benefits the novel's confessional style. Ulinich's story-making is dynamic and she adapts cinematic techniques: close-ups or wide shots. The portrayal of a flashback transition uses frames that resemble a torn paper. Ulinich tears a corner of the page that depicts the events of the main timeline and reveals events of her past that are drawn on the notebook paper.

Stylistically varied visual representations of Lena's appearance enhance the fusion of author-characters, support the argument that her identity is neither fully American nor Russian, and underscore ambiguous boundaries between fiction and non-fiction. Wolk sees comics as an "interpretation or transformation of the world with aspects that are exaggerated, adapted, or invented" (20). Interpretation, exaggeration, adaptation, and invention get across ideas that the authors express better visually than textually. Consequently, the graphic novel's space and time is occupied by multiple versions of Lena Finkle who differ by their approximation to real life. Lena's features are less pronounced and more realistic than physical features of her younger self in flashback chapters drawn on the notebook background. This simplification amplifies specific details of Lena's identity by "stripping down an image to its essential meaning" (McCloud 31) and reflects her yearning for the lost unambiguity. Wolk understands the artist's line as "an interpolation, something the cartoonist adds to his or her idea of the shape of bodies in space" (123). Ulinich exercises this by removing subjective characteristics and enhancing features that are unambiguous; sharp Jewish nose and curly hair. Alternatively, the absence of realistic personal features draws attention to the distortion between Lena's perception of herself and others' perception of her. Lena's mind erases unnecessary details but exaggerates others and the recorded events are accompanied by a degree of simplification. Lena Finkle's hair is less curly, her nose is not as sharp and dominant, and she is not as overweight as she portrays herself retrospectively. These two styles of illustration are almost opposites of each other but such is Lena's way of thinking about life. The graphic novel's monochromatic black and white scheme reflects her preference to think in black and white despite ambiguity taking over her life.

David Brauner described Lena as Ulinich's literary Gonzo self (Brauner 260–61). A great attribute of gonzo writing, according to Libicky, is that unlike biography, it is not "narrowly concerning one life" and by "stretching and changing the truth" the autobiography becomes "metaphorical, even universal" (Libicky, "Jewish Memoir Page 10"). Lena Finkle is not a carbon copy of Anya Ulinich but Ulinich is involved in her story by lending Lena some of her experiences and characteristics. She does not use only one gonzo representation but multiple of them: the present-day Lena, Little Lena, the Duck Lena, and a younger Cartoon Lena. Brauner also uses psychoanalytical terminology to describe functions of individual Lenas: "If mini-Lena might be thought of Lena's superego, then duck-Lena . . . can be seen as a visual representation of her id, her unmediated inner self, exposed" (260–261). The Duck Lena appears during her post-breakup depression when Lena needs to grieve. Little Lena is externally identical to the present-day Lena but she often sarcastically reacts to her behavior and arguments. Little Lena is a manifestation of Lena's mind but her speech is in a regular speech bubble instead of a thought bubble which provides her with an independent agency.

The semi-autobiographical form featuring gonzo characters makes it easier for readers to imagine different women behind the same experience. It is a story of one because every immigrant experience is specific to that person but also a story of many because it shares issues experienced by a portion of immigrant women. Olivia M. Espín focuses on psychological processes in female immigrants in her

book *Women Crossing Boundaries: A Psychology of Immigration and Transformations of Sexuality* (1999). An immigrant herself, Espín confesses that she occasionally thinks of another version of self that would have been if she had not immigrated to the United States (1). Lena Finkle also imagines her alternative self as it would have been if she had stayed in Russia; she imagines herself holding a baby and looking out of the apartment window like her mother used to do (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 83). The accompanying illustrations of Lena and her mother are identical; only Lena's face is swapped for her mother's. Espín discusses a phenomenon of "contradictory legacy" (2) as feelings of gratitude for the opportunities and success she was able to achieve in a new country and contradictory feelings that something has been lost. These two emotions on the opposite side of an emotional spectrum tend to stay suppressed and unacknowledged (2) which results in an emotional distress. Lena is grateful to her parents and to the United States but she feels that something is missing and only accessible in her memories of Russia when she asks herself during her short book tour in St. Petersburg: "When will this country stop making me feel like a time traveler? . . . Like a visitor to my earlier self rather than to a place?" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 36). Finkle does not regret leaving but she recognizes that her unhappiness is caused by a psychological unrest stemming from an unidentified loss. Espín emphasizes that grief mixed with gratitude is an important and integral part of the immigrant experience and "the transitions . . . demand that one grieves for the old attachments to country and people" (30). Alik, Lena's childhood boyfriend from Russia, is one of such attachments. Lena feels "untethered and disassociated . . . arbitrary," (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 9) but has not grieved after Russia and Alik. Her sexual transition from sexually inexperienced to sexually experienced Lena Finkle parallels her immigrant experience. Lena re-evaluates her immigration, her sense of self before and after immigration by re-evaluating her view of sex and love, too. Ulinich confided in Kevin Kinsella that "coming from Russia to America coincided with growing up" (Ulinich, *Maud Newton*). Discovering sexuality, love, and identity is that part of growing up that Lena missed out on. She wants to change that and decides to go on another transitional journey to become who she thinks might be her authentic unambiguous self.

A subchapter titled "Glorious People's Sex Education" summarizes Lena's early sexual education and reveals depressing details. (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 20–29). In Russia, Lena was taught that "pleasure is shame" and her view of sexuality was complicated to begin with. (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 26). Masturbation was considered evil and young Lena felt "sick! I'll never have a normal life" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 27) but she continued to masturbate which left her feeling conflicted. Her father brought her magazines about sex and sexually transmitted diseases to discourage her from seeking out pleasure with multiple partners. Teenage Lena felt sexual arousal despite her parents' and Russia's attempts to suppress any display of sexual expression. The absence of "stack of porn mags in the woods" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 26) did not prevent her from having sexual feelings and unusual objects excited her; for example, a death scene in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, anything that vibrates, or "Granny's wheelchair" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 26). The darkest part of this chapter portrays Lena's rape and bears a subtitle "Lesson 2: Human Penis as an Instrument of Terror" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 24). The horrible encounter takes place in an elevator on her way home from school and young Lena ponders whether "is he a robber? But I have no money" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 25). The robber does not take her money but he does take her virginity[1] and for those few moments he steals her body; virginity and Lena are objectified. She becomes estranged from her own body and "afraid to look down there" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 25). Lena grieves the loss of her innocence and her choice to give away something that was hers. Her young body is colored in black when she is raped and again as she relives the

experience every time on her way home. The body itself is not unclean but the black color represents the stain left on Lena's mind. Here, Ulinich for the first time utilizes small frames which focus on specific times in Lena's day to represent trauma and depression. Compared to other scenes in the novel, even those on the notebook background, the text to image ratio is smaller and sentences shorter. The man's face is hidden and the message of the sequence relies heavily on the expression of Lena's eyes which dominate the individual pictures. The eyes look tired from being at school and ignore the man when she enters the elevator. She starts crying and readers see fear reflected in her eyes when he threatens her. The eyes are absent from the page and her whole body is painted in black in the picture that implies the rape. At night, she cannot sleep and the eyes are wide open and during the day they are alert when meeting "men of a certain height" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 25). The rape stains her perception of sex and her views on men's relationship to female bodies.

Lena does not break free from the chains of "Glorious People's Sex Education" after her immigration. She insists on having sex with her first husband Chance only if they get married but her motivation is not purely romantic. She is excited by the prospect of having sex but recognizes sex's potential as an object of trade and benefits from using her body as an object of exchange; a resident alien card for her virginity. She does not find herself "fundamentally transformed", however, and finds "my non-virgin self to be exactly the same person as my virgin self" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 84). Lena was raped as a child and it could be argued that she had technically lost her virginity before but the novel treats only the first consensual sexual relationship with Chance as her first time having sex. This treatment grants Lena a freedom of choice that someone attempted to take early on in her life. She reclaims her virginity and objectifies it but even this choice is tainted by her admission that she did it in "survival mode" to receive a resident alien card (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 82). The situation remains unchanged in her second marriage to Josh even after the couple becomes estranged but continues having sex: "If you do it in exchange—for saving a marriage, or for a respite from fighting— does not that make you a whore?" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 250). This admission of guilt comes when Lena speaks with the Orphan and long after the marriage ended. Lena did not actively participate in her parents' decision to immigrate to the United States but she made that conscious decision to immigrate by offering her body to Chance in exchange for a permanent resident status. This is the sacrifice that Lena made as an immigrant but she could not foresee the effect it would have on her identity later. Lena's new sexual journey is a way of trying to get back what she sacrificed as she seeks to find true joy in casual sex and love. She did not previously take time to do things for herself because she was preoccupied with becoming financially independent, successful, and with avoiding guilt by being properly grateful for the sacrifices of her immigrant parents.

Lena's mother reminds her that as parents "they sacrificed everything . . . destroyed their lives" and now it is Lena's time to "think of the children" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 147). She worries what people will think of Lena if they find out about her daughter's promiscuous dating life on OkCupid. Lena sarcastically replies that it is too late because she has already been nicknamed "Lena Finkle, the formidable whore of the five boroughs" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 144). Nevertheless, she feels guilty despite her sarcastic reply. Her psychiatrist attempts to change Lena's perspective on the issue and proposes that perhaps "your kids don't want your sacrifice!" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 147). A daughter's sexuality is controlled so it does not reflect badly on the family values (Espín 4) and many women welcome sexual freedom as one of the liberties brought about by immigration (Espín 5). Lena took advantage of the opportunities and made life for herself beyond the Atlantic as an American novelist[2] (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 42) but she feels that "I never managed to have a bi-continental life, like some of my Russian friends" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 7).

Lena's first step on her new journey is having sex with her married ex-boyfriend Alik when she discards Little Lena's warning and locks her out of the hotel room. Back in the United States, however, it becomes apparent how ignorant she is of the dating culture because she went from one marriage to another. Lena's expectations of American freedom are divorced from reality: "Single men and women should be able to float toward each other on the waves of lust and goodwill! Isn't that the beauty of being free?" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 163). Lena expected to be surrounded by freedom once she escaped the shackles of marriage and she is surprised to discover that no one is truly free all the time.

Lena is looking forward to enjoying "a room of my own" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 7) after sleeping in the same room as her children for a year. Her main wish is "to keep moving—forward, toward the unknown" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 83) but she finds it difficult to navigate through her new life because she spent a large portion of her old one without a room of her own and limited by the rules. Young Lena, for example, saw only two choices she could make as a child about her future: "Will I be a beauty? OR an intellectual? This is a class distinction, and, as such distinctions are, unbreachable. One can't be both" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 272). She unsympathetically glares at the picture of the darlings on her right side and decides that like her farther she wants to become one of the intellectuals, who are placed on her left. Later in life, Josh and Lena agreed that "sports, television, and pop music were for idiots," "my hair was too curly for bangs," "the only acceptable shoes were converse or combat boots," and "the only acceptable music was the music Josh liked" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 124). Lena, who "never had a selfish phase" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 110), receives an advice from her friend Eloise to "give yourself some time, frankly, to grow up" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 93). Chance introduced her to smoking weed and learning how to skateboard but her rushed marriages and immigration hindered Lena's self-discovering phase prematurely. Joining OkCupid is a hesitant act of rebellion but cutting her bangs and wearing shoes her daughter does not think suit Lena turn into confident acts of rebellion. They are juxtaposed to the images of memories depicting rules implemented on Lena, and punishments she had to suffer if she failed to comply with them. Her bangs are indeed too curly but what matters is that Lena enters a new phase in her life; she becomes a stubborn emotional rebel. Chasing financial and intellectual goals pushed back pursuing what made her feel guilty for wasting her parents' sacrifice; the fulfillment of her sexual and romantic needs.

Lena signs up for OkCupid to test the strength of her bond to Alik but this decision unexpectedly forces her to face the demons she has been avoiding. She has sex with multiple men but nobody meets her expectations to "feel something different . . . extraordinary" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 153). Lena copies the behavior of other American women, like her friend Yvonne whose determination and sex life she has always admired, to obtain their level of freedom. This transitional journey towards love and sexual freedom, like the immigrant journey, requires confrontation with guild and grief. Ironically, she finds love outside OKCupid in the form of a man called the Orphan. The relationship with the Orphan is love at first sight and she opens up to him about her sorrows. Lena seemingly obtains her American dream of happiness and even takes on a role of a Russian housewife darling. The love for the Orphan allows Lena to blend Russian and American cultures and lose her black and white thinking. Previously, Lena doubted that she could love someone else other than her two children and the freeze-dried heart image on the condom that is decorating chapter one is a symbol of that. She confessed love freely which used to scare Chance but gradually she appreciated "the taboo" around saying I love you (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 245). Eventually, the two marriages numbed Lena's desires and it is not until Lena experiences connection with the Orphan that she is able to love

and enjoy sex. Lena's time with the Orphan is spend lying around naked and getting to know each other intimately. The nudity symbolizes Lena's comfort around him but also with her own vulnerability. She grieves the loss of her innocence and accepts the guilt she feels for using sex as an object of trade in her marriages. The Orphan makes her feels safe, happy, and sexually fulfilled until everything falls apart when he unexpectedly leaves her without giving Lena any acceptable explanation.

"The idealization of the home country increases the feeling of loss" (Espín 30) and Lena's idealization of Alik and the Orphan multiplies the pain from her lost unambiguous identity that she possessed in Russia. Little Lena cannot tolerate present-day Lena's idealized reminiscing about Alik: "Please! You were bored, and couldn't wait to leave!" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 30). Lena's love for Alik is reflective of this yearning rather than of any authentic romantic feeling for him. The Orphan exuberates a Russian man with an aura of sadness that Lena always finds attractive; he is an American version of Alik (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 32). The break up forces Lena to vicariously grieve the loss of her unambiguous idealized younger self while she grieves the end of their relationship. The Duck Lena appears during this part of the novel and represents Lena's depression. Depression is temporary and her mindset is transformed similarly like an ugly duckling from Hans Christian Andersen's story; only she accepts the imperfections of life. The cyclic nature of depression is depicted using small square frames like those that portrayed Lena's mental state after her rape. Numerous little pictures are placed along the edges of a larger picture in the middle of the page. The space between them is interwoven with barb wire which painfully holds Lena's sanity together.

Claudia La Rocco criticizes Ulinich's reducing portrayal of men with an exception of the Orphan who is more "rendered" (Claudia La Rocco, "Could Be 'Girls,' Only She's Divorced and a Parent"). Ulinich, however, is at least partially aware of this. The Orphan is worried that Lena will reduce him to a stereotype in her upcoming novel (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 358). La Rocco's observation is justified; yet, such design is not accidental. Lena's father, her husbands, or the rapist influenced Lena's life but the graphic novel is about Lena distancing herself from that influence. The Orphan is more rendered because he is intimately involved in that journey.

Lena does not completely overcome her break up but accepts it and Little Lena expresses that Finkle now has her "own story" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 350). Brauner gives two interpretations: first, Lena finally enjoys her own experience, and second, she gets rid of the multiple "inauthentic impersonations and takes ownership of her own narrative" (265). Lena vicariously lived through the experience of her imaginary idealized immigrant Russian American self but now she becomes aware that "no one ever truly arrives" (Ulinich, *Lena Finkle's Magic Barrel* 361) and the journey is unpredictable, constantly changing, and infinite. She comes to appreciate that relationships are ambiguous and finds beauty in the pain that comes with losing something or someone; including herself.

This paper parallels Lena's journey towards reconciling her Russian and American identity with her journey to fix her broken relationship to sex and love. Both journeys move forward successfully when Lena finally lets herself feel guilty, act like a teenage rebel, grieve, and feel gratitude for the road traveled. Experiencing and accepting ambiguity becomes essential to avoid being suffocated by the loss of a stable identity that belonged to one culture only. Ulinich created her own gonzo self by employing several versions of Lena Finkle and utilized the visual potential of the graphic novel form to portray intricacies of the ambiguous immigrant identity that exists between two cultures, but might not confidently exist in neither of them at first.

Notes

(1) Virginity can refer to non-penetrative or penetrative sexual encounter. The novel does not specify how she was raped.

(2) Lena's mother refers to her as an American, not a Russian-American novelist, although Lena disagrees.

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Šárka Bubíková

Fans of literature and the borders of a text

Abstract: *The contemporary phenomenon of fan fiction has triggered not only (renewed) discussions on the dividing lines between commercial and non-commercial activities, between subculture and the mainstream, professional and amateur literary productions and the non/importance of copyright in art in general, but has also presented new challenges to our understanding of the stability of a literary text and its boundaries. The paper aims at introducing the phenomenon of fanfiction, analyze some of its aspects, and focus on how the mere existence of fanfiction subverts the notion of a text as a stable artefact raising interesting questions about the character of human creativity.*

Interested in the extent of common knowledge of what constitutes fanfiction, I kept asking my peers what the words "fans" and "fandoms" mean to them. Their first associations were sports—they referred to football fans or ice-hockey fans or baseball fans. When asked specifically about female fans, my peers would admit that there exist fandoms surrounding a singer or an actor. Based on this improvised oral questionnaire, one would conclude that fans have nothing to do with literature. Until the question was presented to my thirteen-year old son: "With what would you connect the word fan?" He answered without hesitation: "But of course with *Harry Potter*!" And his answer gets us right to the core of the matter—making it clear that speaking of literary fans and fandoms, we will "descend" into the realm of the popular, mostly into the genres of fantasy, sci-fi, horror and crime fiction because the majority of fandoms center around these popular forms. It also points to the fact that it is a predominantly contemporary phenomenon spreading especially among the youth.

By literary fans we do not mean readers who very much like a particular literary piece, re-read it and/or discuss it with their friends but those readers who actively engage with the text and who seek the community of like-minded active readers. In the words of the journalist and novelist Lev Grossman, literary fans "are not silent, couchbound consumers of media" (44). Fans create their fandoms, i.e. communities of fans devoted to a particular work, publish texts in magazines called fanzines (more recently in electronic format as e-zines), meet at various conventions (or cons). Fans' engagement with the source text (in the fans' vernacular—the fanspeak—called the canon) includes production of various art forms—fan art such as drawings, paintings and photo collages (called fanpic), fan games, videos, songs, and texts called fanfiction.

Fanfiction (also fan fiction), often abbreviated as fanfic, is thus any non-commercial derivative fiction created by fans (non-professionals) based on or related to an existing (usually recent) work of popular fiction (or film, TV series, video and computer game). It is created without the author's (or the copyright holder's) consent (see Jenkins 1992, Schwabach 2011). It is non-commercial because it is written by fans for fans and shared for free in the fandom community. Typically, fanfiction is posted on the Internet where other fans can read it and provide the writer with feedback. Some readers, called beta-readers, even edit the text (they beta-read it) (see Karpovich 2006) while others may write a text in reaction to it. In such a way, they create a true literary palimpsest. The fanfiction community therefore represents a form of highly active, participatory readership. Sociological research claims that fanfiction is mostly a female domain (see Jenkins 1992, Black 2005, Thomas 2006).

Media studies scholar Henry Jenkins used the term poachers (1992) to describe the writers of fanfiction and has analyzed the phenomenon as a great example of cultural convergence by which he means "the flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple

media industries, and the migratory behavior of media audiences" (2006: 2). Thus (popular) culture is no longer seen in the dichotomy of producers and consumers (as for example in Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 1980, translated into English 1984) because the dividing line between production and consumption is significantly blurred. In fact, as Katherine Larsen and Lynn S. Zubernis claim, the potential for participation is an important factor in nowadays world of production: "In order for a media text to be a successful cultural attractor, there must also be a way in for fans, with meaningful ways to participate" (Larsen, Zubernis 3).

Fanfiction writers engage with their source text in a variety of ways: they may change narrative point of view, turn a minor character into a protagonist, add what happens before or after the original plot; they can also add events, characters, settings, entire subplots, and thus expand the original fictional world; they create new relationships between existing characters. They may move the fantasy (or supernatural) world of the original text into a realistic (natural) world and thus alternate between these worlds. In short, they adore, emulate, transform, parody, critique, and variously subvert the original. In other words, fanfiction creates variety of hypertexts to the original hypotext.

The reactions of canonic authors (the authors of the hypotext) to fanfiction are varied. Many professional writers are flattered by its mere existence because if their texts inspire fanfiction, it also means they are widely read and thus popular. So for example Rainbow Rowell, author of *Fangirl* (2013) said: "It leaves me awed to think that people are invested in my stories and my characters so much that they want to make their own art and their own stories about them" (as quoted by Chelsey Philpot). J.K. Rowling (author of the *Harry Potter* series, 1997-2007) or Stephanie Meyer (author of *The Twilight Saga*, 2005-8) are equally welcoming towards fanfiction. As Grossman pointed out fanfiction can after all act as "a viral marketing agent for their work" (45). Other writers oppose fanfiction or are downright hostile. Thus for example American popular fiction writer Anne Rice (author of *Interview with the Vampire*, 1976 and *The Witching Hour*, 1990) posts on her official website the following statement: "I do not allow fan fiction. The characters are copyrighted. It upsets me terribly to even think about fan fiction with my characters. I advise my readers to write your own original stories with your own characters. It is absolutely essential that you respect my wishes."[1] Similarly George R. R. Martin (author of the *Game of Thrones*, 1996) declared during a November 2013 press conference that he would prefer writers to make up "their own characters and their own stories" (as quoted in Philpot).

As Jenkins points out, the picture gets more complicated when corporate copyright holders are involved: "I can't think of very many cases where individual authors have sought legal recourse against fans. I can think of many where legal regimes become much tougher once corporations take over" (as quoted in Philpot). For example although J.K. Rowling has sent encouraging messages to the major *Harry Potter* fanfiction web sites and openly declared that the existence of fanfiction is flattering her (Waters), Warner Bros releasing the *Harry Potter* films requested that the sites remove content and/or shut down. The studio's campaign, as Philpot claims, "resulted in domain names being confiscated, but they also caused a public relations disaster and uproar from fans threatening to boycott the films." In the early 2000s, when Warner Bros attacked *Harry Potter* fanfiction, the most popular fanfiction web site Fanfiction.net listed some 700,000 Harry Potter stories. Anupam Chandler and Madhavi Sunder record a similar instance where the Warner Bros issued a cease and desist letter to an Indian publisher who published a fanfiction story (sold for less than a dollar) in Bengali about Harry Potter's visit to Calcutta (610-11).

Nevertheless, times seem to be changing in this respect. Some of the major entertainment corporations have changed their tactic and started to court the fan fiction communities instead, usually by organizing contests for fan fiction writers and/or artists with the best works being published

(or made available as e-books) or by creating a commercial publishing platforms enabling fan fiction to be sold online (see Raugust 22 or Jones 9).

The various forms of fanfiction have their standard labels which give its readers a basic clue as to what to expect of the text. In that way, categories of fanfiction function as genre categories in fiction. Among the categories are for example the "alternative universe" (AU) which alternates the fictional world for example by creating a life for a character that died in the original; "alternative human" (AU/AH) where the fantasy (supernatural) world is changed into a natural one; "hurt/comfort" (H/C) stories in which a character gets hurt so that another one can comfort him/her; "sillyfic" or a short humorous text intended to entertain. A specific category and one which tends to draw non-fan attention the most is "slash" fiction presenting a homoerotic or homosexual relationship between characters that are heterosexual in the original (Jenkins 1992, 162-77, Hellekson and Busse 11-13). Among the first fanfiction slash pairing were two male characters from the *Star Trek* series Kirk and Spock.

Fanfiction writers thus imagine all kinds of "what ifs" to the fictional world and its characters, or perhaps predominantly the characters, because, as psychologist Jennifer L. Barnes notes, "a variety of scholars have suggested that in fanfiction, character is king" (75). Veerle Van Steenhuyse in her analysis of fanfiction texts derived from the TV series *Dr. House* points to the high level of emotional involvement or immersion of fans in the lives of their characters. In fact, great emotional engagement is characteristic of fans in general, not only the literary ones. Therefore it is not surprising to find that not only *Dr. House* fanfiction but a vast majority of fanfiction surrounding any canonical text concentrates on the relationships between characters. Barnes thus concludes that fanfiction can be perceived as "means of gaining control over our parasocial relationships with characters" (75).

Some fanfiction writers insert their (often idealized) alter ego into the story in order to interact with the characters. And although this practice is often refused by fanfiction communities as narcissist and is pejoratively labeled "Mary Sue",[2] Chandler and Sunders (2007) effectively argue that the method represents a powerful means of empowerment and subaltern critique. Fanfiction writers often give voices to the margins; they valorize and revalue their place within social space. The above mentioned example of a fanfiction story bringing Harry Potter to Calcutta is a great example of cultural adaptation; one which includes Bengali traditions and setting into a fictional world that was originally and predominantly white and British. A Czech fanfiction story[3] similarly places an alternative subplot of *Harry Potter* into a distinctly Central European setting in order to counter a rather stereotypical presentation of Slavic characters in the original and includes supernatural characters from Slavic folklore.

Since many popular works have featured predominantly white main characters, there is a need among the fans to supply more racial and ethnic diversity or simply characters with which non-white fans can identify. Even a web site called dreaming-in-color.net exists dedicated to fanfiction "about characters of color" (2009). A lot of fanfiction centers on strong, active female characters. For example, various Harry Potter fanfiction stories focus on the character of Hermione, turning her into the protagonist (not just a helper of the protagonist), making the story *her* story and in that way they offer an antidote to the Hogwarts world where male characters (be them students or teachers) lead. Fanfiction stories inserting a powerful female character/s appear particularly in connection to those popular works where original female characters are either just sidekicks or powerless victims or are mostly missing (*Lord of the Rings*, 1954-5, or the already mentioned original series of *Star Trek* serve as good examples here).

Fanfiction as part of popular culture has been studied for some time now—fandom studies exist as a specialized discipline with scholars focusing on variety of issues and similarly employing

a range of critical approaches (such as media studies, literary theory, textual analysis, psychoanalysis, education studies etc.). For example John Fiske (1992) studies the role of class, gender and ethnicity in fan culture which he calls "shadow cultural economy" (30), Karen Hellekson and Kristina Busse (2006) focus on fan's identity formation and the role of fandom in the process, Kurt Lancaster (2001) discusses the performative and role-playing character of fandoms, Matt Hills (2002) explores the emotional side (pleasure, desire, empowerment) of fan writing as well as the relationship between academic research and fan community (i.e. the pros and cons of academics researching fandoms). Henry Jenkins and Larsen and Zubernis represent a new kind of fandom scholars because they are scholars and fans at the same time (aca-fans as the term has been coined) who aim at studying the phenomenon from within the fan community or as insiders rather than detached outsiders (see Jenkin's blog at: http://henryjenkins.org/aboutmehtml and Katherine Larsen and Lynn S. Zubernis, 2012).

Despite the growing amount of scholarship, fanfiction is still an under-researched field. Therefore it mostly remains, as Grossman puts it, "the cultural equivalent of dark matter: it's largely invisible to the mainstream, but at the same time, it's unbelievably massive" (44). This fact may contribute to an unfavorable image fanfiction sometimes gets. Emma Cueto, for example, argues in the *Bustle* that the term fanfiction gives the activity a bad name because it "conjures up images of rabid, crazy-eyed teens so obsessed that they just have to have more even if they must write it themselves." She thus suggests another term, "inspired fiction as in the sense that it's a story inspired by another story," even if in many case "it can still stand on its own". Larsen and Zubernis similarly complained that they are "frustrated by media coverage that seemed to misrepresent and pathologize fans" (6) therefore causing a lot of shame among them. "The tenacity of this uncomfortable emotion seems particularly unexpected at a time when the economic power of fans has become an accepted (and much-courted) force" and thus their economic force alone "should garner (them) a more favorable place in the culture" (Larsen, Zubernis 6). Still, they conclude, the fan remains persistently seen as the other.

And yet, the existence of people enthusiastic about a particular literary work does not date in the twentieth century just as works inspired by or referring to other works are not a contemporary phenomenon. The club of Sherlock Holmes enthusiasts is usually considered as the first unofficial fandom, gaining the form of an officially organized fan society in 1934, when Christopher Morley founded the Baker Street Irregulars, later publishing what we could call a fanzine *The Baker Street Journal* (and now having their official web site www.bakerstreetirregulars.com). The Baker Street Irregulars jokingly treated Holmes and Dr. Watson as real people. Morley commented: "The whole Sherlock Holmes saga is a triumphant illustration of art's supremacy over life" (as quoted in Brown). The first extra-canonical text on Holmes that could be, in modern terminology, labeled as fanfiction, was anonymously published in *The Speaker* as early as 1891 (Green 7). As Arcadia Falcone states on the Harry Ransom Center blog, "many of the early extra-canonical Holmes sightings crop up as brief, humorous episodes in newspapers or periodicals." In the contemporary fanspeak, such stories would be called sillyfic. Just as fanfiction nowadays, the phenomenon of Sherlockian extra-canonical texts (called by their contemporaries as parody or pastiche) soon expanded internationally. Falcone cites a German newspaper writing in 1908 "it is certain that contemporary Europe is suffering from a disease called Sherlockismus (*sic*), a literary disease similar to Werther-mania and romantic Byronism," while *The Bookman* diagnosed Paris with "what may be described as a bad case of Sherlockitis."

A major flourishing of fanfiction dates back to the 1930s to the advent of sci-fi and fantasy. Sci-fi fans rank among the most active, organizing their annual international meetings Worldcons since 1939, giving awards and publishing various fanzines. But generally, the year 1967 is seen as the beginning of the contemporary fanfiction. It was inspired into existence by the series *Star Trek*. Its

fans called themselves Trekkies and published fanzine *Spocanalia* (Jenkins, 1995, 196). The boom of fanfiction, however, is closely connected to the advent of the Internet which enables the posting, reading, commenting, editing of fanfiction in an unprecedented manner and speed.

If we disregard the sociological and psychological dimension of the fanfiction phenomenon (i.e. the fandoms) and focus on the literary level only, fanfiction fulfills what we have come to define as literary postmodernism. Employing parody, pastiche and collage, fanfiction *is* a form of intertextuality, a true cultural palimpsest, a paratext of its own. What then distinguishes fanfiction from professional postmodern writing? Many examples of the fanfiction show that some fanfiction writers are excellent writers in terms of their writing skills (style, characterization, narrative strategies, etc.) thus the difference is not simply in the quality of the works. Fanfiction and postmodern writing employ similar techniques yet we would not label Tom Stoppard's *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead* as Shakespearian fan drama nor Helen Fielding's *Bridget Jones's Diary* as a Jane Austen fanfiction, nor, for that matter, any re-writings of Biblical, mythological or folklore stories as fanfiction. Is the only difference the non/existence of a copyright to the original texts? Or does the difference rest in the emotional immersion of the writer in the text? Of course, there is no way we can assume that a commercially published postmodern writer of a text inspired by or derived from an already existing text is less emotionally involved in his/her writing that a fanfiction writer.

But perhaps one difference is in the way fanfiction writer and a postmodern writer who alludes to and re-writes somebody else's text, work. While the latter works individually, the former works in connection with others. Fanfiction is a collective, communal and participatory activity. As such it is in fact closer to the way mythology or folklore was created. Thus, perhaps paradoxically, the democratization of cultural sphere, the widespread literacy and the advent of digital technologies widely enable forms of literary production and communication that had existed traditionally albeit in a much limited scope. Studying fanfiction makes us revaluate notions of human creativity because it seems that it is to a great extent collective rather than individualistic. Maybe our understanding of literature is too deeply rooted in the modern times' obsession with copyright and profit. Fanfiction writers disregard both. Their communities operate on gift economy principles. Fanfiction shows that contrary to the romantic idea of the uniqueness of the inspired artist (often working outside society, in social isolation) artistic creativity is a social activity. As such, literary creation is never complete; a text is not a solidified calcified product but a subject of constant reworking. Literary text turns into a conversation. Or, as a Czech fan's button says: "the story's never over".

Notes

(1) Her claim that her characters are copyrighted is interestingly discussed (and challenged) from a legal point of view by Aaron Schwabach (2011).

(2) The phenomenon is named after Lieutenant Mary Sue, a character in a 1974 *Star Trek* fanfiction story by Paula Smith. Mary Sue, the female protagonist of the story, commands the Starship Enterprise and earns the Vulcan Order of Gallantry, all of this of course in times when no female character commanded a starship and would not for many years to come. Therefore Paula Smith filled in the void in the *Star Trek* universe and challenged the period's stereotypes of gender roles.

(3) I have promised not to disclose the identity of the Czech fans and fanfiction writers mentioned in the article.

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The Flying Dutchman as an Early Example of a Nautical Drama

Abstract: *The English are a historically seafaring people and the sea runs deep in the development of English literature. While the genre of marine fiction is a relatively widely discussed topic, nautical drama has so far received less critical attention. This paper examines one of the earliest nautical dramas and the first rendition of a popular legend entitled The Flying Dutchman; or, The Phantom Ship (1827) by Edward Fitzball. The Gothic tropes permeate the text of the play as the author explores the distinct symbolic and narrative possibilities of the sea, mixing nautical, Gothic, and domestic elements. Even if the main character, Captain Vanderdecken, is a spectre doomed to sail the ocean forever, there are moments when he loses his spectral character and becomes a real person. The character of the accursed captain inspired a number of writers and dramatists who introduced this enigmatic figure in their novels and dramas.*

Introduction–the sea in English fiction

As a means of travel, exploration, warfare, trade, and imperial expansion, the sea's historical and cultural importance for maritime nations has long been reflected in their literature and art. The same is true in English writing; the sea as a subject runs deep in its history. Andrew Nash mentions the earliest surviving poem in English about the sea, "The Seafarer," which dates from the early Tenth Century. Later Richard Haklyut published a collection of geographical discoveries entitled *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1584), thus establishing the tradition of nautical writing that provided the foundations for the form of the English novel in the early Eighteenth Century (Nash 7). Margaret Cohen argues that the icon of the sea mariner was established by the originator of sea-fiction, Daniel Defoe. In *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), Defoe saw the sea as a dangerous physical space that can be navigated but not controlled. Defoe was drawing on the tradition of the "remarkable occurrence" described in mariner's journals, which "designated unusual events in a voyage, with an emphasis on dangers, obstacles, or challenges" (Cohen 23). These critical moments tested the abilities of seamen to survive hardships and overcome demanding situations. Defoe used this practical reason and ethos of the mariner's craft to create the genre of sea adventure fiction that was, in the 1720s to 1740s, practiced by Alain René Le Sage, the Abbé Prévost, and Tobias Smollett (60). In the second half of the Eighteenth Century, the works of sea-fiction virtually disappeared, even if the depictions of sea and sailors persisted in the works of various authors, such as Smollett's *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* (1751).

Apart from the pragmatic imagination connected to the sea, there was also the Romantic tradition, which stressed the mysterious or sublime aspects of seafaring. Cohen refers to this characteristic as "the sublimation of the sea" that culminated in the empty seas of the Romantic sublime. The sea, as an ideal example of the terrifying sublime, was then open to "imaginative repopulation by poets, novelists and artists" (11). The Romantic sublime represented the distant view of the ocean from land and was therefore disconnected from the routine of practical seamanship. This view of the sea was related to Edmund Burke's ideas about the sublime in art. The importance of Burke's notions for the emerging Romantic aesthetics of the period, especially his identification of terror as its ruling principle, was recognized by many critics. William F. Byrne shows that for Burke the terrible is "a source of the sublime; that is, it is productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling"; and danger and pain can provide, under certain conditions, a source of delight. Therefore, vast spaces,

ferocious animals, or other things that provoke fear in people can be sublime (24). The ocean and the seas represent a sublime concept closely linked to the ideas of vastness, infinity, and the fear of the unknown. Burke sees the ocean as "an object of no small terror" and the prospect of the ocean a much greater source of the sublime than a vast extent of land (131). However, he explains the effects of such terror from the point of view of the spectator safely stationed on the coast. Similarly, Jonathan Raban believes that in the romantic period the sea came to be regarded as the quintessence of the sublime in nature and Burke's view of the sea effectively legitimised the sea as a great subject for art for the paintings of J. M. W. Turner and the poetry of Byron, Shelley and Coleridge (9). British Romantic writers treated the sea as a menacing and villainous force. Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (1798) narrates the story of the Mariner who defied the divine law and is, therefore, subject to a cruel retribution of nature. P. B. Shelley's "A Vision of the Sea" (1820) describes a macabre ship voyage and a devastating shipwreck.

Some critics believe, however, that the discrete genre of nautical fiction appeared (or reappeared) as late as the early Nineteenth Century. Nash mentions the serialization of Michael Scott's *Tom Cringle's Log* in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* from 1829 as a work that initiated a vogue for nautical novels in the 1830s (8). Also Cohen argues that "maritime adventure fiction lay dormant in the years 1748-1824" (104), as no famous sea-fictions originated, only the works of non-fiction. She considers James Fennimore Cooper's *Pilot: A Tale of the Sea* (1824) to be the first important sea fiction after this long time (133). Other authors followed, for example the American writers Richard Henry Dana Jr. and Herman Melville. As Sissi Liu observes, the American maritime literature of the first half of the Nineteenth Century mostly romanticized the sea as a place of freedom, peace and adventure (17). On the other hand, in Britain, Captain Frederik Marryat, who was active in the Napoleonic wars and served in the Royal Navy, published a series of popular marine adventures in which the freedom of the seas justifies the British class system and imperialism (Cohen 168). After the vogue for the nautical novel of the 1830s the genre became mostly confined to the juvenile market and the popular forms as penny dreadful (Nash 10). There were exceptions, such as the writers whose personal experience was tied to the sea. Joseph Conrad depicted the psychology of mariners aboard working ships (Cohen 203) and William Clark Russell (1844-1911), the greatest late Victorian nautical novelist, concentrated in his works on the Merchant Navy as his eight-year service provided him with a rich source of inspiration (Nash 11).

Nautical drama
Themes related to the sea and lives of mariners were also seen on the stage. Nautical drama originated as an authentically British genre during the 1790s and early 1800s from the dumbshows at the Royal Circus and marine entertainments and spectacles performed in London's minor theatres (Liu 5). Michael R. Booth sees the roots of nautical drama in patriotic entertainments celebrating the British naval victories in the war with France, glorifying British soldiers and sailors (152). As drama often reacts to contemporary events, there was also a rush of nautical plays during the Crimean War in the 1850s and Boer Wars at the turn of the century. However, apart from the "incomparable Nelson", George Rowell also stresses the influence of the comic operas of Charles Dibdin the Elder whose songs about the sea provided typical play titles and names of sailors, such as The Jolly Jack Tar (48). Nautical plays, which reached the peak of their popularity in 1820s, thus coexisted with the Gothic drama, which flourished mainly in the 1790s and remained in vogue to the 1830s ("English Gothic Theatre", Cox 126), and later domestic drama, which later prevailed on the British stage.

Nautical drama employed standard situations, such as storms, shipwrecks, and engagements at

sea, as well as stock characters–typical sailor figures that spoke in strange nautical metaphor, were loyal to their country and captain, bravely fought the enemy, but were also fond of drinking, singing, and swearing. These types provided a model of sailor figures that later appeared also in Victorian nautical novels. In both genres, the sailors, or sometimes their caricatures, were characterized by a humorous evasion of harsh life of the real sailor (Nash 8).

Rowell mentions two plays that established the pattern of English nautical drama – firstly Edward Fitzball's *The Pilot* (1825), based upon Cooper's novel, in which Fitzball altered the American setting to that of Britain during the American Revolution, and mainly Douglas William Jerrold's *Black-Eyed Susan* (1829), inspired by Gay's old ballad (48). Liu quotes one of the earliest shipwreck plays, W. T. Moncrieff's *Shipwreck of the Medusa; or, The Fatal Raft* (1820), depicting the disaster in which the French frigate *Medusa* hit a reef off the coast of Africa (6-10). Booth includes, apart from *Black-Eyed Susan,* also Fitzball's *The Red Rover* (1829), the second of the three sea sagas of Cooper, and J. T. Haines's *My Poll and My Partner Joe* (1835), as the excellent specimens of the nautical (152). He incorporates Fitzball's *The Flying Dutchman; or, The Phantom Ship* as well because it "contains a spectacular ship scene, sinister spirits, and comic relief, necessary for melodrama" (85).

Edward Fitzball's dramas
Edward Fitzball (1792–1873) was an English dramatist and one of the most prolific playwrights of the century (Day 458). His plays amounted to approximately 170 works (Clifton 3) and spanned a wide range of genres: he wrote tragedy, comedy, operas, burlettas, nautical drama and melodrama of all kinds. As Larry Stephen Clifton argues, he was famous for his concoctions of horror, adventure, mystery, and domestic crises (5). Throughout his long career, Fitzball worked as a hack, or house-dramatist, for a number of minor houses in London. He started at the Surrey, but was also engaged by other institutions during his busy professional life: the Coburg, the Olympic, the Adelphi, and the Lyceum. His activities included scripts for plays at London's two legitimate or patent theatres–the Covent Garden and Drury Lane–but he also staged dramas for private social affairs (18).

Fitzball wrote dramas that were intended for the masses keen on entertainment and spectacular effects–mainly plays that provided relief from their harsh lives in this form of escapism. He is remembered largely because he initiated the vogue of dramas that were based on actual crime, such as *Jonathan Bradford; or, The Murder at the Roadside Inn* (1833) (Day 458), in which he brought the crime frequent on the streets to the stage (Clifton 109-30). For the topic of the present paper, his nautical or pirate adventures are of special interest. Fitzball's nautical plays include, apart from *The Flying Dutchman* and adaptations of Cooper's novels *The Pilot* and *The Red Rover* (1829), also *Nelson; or the Life of a Sailor* (1827), or a shipwreck play *Inchcape Bell; or The Dumb Sailor Boy* (1828) (Clifton 103, Liu 10).

The Flying Dutchman–origins and the first literary references
The Flying Dutchman is seen by critics as Fitzball's prominent nautical drama (Booth 85) due to its dramaturgy and spectacular effects, but also because the playwright "introduced to the stage the perennially popular figure of the accursed Vanderdecken" (Rowell 45). In European maritime legends *The Flying Dutchman* is a spectre ship doomed to sail forever; it scares the seamen because the ship is thought to be an omen bringing imminent disaster. In the common version of the story, the captain, Vanderdecken, gambles his salvation for the chance to round the Cape of Good Hope during a severe storm, being thus condemned to sail the seas forever (Britannica).

The legend is probably based on the Dutch conquest of South Africa and the attempts to round

this dangerous rocky headland on the Atlantic coast. The Dutch Cape Colony was established there in 1652 under the leadership of Jan van Riebeeck. Its main purpose was to provide a suitable port for vessels of the Dutch East India Company trading with Asia (Ferro 63-4). The colony rapidly expanded into a settlement base in the years after its founding. In 1795, after France occupied the Netherlands, Great Britain seized the territory in an attempt to prevent the French control of the trade routes to India (Ferro 80). When the relations of Britain and Napoleon improved, the colony was returned to the Dutch in 1803. However, in 1806, the Cape colony was occupied again by the British, and, in 1814, the Dutch government formally ceded sovereignty over the Cape to Britain, thus finally terminating the Dutch command over the place. The colony remained under British rule till 1910 when the Union of South Africa was established (Beck 41-9).

The first known literary references to the ghost ship appeared in *Travels in various parts of Europe, Asia and Africa during a series of thirty years and upward* (1790) by John MacDonald; he summarizes the legend thusly:

> The weather was so stormy, that the sailors said they saw the Flying Dutchman. The common story is, that this Dutchman came to the Cape in distress of weather, and wanted to get into harbour, but could not get a pilot to conduct her, and was lost; and that ever since, in very bad weather, her vision appears. (MacDonald 276)

Also London pickpocket, George Barrington, who was transported in 1791 to Australia, refers to the ghost ship in his account of the sea travels entitled *A Voyage to Botany Bay* (1795). Barrington recorded his personal experience–just waiting for the sail off the Cape he was awakened in the middle of night by a frightened sailor who reported seeing the Flying Dutchman ready to attack them (CH VI). Sir Walter Scott associated the ghost ship with piracy, as in his notes on *Rokeby; A Poem* (1813) he wrote that the Flying Dutchman "...was originally a vessel loaded with great wealth, on board of which some horrid act of murder and piracy had been committed," and "as a punishment of their crimes, the apparition of the ship still continues to haunt those seas", which is "considered by the mariners as the worst of all possible omens" (Scott 332).

The first narrative version of the legend about the encounter with the ghost ship was printed in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* from May 1821. A short anonymous story is entitled "Vanderdecken's Message Home; *Or, the Tenacity of Natural Affection.*" The unknown writer introduces the motif of letters addressed to people long dead, which the crew of the ghost ship offers to other vessels for delivery. However, if this offer is accepted, it will bring misfortune or doom to the vessel and its passengers. After some hesitation, the requested ship crew refuses to take the letters–especially one seaman whose name is Tom Willis is quite resolute in his determination, as he has heard rumours about the consequences of the acceptance of letters. This motif was later developed by other writers and dramatists, and Fitzball was arguably the first of them.

The Flying Dutchman–a Gothic, nautical, and domestic drama

Fitzball in his rendition of the Flying Dutchman legend–*The Flying Dutchman; or, The Phantom Ship,* first performed at the Adelphi on January 8, 1827–draws on the article printed in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* enriching the original story with typical situations and stock characters commonly seen in the melodramatic productions of the era. In the following paragraphs, I intend to show how the Gothic, nautical, and even domestic elements are skilfully mixed to create a theatrically effective play.

The critics mainly concentrated on the Gothic aspects of the play, which are many. They include a typical Gothic setting, which is the Cape of Good Hope seaside fortress on a steep rock in whose turret chamber a portrait of a shepherdess hangs on the wall. The portrait bears resemblance to Lestelle or rather her mother–the object of adoration of Vanderdecken. This could remind the spectators of the picture of Madonna/Mathilda from *The Monk* by M. G. Lewis. The enigmatic legend of the phantom ship permeates the whole plot and haunts virtually all the characters in the play–some take it seriously, others mock it, but it is an imminent presence and threat for all of them. The Phantom Ship materializes in the dark skies as Vanderdecken rises from the sea "with a demoniac laugh" (*The Flying Dutchman* 19). Finally, the supernatural elements, including black magic, sorceress, or the undead Vanderdecken, together with the spectacular and sensational effects, define the drama as belonging to the genre of the Gothic.

Clifton in his treatment of Fitzball and his dramaturgy sees *The Flying Dutchman* as a "definitive Blood-and-Thunder-blue-fire fright", whose main attraction was the "haunting imagery of monsters and mayhem" (130-31). Rowell stresses the supernatural elements exploited by Fitzball and other authors of demonic drama, naming James Robinson Planché and his play *The Vampyre; or, the Bride of the Isles* (1820), an adaptation of John Polidori' s short novel. Planché depicted the practices of black magic present in many Gothic novels and plays and introduced a new form of trap to the stage–the so called "vampire trap" (20). Rowell indicates the indebtedness of Fitzball to Planché, stating that "Edward Fitzball profited by Planché's example to write the *Flying Dutchman*" (45). Undoubtedly, both plays employ the motif of the undead villain looking for a bride and redemption through love or young blood. It is instructive to compare the opening scenes of both plays, whose spectacular qualities are obvious and strikingly similar, to see whether this parallel is as important as Rowell argued.

In *The Vampyre,* the audience sees "the Interior of the Basaltic Caverns of Staffa–at the extremity of which is a chasm opening to the air–the moonlight streams through it, and partially reveals a number of rude sepulchres". Then two spirits appear; the spirit of the Flood rises through the ground and the spirit of the Air descends through the chasm on a silvery cloud. They invoke the forces of the moon, sun, and heavens. After performing magical ceremonies, the vampire Ruthven rises from one of the tombs (15-16). *The Flying Dutchman* opens in "Rockaldas's Cavern, opening to the Sea–a flame burning on a projecting piece of Rock...Rockalda discovered seated on a Grotto Throne, with a trident wand" (9). Eight Water Imps join her with coral and small conch shells in their hands. When the stage gets dark, indicating the clouds rolling over the sea,

> Vanderdecken, amid blue fire, appears from the waves, his features pale and haggard, and holding in his hand a black flag, emblazoned with a white Death's head and cross bones – he descends, advances to Rockalda, and, placing the flag at her feet, bends his head in token of deep submission. (*The Flying Dutchman* 10)

The spectacular qualities of both opening scenes are obvious as both authors employed all the existing possibilities of stage design, machinery, and lighting to produce the mysterious and magical atmosphere on the stage. This is quite typical of the "Victorian infatuation with theatrical splendour" (Clifton 81), because the stage designers strove to indulge the audience with all possible special effects. Sybil Rosenfeld argues that "audiences wished to be transported to actual places and periods so that the scene designer's art was concentrated on reproducing a romantic aura of the world..." (11). Particularly the depiction of the untamed qualities of the sea as a natural element was a challenging task that tested their skills and expertise. It was rewarding for the audience who expected that the

magnificence and terrible power of the sea would be displayed on the stage in greatest possible detail. Thus, the spectacular qualities and the presence of supernatural elements in both plays indicate their close affinity with the Gothic mode.

However, the symbolic meaning of those two opening scenes is quite different. In *The Vampyre,* the spirits of water and air are good spirits whose role is to protect the innocent Margaret, the intended victim of Ruthven. This is indicated both scenically and verbally: the air spirit, Ariel, asks "who demands our presence and protection" (14), and the prevailing colours are bright, as both spirits are dressed in a white robe with silver and sky-blue ornaments. On the other hand, Rockalda, an evil spirit of the deep, wears green a sea-weed dress, and the chorus predicts coming disasters, warning that "the billows roll, the planets fly, clouds and darkness wrap the sky" (9). Vanderdecken addresses the sorceress as a "mighty genius of the deep", and Rockalda calls him "son of the wave." If Vanderdecken fails to observe her orders, namely to stay silent and find a bride, he will be "consigned to despair by the ocean's flood" (10). So clearly, in *The Flying Dutchman,* the sea and its evil spirit Rockalda represent the mighty and mainly destructive power that can bring sorrow and punishment in the form of natural disasters–violent storms, floods, and resulting shipwrecks.

These dangerous aspects of the sea form a bridge to the nautical elements of the play. The most common disaster related to the magnificence of the sea is shipwreck. Liu mentions the distinct category of shipwreck plays, one of the earliest examples being the aforementioned *Shipwreck of the Medusa; or The Fatal Raft,* which, after an initial tragic event, turns into a sensational melodrama with a happy ending (7-10). Sometimes, the shipwreck scene was included in a play that would not be considered as nautical, and the event was viewed just from a distance of safety of land, as Cohen suggested for the Romantic, "sublime" view of the sea. This can be seen in CH. R. Maturin's most successful dramatic attempt called *Bertram, or, The Castle of St. Aldobrand* from 1816. He opened his play with the stage directions that read: The Rocks–The Sea–A Storm–The Convent illuminated in the back ground–A vessel in distress in the offing (322). The monks from the nearby convent discuss the shipwreck scene, commenting that "A noble vessel labouring with the storm, hath struck upon the rocks beneath our walls, and by the quivering gleams of livid blue, her deck is covered with despairing souls..." (323). Later on, it was discovered that Bertram was the sole passenger who survived the shipwreck. Obviously, Maturin incorporated this setting showing the labouring ship and the rough sea to introduce the main character and prepare his entrance. He shows the extraordinary strength and will of the hero Bertram who managed to survive the disaster and comes to the shore to assert his rights.

The mysterious figure of Vanderdecken is similar to Bertram in his special destiny and powers. He partly personifies the magic and terrible qualities of the sea by his subordination to the dark power Rockalda and by his ability to bring destruction to the ships and their crews in the form of violent waters and stormy weather. However, he was once a human being with genuine desires and emotions, and this modifies his otherwise dark and largely villainous nature. As Agnes Andeweg noted, the characterization of the figure of Vanderdecken is most effective when he seems to lose his spectral character and becomes a real person (187). He is also speechless as the witch Rockalda under the threat of severe punishment forbade him the use of his human voice, therefore making his communication with human beings more difficult. Thus he resembles the sea, which also just "lets out emotional murmurs, roars and howls, none of which are verbal" (Liu 7). His emotions are related to past happiness and emerge as he remembers his long-lost love who was vainly waiting for his return from his sea voyage. When he offers his letter to the crew for delivery, he kisses it–weeps–points to the superscription–opens it–presses it to his breast (18). He exhibits the traits of chivalry when he meets

Lestelle who resembles his lost love: he takes off his hat and bows to her (26). The stage directions also indicate that when he seizes Lestelle and carries her off to the cave, he gazes tenderly on her, then places his hand against his heart, as he points towards the cave (42). So, Vanderdecken is not depicted as a completely dark villain intent only on bringing doom and destruction. He rather appears to be the victim of his ambition, alliance with evil spirits of the sea, and his extreme loneliness. The climax of the play picturing his final destruction brings not just relief to the audience because the innocent Lestelle is saved, but also feelings of pity for the accursed Vanderdecken. The doomed captain of the *Flying Dutchman* thus represents both a violent side of the sea, which materializes in storms and shipwrecks, but also a melancholy side connected to loneliness and longing for the lost home; he would like to leave the Cape of Good Hope and the rough seas and go back to Amsterdam, spending his last years on land. The accursed captain's existence is marked by timelessness and remoteness, he lives outside definite time and space, dreaming about people long dead and places long destroyed.

The brighter aspects of the sea are personified by sailor figures who show a more friendly or humorous attitude to the difficulties of seafaring. The third scene actually takes place on the ship's deck as the crew is approaching the Cape of Good Hope and preparing for landing. English sailor Tom Willis possesses practical skills of seamanship and common sense; one Dutch pilot speaks in a mixture of naval dialect, Dutch, and English, blaming his mistakes in navigation on "dat deffil Vanderdecken" (36); and the dull hero von Bummel causes troubles and confusion by his inexperience, foppishness, and constant sea sickness. Another stock figure is a retired captain of a trade ship Peppercoal, an uncle and guardian of Lestelle, who is intent on marrying her off to von Bummel against her will. He uses the jargon of an old sailor to the comic effects, as he compares beautiful Lestelle to a "trim-built vessel, from keel to topmast" and urges Vanderdecken in disguise to "bring her to an anchor–speak to her" (26). This is an example of what Robert Burroughs calls "the comic translation of (sailor's) experience on dry land into nautical jargon" (81). Peppercoal also allows no resistance from his relatives as he permitted no opposition from his former crew. He lectures Lestelle: "You shall follow the dictates of my reason; and whom I say marry, you shall marry, though the fellow were as ugly as a sea-horse, and as clumsy as a porpoise!" (13) When he senses a plot–Lestelle's lover and his servant Toby Varnish try to kidnap her–he remembers his former leadership role and resists the supposed mutiny in his house: "Well, I won't have the house turned topsy-turvy"(36).

This emphasis on safety of and loyalty to home was in line with the drive towards an ideology that upheld domesticity and repudiated rebellion (Liu 7). As Jeffrey N. Cox observed, nautical plays were used to "discipline any rebellious tendencies" ("The Ideological Tack", 186). The domestic aspects in the play are exemplified in minor characters such as the maid Lucy and her lover Toby Varnish, who parallel the love of Lestelle and her suitor Mowdrey and add a comic flavour to the play. The domestic features of the sea in nautical plays generally entail the quality of homecoming and patriotism. Vanderdecken, who is referred to as a "son of the wave", still longs to "revisit my native earth invulnerable" (10), which he is able to do just once in a hundred years. Lucy promises Lestelle that her lover will "carry off his mistress from the Cape of Good Hope, and sail away with her to England, the land of liberty and joy" (12). Even the fool von Bummel longs to be "at my desk in Charcery lane again" (17) instead of on the ship deck battering violent weather. The decisive show of patriotism comes at the end of the play when the defeated Vanderdecken threatens revenge on all and summons Rockalda to punish them. As "agitated waters rush furiously into the cave, entirely covering the stage to the orchestra" (48), the sailors led by Captain Peppercoal appear in a sloop, proudly hoisting the British flag, and rescue Lestelle, Mowdrey and Toby. So in the end it is the proud patriotism and craftsmanship of sailors that triumph over the dark powers of the sea.

The shift from the Gothic and nautical towards domestic shown in the *Flying Dutchman* corresponds to the general tendency seen in the first half of the Nineteenth Century. As Booth argued, the sailor-hero of melodrama also had a domestic existence, and the categories of melodrama–Gothic, nautical, and domestic–overlapped. However, domestic elements finally prevailed and dominated the stage in the second half of the Nineteenth Century (153).

Writers and dramatists inspired by *The Flying Dutchman*

Although Edward Fitzball is mostly known for his skilled use of Gothic and supernatural elements in his works and the emphasis on escapist, sensational entertainment, in *The Flying Dutchman* he managed to combine the Gothic, nautical, and domestic aspects to create a theatrically rewarding and effective play. As Burroughs pointed out, nautical melodrama "is an amphibious representational mode" (79) because it charts the lives of sailors aboard the ships and on shore, thus crossing the boundaries between domestic, nautical and Gothic drama. This is especially true of the figure of Vanderdecken, whose magical powers, which he draws from his alliance with the mighty forces of the sea, inspire all the sailors with awe and dread of the supernatural. However, as he comes to the shore to regain his lost domestic bliss, he is actually helpless, unable to relate to fellow human beings one of whom he once was. This singles out Fitzball's Vanderdecken as a tragic figure of a lost wanderer, making him both the character of a villain and a victim.

This dramatic ambivalence of the accursed sailor figure provided a source of inspiration for later authors who employed this character in their works. Captain Frederik Marryat offered a version of the Flying Dutchman legend in his sea novel *The Phantom Ship* (1839); his Vanderdecken is a young man roaming the seas of the world to find his father, or his soul, and help him rest in peace (Cohen 167). Richard Wagner composed his opera *Der fliegende Holländer* in 1843, claiming in his autobiography that he had been inspired to write the opera after a stormy crossing of the sea from Riga to London in 1839 (Millington 277). The main theme of the work is sacrifice and redemption through love, as the Flying Dutchman's–for Wagner named both the ship and its doomed captain "the Flying Dutchman"–beloved Senta chooses to die to be able to join him. Another rendition of the legend comes from the English dramatist Tom Taylor who is largely known as the author of the play *Our American Cousin* (1958). In *Vanderdecken* (1846) he introduces the mysterious figure of captain Schriften, the alter ego of Vanderdecken, and also presents the gothicised picture of the Cape Colony (Andeweg 187). The theme remained resonant in late Victorian novel writing as William Clark Russell employed the supernatural elements of the *Flying Dutchman* legend in his novel *The Death Ship, or The Flying Dutchman* (1888) (Nash 96). The popularity of the topic continued into the Twentieth Century. Amiri Baraka in his political satire *Dutchman* (1964) replaces the endless, timeless, and dangerous seas by the modern subway, equally depersonalized, indifferent, and hostile.

Conclusion

The paper tried to show that Edward Fitzball's *The Flying Dutchman* as an early nautical play developed on the stage the tradition of the sea fiction and sea writing, building on the notions of the Romantic sublime and both practical and mysterious aspects of seafaring. Apart from employing standard situations and spectacular effects, the playwright incorporated maritime legends and historical accounts to create the figure of an accursed sailor Vanderdecken, who is depicted not just as a typical melodramatic villain but as a real person with genuine emotions and desires. This ambivalent nature of the captain inspired later authors who used the character of Vanderdecken in their works.

The play's effectiveness is based on a skilful combination of three approaches that defined the

popular drama at the beginning of the Nineteenth century: Gothic, nautical, and domestic. Gothic aspects, which include stock settings and supernatural elements, are closely connected with the nautical. Sailor figures personify the brighter aspects of the sea, while storms or shipwrecks demonstrate its darker qualities. Extreme loneliness and longing for the lost home indicate the tendency towards the domestic seen in the later development of the popular drama.

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Pavlína Flajšarová

One Woman Festival on the Verandah: Contemplative Poetry of Jean Binta Breeze

Abstract: *The poetry by Jean Binta Breeze has been pioneering in many aspects: being recognized as the first female performer of dub poetry, Breeze has ventured in other forms of poetry amalgaming poetry and prose in order to create literature that specifically addresses the issues of black female experience both in the Caribbean and in Britain. The paper explores Breezes contemplative poetry that focuses on the Jamaican way of thinking and life-style that is so different from the European routine she experienced. After returning from England for convalescence, Breeze appreciates her Jamaican countryside through meditating on human values. The paper examines in detail the poetry that was written in and about the verandah of her house. The metaphor of the verandah as being a place of bonding of people and communities is discussed in detail.*

Jamaican poet Jean Binta Breeze has earned a considerable international reputation as a godmother of dub poetry. In her recent work which does not limit its form to dub poetry, she strongly draws on the local literary and cultural tradition. Nineteenth-century colonial Caribbean literature places a great emphasis on the motif of the verandah. The words *verandah*, *piazza*, and *porch* are in the Caribbean most often used interchangeably; however, verandah is most frequently employed to describe an outside living space belonging to the house. Architectural historian Brian J. Hudson documents that although some writers preferred the word piazza, "in England and the English-speaking world, 'piazza' is an alternative word for 'verandah', but it has largely fallen into disuses in this sense" (Hudson 36), piazza today is used interchangeably for verandah. In the realm of literature, the verandah features as a prominent theme. For example, *Lady Nugent's Journal* (written 1801-07) by Maria Nugent and *Tom Cringle's Log*[1] by Michael Scott became popular in the Caribbean as well as in Europe. As Lady Nugent was the wife of Governor General in Jamaica, she travelled round the country which enabled her to comment on not only the size and number of them but she also described in detail different purposes of the verandah, i.e. the verandah being used as, for example, an observation point/ a look-out (especially those verandahs having a direct view of the sea which in the past served for watching the approaching and departing vessels on the sea and thus for the visual check on the goods being imported and exported), dining area, playground for little children of the family, area for social gatherings, a border area between the public and the private sphere, and a cooling area with natural ventilation. Apart from Maria Nugent and Michael Scott, the verandah explicitly appears in other works of the Caribbean literature in the 20th century, e.g. Claude McKay's *Banana Bottom* (1933), Roger Mais's *The Hills Were Joyful Together* (1953), *Brother Man* (1954), and *Black Lightning* (1955), Kwame Dawes's *Interim* (1978), Evan Jones's *Stone Haven* (1989), and short stories by Olive Senior and Christine Craig. Alternatively, the existence of the verandah is in some other literary works only implied as it is taken for granted that every Caribbean house has a verandah, e.g. in Herbert George De Lisser's *Jane's Career: A Story of Jamaica* (1914), or Velma Pollard's *Homestretch* (1994). Such historically given uses of the verandah as a multipurpose place with embedded literary imagination is also well mirrored in the poetry by Jean Binta Breeze.

Sociologist Lewis Coser claims that "literature, (...), is social evidence and testimony. It is a continuous commentary on manners and morals" (2). Therefore, the study of the life on the

verandah when filtered through literature provides a valuable insight into local customs and habits and social stratification. As a consequence, the existence or absence of the verandah is a sign of the social status, in Hudson's view, "verandahs (…) are not normally found in the urban rent yards and other shack of those at the bottom of Jamaica's social scale" (Hudson 152). He further points out the importance of the verandah as a sign for social status:

> in Jamaica (…) a verandah hierarchy exists. Normally, the front verandah is the one that is the most attractive or impressive in appearance and is where the senior members of the household and their guests relax. The side and the back verandahs are commonly places for the lower orders of society, such as servants or visiting tradespeople, although there are exceptions to this general role. One reason for this may be the relative privacy that a side or back verandah may offer in contrast to the front verandah, which is generally more exposed to the public gaze. (157)

The verandah is such a distinct place in the Caribbean way of life as it provides the desirable shade from the hot sun while at the same time it is exposed to a refreshing breeze. Due to the tropical climate, people spend a lot of time of the verandah and "they engage in a variety of occupations, such as eating, drinking, relaxing, and entertaining, appropriate furniture and fittings being provided for these purposes" (Hudson 147). Therefore, the verandah is a "multipurpose living space, refuge, and frontier zone (that) meets a variety of physiological, psychological, and behavioural needs"(Hudson 147). In Jean Binta Breeze's 2016 collection *The Verandah Poems* which was released to celebrate her sixtieth birthday, she "evokes the quiet and rustic nature of village life, with the verandah a space for conversation and contemplation" (Katz 2016). Katz adds that *The Verandah Poems* is a "book (which) is largely driven by personal memories, forming a strong contrast to Breeze's early work, which was often more overtly political" (141). Another important aspect is the visual part of the book which consists of photographs of Binta Breeze on various verandahs at various occasions which complement the particular poems they accompany. Another dimension of the book lies hidden in the collocations of the word verandah. In the foreword, Kei Miller points out that although verandah originated in "the Indian subcontinent," and although the origin of the word goes back to Hindi "varanda," in "the Caribbean, the verandah goes native—(it) becomes part of what designers would call 'vernacular architecture', traditional, local" (Miller 9). At the same time, he highlights the double meaning of vernacular architecture by pointing out that the term verandah makes one "think of language, the image of the mouth, the simple act of talk and the complex bonding of people and communities" (Miller 9). As Miller argues, Jean Binta Breeze has been able to construct a verandah from which "we can see a whole Jamaican community—the people who walk by, who occasionally stop to come and sit down with the poet, in their own ways becoming lords of sounds and lesser things" (Miller 10). Such is the case in "Dorothy" where the speaker is taken by a surprise visit by her friend. Symptomatically, the speaker is in the dark of the inside kitchen when she is called by her mother to the "sunlit verandah" (Breeze, "Dorothy," 51). In a Wordsworthian epiphany, the speaker becomes one soul with her dear friend, "Dorothy! / my two lives are met on the verandah" (Breeze, "Dorothy," 51). Dorothy was a friend who introduced her to Leicester when Breeze was looking for a place to earn living in Britain. Their friendship went on for ten years in United Kingdom and now it continues in the Caribbean as if it was never interrupted by their family lives and by Breeze's return to the Caribbean when her schizophrenia grew worse in England and required immediate treatment. In an interview in which Breeze contemplated about *The Verandah Poems* and her current state of affairs, she admitted that "the medication was life-saving, and I decided that I'd had enough of the emotional stress that

goes with relationships. So I've been living alone, and on this medication, and I've had no breakdowns in fourteen or fifteen years" (as cited in Katz 2016). The familiar landscape of the Caribbean deep countryside becomes the healing space, especially when she can sit in peace on the verandah and occasionally enjoy the visit of a dear friend such as Dorothy with whom she can share her experience which is a typically Caribbean activity. The speaker in the poem describes it thus, "then begins the long talk into night / catching up on both sides of the Atlantic" and while they are breathing in the "smell (of) the spices / of home-cooked Jamaican specialties" they realize that although "friends (...) / (...) turn up from the other side of the world / (...) nothing has changed" (Breeze, "Dorothy," 51). This poem documents the strong bonds between people of Jamaican origin both at home and abroad. Such a bond is even stronger between two women which often become, metaphorically speaking, sisters. Similarly to "Dorothy," in "Home Work", the speaker shares the verandah with a servant who comes regularly to do ironing and who "when it gets too hot in the laundry room / she sits on my verandah," (Breeze, "Home Work," 18) where the women share complains about irresponsible fathers and caring mothers who have to sacrifice their lives in order to support their children studying at a university. The servant provides her view that is based on experience gathered in the local community,

> but ma'am
> it's de maddas dat I hear complaining
> I never hear de man dem talk
> bout how much for schooch fees
> years after we done breastfeeding
> it's like it never stops. (Breeze, "Home Work," 18)

The servant uses the local patois obviously signifying her social class. She reminds the lady that the Caribbean society is matriarchal and in the subtext, it is always the women in her view that have to be strong as men are frequently absent from the household because of carrying out their jobs elsewhere or working abroad. Thus, as the dialogue between the lady of the house and her servant documents, the verandah becomes a modern-day confession space, where the daily sorrows are shared and discussed.

A clear sense of missing human bondage and of sharing experience is evident in the opening poem "Priming" which is devoted to the daily routine of the slow paced life in the Jamaican countryside. Yet, the despair is counterbalanced by the fact of being able to sit peacefully on the verandah,

> you find me on my verandah
> breathing in the sea
> comfortably
> and you can leave me
> on my verandah
> drinking in the sea
> comfortably. (Breeze, "Priming," 15)

Breeze repeats as a mantra that while you sit on your verandah "comfortably", nothing and nobody can bother you and the world seems at peace, over more, when your verandah has the view of the sea. As Hudson emphasizes, "the verandah is where one observes the world outside from a place that provides a sense of security and comfort. At the interface of indoors and outdoors, the verandah is

where insiders and outsiders meet, only approved members of the latter group being allowed further admittance" (Hudson, 147). The countryside house of Jean Binta Breeze with her beloved verandah is featured in "Stranger". She describes an accident when a passer-by invades her private sphere of the verandah begging for money. When he departs, she is left there alone meditating,

> He leaves me on the verandah
> leaves with my last fifty dollars
> leaves me
> with the two sides of the story. (Breeze, "Stranger," 17)

Although she is now left without money, her verandah once again serves for its very traditional function, i.e. for sharing stories, exchanging news and simply for gathering together. In "Chrismus" written in Jamaican patois, her verandah witnesses a family reunion at Christmas time. It provides an insight into the special significance of the Caribbean way of celebrating Christmas which refuses to honour the British heritage ("eat no turkey" (Breeze, "Chrismus," 65)) but which is still very much about sharing time while enjoying food,

> Dis was
> di whole family
> and fi dem family
> come een week before
> empty the food store
> cook and eat
> cook and eat
> and di be fi di chrismus day treat. (Breeze, "Chrismus," 65)

Unlike in the western European society, cooking and eating does not denote consumerism; on the contrary, this is the very essence of Caribbean life, being able to cook and dine together which stimulates the sense of togetherness. Similarly in "Presents", which is, however, written in standard English, the family Christmas ceremony takes place on the verandah not inside the house,

> we opened our presents
> on the verandah
> having just arrived back
> from Christmas morning carol service
> and set the breadfruits to roast
> for breakfast. (Breeze, "Presents," 2016: 67)

In spite of the fact that such a great gathering is welcomed, when it is over, the return to the peaceful atmosphere is appreciated, like in "Chrismus" where the speaker happily meditates about the past and present in her solitude, "me one pon di verandah again / remembering" (Breeze, "Chrismus," 66). However, the verandah will always remain a place where the family matters are discussed and solved. As Breeze recalls, events such as birth are awaited and announced on the verandah when the members of the family gather and wait for the mother to deliver the baby. Breeze recollects the birth of her younger sister,

I can't remember
which verandah it happened on
but it was a verandah. (Breeze, "Birth," 38)

The exact location and ownership of the verandah is in this case immaterial, what matters is location on a verandah itself.

Another aspect that appears in relation to the verandahs is the pieces of furniture. Breeze dedicates "The Rocking Chair" poem to this theme. While looking at the abandoned rocking chair that belonged to her aunt Vida, she recalls moments spent together, meditates about the passage of time and how the way of life changes, "It's too late now (...) / now no one needs to rock" (Breeze, "The Rocking Chair," 40). Simultaneously, she, however, argues that she "need(s) a steadier chair" because she "can't write while rocking"(Breeze, "The Rocking Chair," 40). Beyond this impretation that rests on the surface of the text, the in the deeper structure, Breeze denotes the desire for political and social stability in the region. She implies that now that Jamaica is independent, it country should enjoy its sovereignty. On the other hand, the empty chair is also a memento for the beloved ones and in a sense it records times

When we are young
(...) we do not see how quickly
elders pass
when we gow old
(...)
we find that suddenly
they're gone. (Breeze, "The Rocking Chair," 40).

The older members of the family seem to be an inventory on the verandah, their company is appreciated and when they die, there remains emptiness. The nostalgia for the past foregrounds in "Rum." There the verandah is foregrounded as a place where the members of the family would gather and enjoy the company of each other. In the poem, rum as the commodity that is native to Jamaicans plays the role of a catalyst of recalling the past. The speaker remembers her father habitually drinking rum on the verandah advising her "never poison your rum / by adding more sugar to cane" and now she realizes that due her medication on schizophrenia she probably drinks her last glass and by the end of the poem, the speaker tries to come to terms with this fact,

Ay! It is a sad day
when you find yourself retired
in rum country
and not able to swallow
the spirit of the land. (Breeze, "Rum," 58)

The verandah provides a soothing comfort: although the habitual drinking of rum might not be possible anymore, the verandah as a dear place will remain.

In "Departure of a Daughter" the verandah becomes a place of meditation based on memories. One of the speaker's daughters leaves Jamaica and will not return before the speaker will have left for England. She feels very lonely and while sitting on the verandah, she remembers the time when her daughter was a

little baby,
 I never thought
 when I brought her home
 (...)
 and rocked her
 on this verandah
 that my return
 would signal her departure. (Breeze, "Departure of a Daughter," 29)

She tries to come to terms with her sadness by trying to find a possible explanation for the motivation of the young people to leave their native Jamaica.

 I think at her age
 I was just the same
 I would not have been happy
 to just sit on a verandah. (Breeze, "Departure of a Daughter," 30)

She realizes she has to let her daughter go and experience the world beyond Jamaica in order to be able to return and appreciate her native land in a similar way she did it,

 but now
 the sky
 and the changing patterns of the waves
 is all the difference I need. (Breeze, "Departure of a Daughter," 30)

Yet, she realizes that the world is changing and, therefore, in spite of distrust at first, she in "Presents" develops from "the technophobe, / no computer / no internet / no Facebook page," (Breeze, "Presents," 68) to a person who with the help of the modern technology within a smart phone "opened up a world / of internet / and Skype / and whatsapp" (Breeze, "Presents," 68). The element that triggered the change in attitude was the picture of all her "three children" (Breeze, "Presents," 68) on the welcome screen. Now she in an epiphanic moment realizes that the world has become small and that she "opened up a world/ across the world / of continuous conversations / conducted from (her) verandah / across the Atlantic / the Pacific" and "watch (her) grandchildren play / half way across the world" (Breeze, "Presents," 68). The sense of belonging to a place of one's origin and the contemplation about its uniqueness is foregrounded in "Tweet Tweet." It describes the Caribbean pastoral with mango trees and blackbirds, echoes the spirit of Bob Marley, freedom and Zen in order to arrive at the conclusion that the best thing is to abide where one feels at peace

 (...) now I am content
 on this verandah
 (...)
 home is always
 where it's meant to be. (Breeze, "Tweet Tweet," 43)

A very Caribbean element observed from the verandah is the omnipresence of music. Breeze describes in "Sound Systems" how her verandah is a place where music is heard all the time,

> there is no need
> to play music
> on my verandah
> being as it is
> surrounded on three sides
> by bars. (Breeze, "Sound System," 41)

Therefore, she has a choice of various styles and the mingling of the music from various sides produces a unique atmosphere. Changes in traditional lifestyle are also observable from the verandah as a place that is the borderline between the private and the public sphere. Breeze loves to contrast customs and habits of the past and the present. For example, in "New Men," she maintains that

> Things aren't what they used to be
> years ago
> when I was young
> sitting on this same verandah
> only women walked with children. (Breeze, "New Men," 47)

Yet, emancipation has reached even the remotest corners of the Caribbean and therefore it comes as no surprise that things have changed in comparison with the past, "but now / young men carry babies" (Breeze, "New Men," 47). There is not only an apparent change in the distribution of household duties but the difference in the sense of the community has changed as is evident in "Locking the Door." Whereas in the past it was unthinkable that the local people would lock their front and back door for the night, now although there the traditional "dub continues its distant beat", "the verandah feels unsafe" and the speaker before she goes to bed "make(s) sure / to lock the door" (Breeze, "Locking the Door," 49). It is partly nostalgic to recall that

> for forty years
> we've lived in this house
> without a secure lock (Breeze, "Locking the Door," 50)

yet nothing has happened and now it is absolutely vital to remember to close and lock the door for the night as the social order has changed significantly and the crime rate has escalated due to economic factors. Yet, in Breeze's view, the verandah provides a private space that should not be altered. Therefore, when the speaker in "The Casting of the Roof" sits as usually in her verandah and she is disturbed by the near-by building site, she regrets that her old view will be destroyed. Although it is her sister's house that is being constructed, she cannot stand the fact that the "hibiscus", "hummingbirds", "plum trees" will be gone (Breeze, "The Casting of the Roof," 26). The plants around the verandah help to provide some privacy even if the verandah faces the main street or a major road. She is so much bothered by the view that she had to "reposition (her) chair / (...) not to look directly at the building site" (Breeze, "The Casting of the Roof," 26). The changing world is best bearable on the verandah.

The verandah is a place with natural ventilation providing a shade in the tropical heat as is the case in "Football on the Verandah." Breeze foregrounds the scenario of the football World Cup of 2014 to emphasize the importance of the verandah life and the dilemma whether "to sit inside / at 96 degree" or "to sit on the verandah / with garden, sky and sea," therefore, in other words, the choice is between the favourite game and the nice slight wind of the outside space,

> I must make the choice
> between the verandah
> with its cool sea breeze
> or the TV room
> for a closer view of strikers. (Breeze, "Football on the Verandah," 23)

At such a moment, the speaker remembers her stay in Great Britain where given the weather there, such a dilemma would not occur in spite of the fact that football is very popular there as well

> In England
> this would not be a problem
> I'd have to be indoors anyway
> so football is a welcome treat on TV. (Breeze, "Football on the Verandah," 23)

In the Caribbean, the speaker finds a better solution, namely to go to a neighbouring bar where again on a different verandah she can enjoy both the football match, the company, and the cool breeze all at the same time. The verandah is not only an architectural embellishment of the local buildings; it is rather a necessity in the tropical climate. In "Heat" Breeze puts across the unbearable heat even at early hours of the day, the beautiful sun rise if observed from the verandah, the cooling effect of a dive into the sea and the subsequent relaxation on the verandah,

> it makes the day possible
> hopefully the wind will pick up
> sea breezes will rise with the day
> and back on the verandah
> wearing some cool cotton
> the rain clouds may come early. (Breeze, "Heat," 45)

To conclude, Jean Binta Breeze in her poetry remains within the domain that she knows best, i.e. the Caribbean. She is firmly rooted in the literary and cultural traditions of the region and she provides a deep insight into the way of life of people living there. Her poetry frequently uses the personae of a strong willed woman mastering creole. She represents the pride in the language which showcases national and local traditions and customs. Breeze is very persuasive in demonstrating that in spite of the problematic past, there is a possibility for various nations and cultures to live, prosper and enrich each other in a peaceful way. Her recent volume *The Verandah Poems* foregrounds the fact that verandahs feature prominently in Caribbean literature. It is a place where the "lives of people from a wide range of social classes living in different urban and rural environments" (Hudson 147) are depicted. The above quoted lines " on this verandah/ (...) / home is always / where it's meant to be" (Breeze, "Tweet, Tweet," 41) best summarises Breezes attitude to her beloved place which provides

both a safe harbour, a place of meeting, that separates the private and public space, the verandah stays the place of beloved refuge.

Notes

(1) Tom Cringle's Log by Michael Scott was originally published in installments (the first of them appearing between 1829 and 1833 in Blackwood's Magazine) and afterwards published in 1833 in two volumes.

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Markéta Gregorová

Evil Doppelgängers and Matryoshka Dolls: Emotional Landscapes of Edinburgh in Kate Atkinson's *One Good Turn*

Abstract: *This paper explores the various physical and emotional cityscapes of Edinburgh as perceived by different characters in Kate Atkinson's subversive detective novel One Good Turn: A Jolly Murder Mystery (2006). This sprawling, panoramic book follows a wide range of characters, at first seemingly unconnected, whose stories gradually become interwoven, one nested in another like a set of matryoshka dolls. Besides matryoshki, Atkinson's Edinburgh-set novel employs the classic Scottish motif of evil doppelgängers, Jekyll and Hyde character types who, depending on the circumstances, manifest either the good or the bad side of their split personalities. The schizophrenic split as a stereotypical feature of Scottish character has been introduced already in George Gregory Smith's Scottish Literature: Character and Influence (1919), but Atkinson takes this simplifying dualism a step further in her matryoshka metaphor and shows not two but multiple sides to her characters and her Edinburgh setting. Atkinson's novel will be approached through Henri Lefebvre's concept of lived space, supplemented by references to Gaston Bachelard's oneiric intimate spaces, and through Edward Soja's theory concerning the operations of class hegemony in the process of the social production of space.*

Discourse of Space and Place: Basic Concepts

Human beings exist as physical entities, and, however we may seek to transcend the limitations imposed by our material bodies, we remain rooted within the dimensions of space and time. In social and human geography, *space* is traditionally described in a complementary opposition to *place* in the sense that they possess opposing qualities, yet one necessitates the other. Space is characterised as abstract, infinite and variable, whereas place is concrete, circumscribed and constant. In Tim Cresswell's definition, space "has been seen in distinction to place as a realm without meaning—as a 'fact of life' which, like time, produces the basic coordinates for human life. When humans invest meaning in a portion of space and then become attached to it in some way (naming is one such way) it becomes a place" (16). Space is, place becomes; space is an objective statement, place is a subjective experience. Space does not require human input; place relies on it. Space does not have any intrinsic value, it is only through actions of individual human beings and whole societies that places endowed with meanings arise.

Socially produced place is more commonly referred to as *social space* (rather than social place), a term which, admittedly, may bring about confusion in the essential space—place dichotomy. The social aspect in the process of creating space therefore needs to be emphasised. Regarding social production of space, Henri Lefebvre argues:

> Human beings do not stand before, or amidst, social space; they do not relate to the space of society as they might to a picture, a show, or a mirror. They know that they *have* a space and that they *are* in this space. They do not merely enjoy a vision, a contemplation, a spectacle—for they act and situate themselves in space as active participants (294).

Humans claim space with a certain purpose in their minds and mould it consciously to cater for their

specific needs. Given that these needs themselves are subject to change and that various groups of people are bound to pursue contradicting aims, space continues to be created, challenged, defended or lost and recreated in the same or different form perpetually.

The prevailing arrangement of social space corresponds to the interests of the dominant social group, or class, and is continually contested by competing fractions of the society. As David Harvey points out, "class, gender, cultural, religious, and political differentiation in conceptions of time and space frequently become arenas of social conflict" (224). There is no such thing as a natural spatial and/or social order, since structure is first ascribed to formerly neutral, unorganised space by the society that appropriates it. Considering the interlocking concepts of spatial and social organisation, Edward Soja notes that "the structure of organized space is not a separate structure with its own autonomous laws of construction of transformation (…) (but) represents, instead, a dialectically defined component of the general relations of production, relations which are simultaneously social and spatial" (78). The dialectical element is present in the process of production of space also in that we both determine and are in turn determined by our environment, which we constantly interact with and respond to.

Elaborating on the notion that space manifests no independent meaning of its own until one or, more often, multiple meanings are attributed to it through human activity, Michel de Certeau introduces the idea of *spatial practices* as "'ways or operating' or 'doing things,'" as modes of enacting space (xi). We make sense of our surroundings by the means of experience, understood in accordance with Yi-Fu Tuan as "a cover-all term for the various modes through which a person knows and constructs a reality" (8). Experiencing "means acting on the given and creating out of the given" (9). Unless when observed as a snapshot of one isolated moment, social space has the characteristics of an ongoing process rather than a finite state, and humans sustain its production by positioning themselves in it, moving around, experimenting with its usage and testing its limits. Lefebvre discusses the procedure of negotiating space in terms of space "being transformed into 'lived experience' by a social 'subject,' and (…) governed by determinants which may be practical (work, play) or bio-social (young people, children, women, active people)" (190). Lefebvre's "lived experience," resulting in the creation of *lived-in space*, corresponds to what Tuan calls simply "experience" and for what de Certeau employs the phrase "spatial practice."

Having established social space as a social construct and the experience of space as a subjective experience, it follows that what is popularly known as *genius loci* associated with a place has its source in the human consciousness more than in the physical geography of a location. Cresswell explains the origin of the expression lying in "the Roman belief that places had a particular spirit that watched over them" and concludes that in modern discourse of space, genius loci becomes equivalent to a "sense of place" (129). The latter dispenses with the supernatural element and instead highlights the role of human affect as pivotal in associating places with values. Examining the nature of a *sense of place*, Harvey contends that "the worlds of myth, of religion, of collective memory, and of national or regional identity are space-time constructs that constitute and are constituted by the formation of distinctive places (…) expressive of distinctive beliefs, values, imaginaries, and social-institutional practices" (306). The same principles apply on the global and on the local levels—where Harvey focuses on the macroscale of nations, Gaston Bachelard inspects the sense of place on the microscale of individuals, concentrating on the intimate space of one's home. Bachelard's discipline is that of "topophilia," and by exploring "simple images of *felicitous space*," Bachelard "seek(s) to determine the value of the sorts of space that may be grasped, that may be defended against adverse forces, the space we love" (xxxv). A sense of place, or the emotional landscape projected

onto physical space, comprises both national (as well as supranational) and individual constituents, hence both Harvey's and Bachelard's approaches are relevant to the following analysis.

A Case in Point: Kate Atkinson's *One Good Turn*

Kate Atkinson counts among leading personalities of contemporary Scottish literature and stands out as a protean figure who relentlessly experiments with narrative technique and tackles a broad range of subjects. Twice the winner of the Costa Book Award (in 2013 for *Life after Life* and in 2015 for *A God in Ruins*), Atkinson characteristically fuses the categories of the tragic and the comic and utilises magic realism to delve into the heightened state of consciousness to which she likes to subject her protagonists. Atkinson's writing defies neat labels, and her *One Good Turn: A Jolly Murder Mystery* (2006) makes no exception. The novel is chronologically the second in a four-book series sharing the character of the Anglo-Scot Jackson Brodie, at the time of *One Good Turn* divorced with a daughter, retired from the military and subsequently from the police force and resident in France with a girlfriend. Jackson is but one in the vast array of characters that the book manages to encompass without committing to promoting any to the central position of the sole protagonist. Set in Edinburgh during the Festival, *One Good Turn* investigates the characters' emotional responses to aspects of Scotland's capital city while solving, almost accidentally, the "jolly murder mystery" of the novel's subtitle.

    One Good Turn does not qualify easily as a detective novel, though Jackson discovers a dead body, becomes the prime suspect and follows leads in the case on his own and later with the assistance of the local police officer Louise Monroe. Meanwhile, criminal activities unrelated to Jackson's case take place, and other characters, affected by them in different degrees, continue in pursuing their separate stories. Atkinson subverts the stereotypes of the crime fiction genre in particular, yet she connects with Scottish literary tradition in general. Gill Plain surveys the stock elements recurrent in Scottish writing in the context of crime fiction, reminding that "from James Hogg's *Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824) to R. L. Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886) to Muriel Spark's *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* (1961), Scotland has produced a rich literature of duality, deceit, repression and hypocrisy(...) . Scottish crime writing draws extensively upon its literary forebears: nearly every self-respecting crime novel carries an obligatory reference to Stevenson or his seminal novel. These references are often satiric, challenging the increasing commodification of the past and the branding of Scotland" (133). Plain's article does not mention Atkinson specifically, it is however worth quoting at length because Atkinson's novel fully meets all the points stated.

    Duality has been famously identified as the salient feature of Scottish character by George Gregory Smith, who established the term "Caledonian antisyzygy" to describe "the zigzag of contradictions," "the contrasts which the Scot shows at every turn" and which are reflected in the nation's literature (4). "If therefore Scottish history and life are," Gregory Smith reasons, "'varied with a clean contrair spirit,' we need not be surprised to find that in his literature the Scot presents two aspects which appear contradictory. Oxymoron was ever the bravest figure, and we must not forget that disorderly order is order after all" (5). Stevenson's *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* encapsulates Scotland's fundamentally antithetical nature in its duplicitous protagonist, the morally upright Dr Jekyll, who secretly indulges in dissipation, and when he does so, he goes under the name of Mr Hyde. The novella mirrors the double dealings of its protagonist in its setting, which is London, but a London informed by a sense of place of Stevenson's native Edinburgh: "Half a capital and half a country town, the whole city leads a double existence," Stevenson writes of Edinburgh. "It has long trances of the one and flashes of the other, (...) it is half alive and half a monumental marble" (10). Among other "obligatory references to Stevenson,"

as Plain puts it, Atkinson's novel draws from her literary predecessor precisely this schizophrenic split characteristic of Edinburgh's emotional geographies.

Louise Monroe, a Roman Catholic in the cradle of Scottish Protestantism, serves as the representative of police authority in *One Good Turn* and, perversely, as a sidekick to Jackson Brodie's unofficial private investigation. Louise's following internal monologue enumerates all the appropriate allusions due in "every self-respecting crime novel" of the Scottish tradition and utilises the tongue-in-cheek mode that Plain refers to:

> Dualism, the Edinburgh disease, Jekyll and Hyde, dark and light, hill and valley, New Town, Old Town. Catholics and Protestants. A game of two halves. An eternal Manichean dichotomy(...) . Confessions of a justified sinner. 'Antisyzygy and the Scottish Psyche.' She had done Hogg for her undergraduate dissertation, but then who hadn't? (148).

This bullet-list-like series of unordered, incoherent and unexplained references with little pertinence to the plot conveys a comical effect, and the self-mockery is complete with the dismissive concluding remark, "but then who hadn't?," Louise brings up Hogg's *Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, another Scottish seminal work, which turns on the paradoxes of Scottish Calvinism, a strain of Presbyterianism preached from the pulpit of Edinburgh's St Giles' Cathedral by John Knox. The repressive figure of Knox earns honourable mentions in Atkinson's novel, such as when Louise contrasts English and Scottish education systems:

> English schools went back in September but Scottish schools had always thought it a good idea to make kids go back in the dog days of heat. It would be a Presbyterian thing. No doubt John Knox looked out of his window one fine August morning and saw a kid bowling along the street with a hoop, or whatever kids did in the sixteenth century, and he thought, That child should be suffering in a hot, airless classroom in a uniform that makes him ridiculous (Atkinson 154).

Atkinson names Jackson Brodie himself for a colourful character in Scottish history, Deacon William Brodie, a respectable citizen by day and burglar by night, who is said to have inspired Stevenson's Jekyll and Hyde story. It is not by accident that Muriel Spark chose the same family name for her hypocritical schoolteacher character in *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, another Edinburgh-set novella of major significance in the Scottish literary tradition. Despite the Scots' fascination with duality, reducing the complexity of human experience to either one or the other extreme on opposite poles remains a simplistic approach. Atkinson, while exploiting the motif of dualism, also employs the striking metaphor of matryoshka dolls, which make recurrent appearances throughout the novel on both literal and figurative levels. Several of the novel's crimes have links with eastern Europe, including the manslaughter of a woman in St Petersburg committed by Martin Canning, a popular author of soft-boiled detective novels, a crime which he managed to conceal but which haunts his conscience, accompanied with remembrances of Russian "dolls, thousands of dolls, legion upon legion of matryoshka, (...) dolls within dolls, endlessly replicating and diminishing, like an infinite series of mirrors" (Atkinson 243). The trope of the nesting doll provides a more rounded view of human character, Scottish or otherwise, and extends to describe also the character of social space.

Little information is provided about the circumstances of Martin's crime, besides the profound and enduring effect it has on his psychology. In a series of almost surreal scenes filled with the images of colourful Russian dolls blending with the exotic faces and bodies of Russian women, Martin invites an

attractive local woman to his hotel room without realising that she expects payment for her company. As the fact dawns on him, an altercation ensues as a result of which the woman falls out of the window and is apparently killed. Shocked and dazed, Martin attempts to locate her body in the street, but there is none to be found. Details of the tragic encounter are revealed gradually, one by one, in the course of the novel. Martin appears to be simultaneously trying to suppress the traumatic memory and straining to remember what exactly happened. As it is presented, the incident remains incomplete, since it is never clarified whether the victim could have survived and walked way, whether her body was removed and by what means—or whether Martin's encounter with the woman and her subsequent fall to death even happened. As a professional writer, Martin routinely creates people, places and events that never existed, therefore, it can be argued that his busy mind happened to confound fact and fiction and that the event is but a figment of his imagination. Figuratively speaking, Martin can be imagined as taking apart a matryoshka, peeling away one layer after another to get to the core of the matter, which is a never-ending task because in his mind, the dolls are "endlessly replicating and diminishing" (Atkinson 243).

Soja envisions the positioning of human beings in their environment in terms of nesting layers, reminiscent of the matryoshka doll system, developing the image of "a multi-layered geography of socially created and differentiated nodal regions nesting at many different scales around the mobile personal spaces of the human body and the more fixed communal locales of human settlements" (8). Similarly, Harvey, speaking of the modern cityscape, stresses the multileveled characteristics of the "composite landscape made up of different built forms superimposed upon each other with the passing of time" (417). Harvey calls this peculiar spatio-social arrangement a "*palimpsest*," an expression that well fits Edinburgh's medieval Old Town, the location of chief tourist attractions and the hub of the festival events (417). The overlapping structures of the Old Town are uniquely visible to the naked eye and give the impression of "a museum exhibit," as Robert Crawford points out. "In a city of grand, often riverless bridges, some historic streets are windswept in their elevation, others oddly and fascinatingly sunken; among the latter, the sixteenth-century Mary King's Close (whose remains now lie beneath the Royal Mile's City Chambers) has a haunted, museum-like stillness" (Crawford 37). Edinburgh's Old Town amalgamates the past and the present, displaying its historical architecture as an artefact while at the same time putting it to current use as a product to be consumed by city visitors and festival performers.

When Jackson in Atkinson's novel emerges from a festival venue tucked away in an Old Town close, he is "greeted by ancient, tall tenements staring blankly at each other from either side of the street, making it feel more like a tunnel, making it feel as if night had fallen. If there had been no people around, you might have mistaken it for a film set of a Dickens novel. You might have mistaken it for the past itself" (Atkinson 61). Jackson's perception of the place taps into the spectacular and performative dimension inherent in the presentation of the Old Town. Indeed, Maria Balshaw and Liam Kennedy observe the rise of "new visual understandings of urban space as spectacle" (7). This deliberate staging of space inscribes new values on old structures, effectively obliterating the original meanings that the re-enactment of the past as a performance purports to preserve in the first instance. Historically, Edinburgh's Old Town was an unglamorous place of production; its streets were built on top of one another and its tenements were erected to haphazard heights to counter a lack of available space, which entailed crowded living conditions and serious sanitary problems. At present, the Old Town is converted into a site of consumption, and the picturesque sights that await the tourist carry out primarily an aesthetic function, much like stage decorations.

De Certeau comments that in contemporary capitalist society, consumption can be interpreted as

"*another* production," one that "does not manifest itself through its own products, but rather through its *ways of using* the products imposed by a dominant economic order" (xii–xiii). Atkinson's novel depicts the social space of Edinburgh as being used more often than produced, although, in keeping with de Certeau's proposition, consuming a previously established space reaffirms its existence and validates it. Edinburgh happens to belong among those "sites once occupied with production (which) are transformed into lifestyle locations or consumerist spectacles," as John Kirk remarks (107–08). Jackson in *One Good Turn* finds himself repeatedly bemused by the leisurely sense of place he encounters in Edinburgh:

> There were a lot of people on the Meadows, none of them doing anything that could be called useful. Didn't any of these people have jobs to go to? There were Japanese drummers, a group of people (Scots by their pallor), mostly middle-aged, doing t'ai chi (…) There were some people dressed like extras from *Braveheart*, lolling around on the grass in a way that would have made William Wallace shudder (Atkinson 273–74).

Jackson's observation exposes the inauthenticity of the commodified city, where Japanese drummers mix with Scots performing Chinese martial art and other locals wearing historical costumes but failing to act out the roles consistent with them.

Suitably for an investigator in a crime novel, Jackson is surrounded by deceptive appearances and struggles to reveal the substance concealed underneath. The duplicity (or, rather, multiplicity) of the setting matches that of the characters—with respect to Jackson especially his aloof and elusive girlfriend Julia, who in the final twist of the novel gets pregnant with another man and abandons Jackson for him. An aspiring actress, Julia spends the bulk of the novel rehearsing her part in an experimental play to be introduced at the festival. Despite the commercial marketing of the festival to the opposite effect, Atkinson's representation of the event shows that nothing could be less authentic. Early on in the novel, she has one of her characters note unenthusiastically: "The closest he had previously got to the Edinburgh Festival was accidentally turning on *Late Night Review* and seeing a bunch of middle-class wankers discussing some pretentious piece of fringe theatre" (Atkinson 17). The proclivity of festival goers to cultural pretensions is illustrated on the attitude of the English-born, Edinburgh-based Gloria, who "quite enjoyed the atmosphere and liked to attend the odd play or a concert at the Queen's Hall," "unlike some Edinburgh residents who regarded the advent of the annual Festival as something akin to the arrival of Black Death" (Atkinson 43). Gloria's preference for the Queen's Hall gives away her tastes as unadventurous, since the Queen's Hall is a large, highly sought-out venue, not typical for hosting experimental performances like Julia's *Looing for the Equator in Greenland*, "an existentialist, abstract, impenetrable thing which was about neither the equator nor Greenland (nor indeed about looking for anything)" (Atkinson 53).

Jackson's quest for an authentic Edinburgh experience in the touristy heart of the city proves disappointing while he is visiting the obligatory attractions:

> Jackson fought his way up the Royal Mile, through the crowds and the tartan tat, until he finally gained the Castle, soaring almost Cathar-like on top of the volcanic rock. He paid the entrance fee and walked along the Esplanade, past the towering scaffolded stands built for the Edinburgh Tattoo (…) He couldn't think of anything worse than being trapped for two hours in the dark and the summer damp watching a camp spectacle that had nothing to do with the reality of being in the military (Atkinson 93).

Atkinson's insertion of the seemingly dispensable detail of "he paid the entrance fee" draws attention to the commodification of Edinburgh's history, and Jackson's complaint about the disparity between the realities of the military and the show of military bands stresses the theatrical aspect contained in Edinburgh's sense of place. It is only when Jackson veers off the tourist tracks as he starts to investigate the murder mystery that he discovers "the soot-blackened, whisky-soaked, blood-sodden, metaphysical core of the wen that was Edinburgh" and moves towards charting his very own individual emotional landscape of the city (Atkinson 353).

"The user's space is *lived*—not represented (or conceived)," Lefebvre asserts and elaborates: "When compared with the abstract space of the experts (architects, urbanists, planners), the space of the everyday activities of users is a concrete one, which is to say, subjective" (362). A personal connection with social space cannot be formed unless the person engages in spatial practices in order to attach meanings to objects. In *One Good Turn*, Jackson initially imagines that Edinburgh would speak to him without demanding his active participation:

> When he stepped off the train in Waverley station yesterday he had been expecting the 50 per cent of his genes that were Scottish to recognize their heritage. He thought perhaps he would discover and emotional link with a past he'd never known, walk down a street and the faces would feel familiar, turn a corner or climb a stair and there would be an epiphany of sorts, but in fact Edinburgh felt more foreign to him than Paris did (Atkinson 62).

Paris, his current home, presents itself to Jackson as a container of his previous actions and affects, whereas Edinburgh stands as yet as a sign without a signified.

Lefebvre further argues that the origin of lived-in space lies in "childhood, with its hardships, its achievements, and its lacks" (362). Atkinson's Martin Canning was born and brought up in Edinburgh for the first three years of his life, which turned out to be a formative fact for his sense of identity. Martin always "gravitated back to Scotland (like eel or salmon)," "feel(ing) sick with nostalgia for a place he hardly knew" (Atkinson 79, 33). Similarly to Jackson, though, Martin fails to realise that intimate space needs to be set up first and used next, so when he fulfils his desire to settle in Edinburgh and purchases an upscale suburban home, he is frustrated to see that "all the life he had sensed in the house disappeared after he purchased it" (Atkinson 81). By his own admission, Martin lacks a distinctive personality, therefore, however artfully decorated and carefully maintained, his house equally continues to miss individual character. In choosing what strikes him as an "*opulent*" house and filling it with beautiful objects, Martin confuses surface with essence and ends up, not empty-handed, but empty-hearted (Atkinson 77).

Martin's well-selling books, whose success enabled him to buy his home, are, much like their author, "innocuous stuff, depicting a kind of retro-utopian Britain that was rife with aristocrats and gamekeepers," where "the serfs weren't revolting, they were positively happy in their chains" (Atkinson 453–54). This fictional space is also the setting of Martin's daydreaming, featuring himself and his imaginary wife leading a plain existence in a homely cottage. Bachelard believes that "the values that belong to daydreaming mark humanity in its depths" and locates daydreaming in the intimate space of the house: "The house shelters daydreaming, the house protects the dreamer, the house allows one to dream in peace" (6). Martin's pastoral daydreams do not sit well with his Merchiston suburb home and do not provide sufficient emotional content to infuse his surroundings with: "When he was presented with the word 'home' Martin had drawn a complete blank, a verbal space where an emotion should have been" (Atkinson 78). Martin's disengagement with social space does not come

from an absence of imaginative life but from the focus of his vivid imagination, which anachronistically returns to an idealised past instead of dealing with the more immediate and hence more pressing actualities of the present.

Martin strives to anchor his personal identity in his Scottish national roots, but the traditionally aggressively masculine Scottish culture does not resonate harmonically with his "neutered air" (Atkinson 454). Martin equips himself with a kilt fashioned in his clan colours, "but he had never had the nerve to wear it in public," only "occasionally he tried it on and wore it around the house but it was an odd, closeted act, as if he were a secretive transvestite rather than a swaggering Scot" (Atkinson 166). Martin's grasp of the world is intellectual, not emotional, and although he is well-versed in the theory of being Scottish, as evidenced by the pieces of trivia that he drops throughout the novel, he does not subjectively live out his Scottishness. The effeminate Martin finds himself positively assaulted by the most violent aspects of his national heritage when his house becomes a crime scene and he is forced to spend several nights in the budget Four Clans hotel:

> The picture on the wall opposite his bed was a print of Burke and Hare caught in the act of gleefully digging up a dead body, almost, but not quite, trumping the flaming witch of the previous room. He sat up and twisted round in order to see what was hanging above the bed. The Battle of Flodden Field, the slaughter of the Scots in full swing (Atkinson 361).

As Martin, "brainwashed by plaid," notices, Edinburgh does not shy away from packaging for consumption even its unsavoury history, including witch burnings and the notorious criminals Burke and Hare, body snatchers who stole and sold cadavers for medical purposes (Atkinson 361).

Where Martin's mapping of the emotional geographies of Edinburgh remains wanting, Jackson takes an active stance and vigorously immerses in the city, exploring it on foot and on regular public transport rather than opting for organised tours or sightseeing buses. Walking plays a vital role in constructing social space in that "walking affirms, suspects, tries out, transgresses, (or) respects," as de Certeau states (99). According to de Certeau:

> the act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to the statements uttered. At the most elementary level, it has a triple 'enunciative' function: it is a process of *appropriation* of the topographical system on the part of the pedestrian (just as the speaker appropriates and takes on the language); it is a spatial acting-out of the place (just as the speech act is an acoustic acting-out of language); and it implies *relations* among differentiated positions, that is, among pragmatic 'contracts' in the form of movements (97–98).

In *One Good Turn*, Jackson enacts Edinburgh and negotiates his position within it by walking in the city's streets. Whereas Martin rarely ventures beyond being a passive observer, Jackson involves himself in the process of creating a subjective space and making it come alive with meanings.

Jackson's report to Julia on his first walk suggests simultaneously that he is uncertain so far about the meanings potentially present in the cityscape and that he, however tentatively, attempts to evaluate what he sees:

> "I took a walk," Jackson said, "went to a museum and the Camera Obscura. Had a look at Greyfriars Bobby's Grave—"
> "Oh." Julia made a tragic face. The mention of a dog, any dog, always provoked an emotional

reflex in Julia but the idea of a dead dog upped the ante on the emotion considerably. The idea of a dead, *faithful* dog was almost more than she could handle.

"Yeah, I paid him your respects," Jackson said. "And I saw the new parliament building as well."

"What was it like?"

"I don't know. New. Odd." (Atkinson 55)

Jackson and Julia's exchange shows Julia instantly responding to the mental image of "a dead, *faithful* dog," even if the authenticity of her sentiment could be called into question, given the theatrical implications of her "tragic face" and her putting it on as a "reflex" rather than a spontaneous reaction. Ironically for the unfaithful Julia, Greyfriars Bobby is a local symbol of loyalty—commemorated by a statue in the Old Town, Bobby was a Skye Terrier who, as the popular story has it, refused to leave his deceased master's grave until his own death fourteen years later. The down-to-earth Jackson is more intrigued by the architecturally distinctive Scottish Parliament Building sitting at the foot of the Royal Mile, and while he gropes for words to describe the modern structure's sense of place, he undertakes the effort and eventually does come up with "new" and "odd." Jackson's apparently unimpressed reception of the parliament springs from his gap in a shared experience of recent national history: the Scottish Parliament was constituted following the 1997 devolution referendum (after the 1979 referendum to the same effect did not come through) and its new building, ceremonially opened in 2004, therefore bears paramount symbolic significance to Scottish nationals, a value which the exiled Jackson cannot personally relate to. Still, Jackson tirelessly explores the possibilities of geography and examines his emotional responses to it, in contrast to his elusive girlfriend, who shows no interest in any aspect of the Edinburgh experience whatsoever and seems to exist entirely outside of space.

Jackson continues in establishing an emotional connection with Scotland's capital so that he no longer regards himself as "a stranger," "an outsider" or "a tourist," as he formerly did: "The Royal Mile was beginning to feel almost familiar to Jackson now. He felt like turning to the nearest person and pointing out to them St Giles Church and the new parliament building" (Atkinson 104, 321). He retrieves his links with Scotland's past, represented here by St Giles Church, and present, encapsulated in the Scottish Parliament Building. De Certeau contends that "pedestrians, in the streets they fill with the forests of their desires and goals," shape an anonymous space into an individualised place by the means of everyday spatial practices (xxi). Atkinson in *One Good Turn* tracks the activities of her characters in lived-in space, portraying Martin Canning's largely unsuccessful bid to produce the intimate space of a home where he would thrive and Jackson Brodie's fruitful interactions with Edinburgh's physical geography, which he ultimately transforms into an emotional landscape of his own making. Writing of attachment to a particular social space, Tuan reminds that "attachment of a deep though subconscious sort may come simply with familiarity and ease, with the assurance of nurture and security, with the memory of sounds and smells, of communal activities and homely pleasures accumulated over time" (159). In the conclusion of the novel, Jackson is driving away from Scotland, aiming for London, but he does not get too far before he turns the wheel and heads back to Edinburgh, now constructed, experienced and remembered as a familiar space where he feels at ease and at home.

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Martin Holub

Deconstruction and Metafiction in British and American Comics of the 1980s

Abstract: *The unparalleled fruitfulness of the 1980s with regard to comics saw not only the rise of a new wave of British authors within established American publishing houses, but also the introduction of postmodernist themes and devices to the superhero genre. At the helm of this transformation were two authors in particular—Alan Moore and Grant Morrison. Their seminal works, Watchmen and Animal Man respectively, represented both a reaction to and revitalization of the superhero myth. Both are to some extent concerned with the deconstruction of perceived foundations within the genre and its implicit binary oppositions. Morrison's Animal Man is also a prime example of how metafiction can be specifically tailored to the medium of comics. This article is mainly concerned with the specific iterations and singularities of postmodernist expression in comics.*

In order to formulate a framework for the analysis of the aforementioned works, it is first necessary to address how the terms deconstruction and metafiction are used in this text.
Due to its elusive text-specific nature, it is often hard to define deconstruction on its own. In his work *Literary Theory*, Terry Eagleton offers a definition of deconstruction as

> a critical operation by which binary oppositions can be partly undermined or by which they can be shown to partly undermine each other in the process of textual meaning (Eagleton 132)

Further on he adds:

> Structuralism was generally satisfied if it could carve up a text into binary oppositions (high/low, light/dark, Nature/Culture and so on) and expose the logic of their working. Deconstruction tries to show how such oppositions, in order to hold themselves in place, are sometimes betrayed into inverting or collapsing themselves, or need to banish to the text's margins certain niggling details which can be made to return and plague them." (Eagleton 133)

It is important to note that deconstruction works with elements already present within the text, dismantling it so to speak from the bottom, not by jamming a figurative screwdriver in the clockwork of its original meaning. It essentially attempts to show that what we perceive as an immovable core of a certain system (whether this system is a literary work, social order or a philosophical proposition), is not necessarily as solid as we believe it to be and thus can make the whole system invalid.
Coincidentally, it is precisely the disregard for the distinction between high and low, so typical for post-structuralism, that allowed a medium as burdened with artistic prejudice as comics to flourish in the particular era of the 1980s.
The second term featured heavily in this article is metafiction. In her book *Metafiction: The Theory and Practice of Self-Conscious fiction*, Patricia Waugh offers a comprehensive definition:

> Metafiction is a term given to fictional writing which self-consciously and systematically draws attention to its status as an artefact in order to pose questions about the relationship between

fiction and reality. In providing critique of their own methods of construction, such writings not only examine the fundamental structures of narrative fiction, they also explore the possible fictionality of the world outside the literary fictional text. (Waugh 2)

The purpose of metafiction is therefore at the same time to make a work of art seem more real by lessening the subjective 'reality' of the world outside the text, or by examining its fictionality with rational tools, and to admit its fictionality and the impossibility of it ever faithfully representing reality. Metafiction is also one of the key devices through which postmodernist authors express self-conscious irony and through which they mock their own works—an approach which is also quite typical of postmodernism. In this respect, metafiction enables the author to comment on his own handiwork from without, as if assuming the position of a disinterested observer.

For the purposes of this text, metafiction and deconstruction can be thought of as two pillars supporting postmodernist thought.

Watchmen

The story of *Watchmen*, the first work we will examine, is set in an alternate reality, which differs from ours in several key aspects, one of which is the everyday presence of costumed heroes and their subsequent outlawing by the government. The central timeline of the narrative begins with the killing of a former costumed crime-fighter, Comedian, whose murder is investigated by his teammate Rorschach. As Rorschach delves deeper into the mystery, he realizes that Comedian's death was merely a link in a huge chain of events, ending in an unfathomable genocide. However, even though various characters in the story take part in Rorschach's investigation, he is not the book's protagonist; *Watchmen* oppose the conventional linear approach to storytelling and instead expose a complex tapestry of events. The individual actions of the characters (most prominently Nite Owl, Dr. Manhattan and Silk Spectre) culminate into a finale, in which Adrian Veidt, a retired superhero and the ambiguous antagonist of the story, succeeds in murdering millions of people in order to instill a lasting peace. *Watchmen* follow several timelines, and a parallel pirate story, read by a minor character, which functions as an allegory and reflection of the main storyline. The overall theme of the work is defeating the expectations of the genre, both in the definition of heroes and villains, and in the very conclusion of the story.

By its very definition, the superhero myth is open to deconstruction on all sides. There are not many things more fantastic than superheroes—whether in the aspect of skills and abilities, or the moral basis of their behavior. The term itself is a lush oasis for postmodernist exploration, because it is as contradictory as its manifestations. The prefix "super" indicates something "better" than normal, something extraordinary—the binary opposite of "ordinary", the "non-super"; however the conventional definition of a character possessing extraordinary or superhuman powers, with a distinguishing visual characteristic (typically a costume) has been rendered invalid both in parts and as a whole.

In *Superheroes: A modern Mythology*, Richard Reynolds defines the superhero genre through seven key characteristics:

1. The hero is marked out from society. He often reaches maturity without having a relationship with his parents
2. At least some of the superheroes will be like earthbound gods in their level of powers. Other superheroes of lesser powers will consort easily with these earthbound deities.
3. The hero's devotion to justice overrides even his devotion to the law.

4. The extraordinary nature of the hero will be contrasted with the ordinariness of his surroundings.
5. The extraordinary nature of the hero will be contrasted with the mundane nature of his alter-ego. Certain taboos will govern the actions of these alter-egos.
6. **Although ultimately above the law, superheroes can be capable of considerable patriotism and moral loyalty to the state, though not necessarily to the letter of its laws.**
7. The stories are mythical and use science and magic indiscriminately to create a sense of wonder. (Reynolds 14).

It is quite clear that throughout the years, all of these characteristics were turned on their head, both as a part of an evolution of the genre and through the questioning of their essence. The former approach is not inherently postmodern—in order to be successful it is inevitable to deviate from a repetitive scheme of things, if only to attract new readership and create an original work of art. But even if a rule is flouted, it is still acknowledged. Nevertheless, it is not the definition of a superhero, which is most susceptible to deconstruction; it is the type of morality that superheroes are supposed to represent.

Richard Reynolds speaks about "the superhero wrestling with his conscience over which order should be followed—moral or political, temporal or divine." (Reynolds 15). Such a conflict by itself prohibits an unconditional division between good and bad, positive and negative behavior.

The opposition of good and bad invites manifestations of both—if absolute, unequivocal good is represented in the narrative, then we also need a similarly indisputable representation of bad. If one is the superhero, the other must be the supervillain. By questioning the perception of "moral good", and thus the entire concept of heroism, we also question the distinction between a hero and a villain. How and on what basis did the narrative arrive at the point of (seemingly) clearly distinguishing between the two? According to Reynolds, we can deduce a working definition of a villain by inverting certain characteristics of a superhero. This, however, immediately harkens to the poststructuralist dislike of the concept of definition by negation, marking out one and imposing "not one-ness" on the "other". The definition of a villain necessarily shifts with the changing definition of a hero. The relationship between the two in the conceptual sense constitutes one of the main themes in Alan Moore's *Watchmen*.

One of Moore's aims in this work was to look behind the curtain of the superhero genre, and show the reader its protagonist in their infinitely fractured light, without the masks of absolute categorization. According to Ian Thomson in his work *Comics As Philosophy*, *Watchmen* represented the coming of age of the entire comicbook medium by

> (...) developing its heroes precisely in order to deconstruct the very idea of the hero and so encouraging us to reflect upon its significance from the many different angles of the shards left lying on the ground (Thomson 101).

By deconstructing the underlying principles by which we distinguish heroes from villains, Moore achieved a state in which the symbols we expect to communicate a particular meaning communicate something else entirely. In this respect, his approach is similar to the one of Grant Morrison in *Animal Man*—the bottom level of understanding, the "dictionary of perception", is transformed, and thus all the higher levels of discourse fail to retain their original meaning.

This is best exemplified by the difference between the Comedian and Ozymandias. The Comedian is a Captain America pastiche, who functions as a satirical reworking of the nationalistic hero—he is determined to uphold the laws imposed by the state at any cost, disregarding their moral ambiguity. Under regular circumstances, the Comedian would be read as a positive force within the story, a

position which is confirmed not only by his allegiance to the flag (emphasized by his costume design), but also by the fact that he is attacked (and killed) at the beginning of the story.

This detail is extremely important: by rule, it is never the hero who prompts a conflict; it is always the villain (unless there is a third party involved, which is threatened by the villain). This seemingly leaves us with only one option: reading the Comedian as a hero. However, as we delve deeper into the story, we realize that it is impossible to see him as such—he attempts to rape his team-mate, Sally Jupiter, and possibly countless Vietnamese women, performs his duties with appalling ruthlessness (especially during the war), and employs villain-like brutality to uphold the status quo.

In short, the Comedian fails to fit into a definitive category: he opposes the main antagonist of the story and under all circumstances fulfills his orders (administered by the United States government, by default a positive force), dons the American flag as his costume, and is a victim of an attack, rather than its perpetrator, but in all moral respects outside the expectations of the genre embodies the vices of the most inexcusable sort.

On the opposite side of the equation, we have Ozymandias: a retired superhero and a successful businessman, who, by forfeiting his vigilante career, forfeits his claim in the "good guy" category; at the end of the story, he is revealed to be the mastermind behind the ominous doomsday plan, as well as the Comedian's killer. However, in the same way as it did for his victim, the depth of his character causes him to elude the simple categorization we would expect from the superhero genre. He is the Comedian's opposite: by all standards, he should be read as the negative force within the story, a perpetrator of an insane mass-murder, a killer—a true "bad guy". And yet, his qualities lead us on an entirely different way of perceiving his actions; he is virtuous in every sense of the word: courageous, wise, strong, respectful, and above all, morally committed to his actions (however twisted his morality may be). It is his desire to bring a lasting and global peace to humankind, which fuels his actions, whereas his opposite, the Comedian, is only motivated by his lowest desires and boundless cynicism.

An interesting point raised by Reynolds in *Super Heroes: A Modern Mythology* is that Veidt's actions are partly prompted by the realism with which the superheroes of *Watchmen* are confronted: by removing the tangible enemy from the storyline, its heroes, and Veidt in particular, are forced to face "more intangible social and moral concerns, effectively removing the whole concept from the narrative expectations of the genre" (Reynolds 115)

Moore's intricate portrayal of the two warring sides of the villain/hero duality shows this duality as much less absolute than we might believe (or unintentionally expect) it to be—in fact, it illustrates, in full, the impossibility of such a distinction. In *Watchmen*, as hard as we might try, we cannot distinguish good from bad—only the infinitely mirrored reflections of the two in each of the characters.

This point is also emphasized by the deliberate moral indifference with which the comicbook is written. Although the story is largely narrated by Rorschach, it is ultimately the reader who must decide with whom to sympathize, as the ambiguous feeling of the work prevents a simple categorization of the characters, typical for the superhero genre. Moore's approach to the morality of the characters is reflected in the non-linear, simultaneous layout of the story, which aims to disrupt the obviousness of importance and unimportance of certain aspects of the narrative, again leaving the reader with the decision on how to read it.

Watchmen is also a story of three distinct characters that are, through their actions and their superhero lifestyle, removed from humanity, from the very thing they set out to protect—Rorschach, Adrian Veidt and Dr. Manhattan.

Walter Kovacs/Rorschach is a prime example of this: his vigilante war against crime must necessarily mean abandoning any connections to a normal life. Several characters point out his

unpleasant body odor and his filthy appearance. This was indeed Moore's intention, as he himself says

> If you're a vigilante, then this is what you're going to be like: you're not going to have any friends because you're going to be crazy and obsessive and dangerous and frightening; you're probably going to be too obsessed with your vendetta to bother about things like eating or washing or tidying your room because what have they got to do with the War Against Crime? (Reynolds 117)

Although Rorschach's actions are guided by a strong moral code and in spite of his viciousness, he successfully invokes an image of a superhero, he is an outsider—the undesired social element, especially in his civil *life* "Rorschach, in short, is cut from the template of the vigilante superhero, but with every semblance of glamour apparently taken away." (Reynolds 107).

Rorschach is also, much like the Nite Owl, a victim of his own costume: without it, he is but a shade of his true self. This is best illustrated in issue five, when he is arrested and unmasked by the police, screaming: "No! My face! Give it back!" (Moore, issue 5, 28)

It is also worth noting that Walter Kovacs is so strongly tied to his Rorschach persona, he would rather die as a civilian than as a vigilante. In his last moments, before he is obliterated by Jon in issue 12, he takes off his mask—as if to save "Rorschach" from defeat, and offer his own life instead.

As is typical of Moore's work on *Watchmen*, the archetype Rorschach represents does not function alone; he is also a part of a trinity that serves to inspect different ways in which a superhero, if faced with the real world, would possibly become cut off from the rest of humanity. The other two parts of the trinity are created by Dr. Manhattan and Ozymandias. Each of these heroes is, either due to the nature of his abilities, or his motivation, disconnected from the human race. Dr. Manhattan's power is so incredible it slowly removes him from the human affairs (as beautifully symbolized by his gradual undressing—the shedding of his "costume" of a human and his acceptance of his own nakedness as a God); the struggles of lowly Homo sapiens become entirely alien to him towards the end of the story, which he points out at several points during his conversation with Laurie on Mars: "In my opinion, life is a highly overrated phenomenon. Mars gets along perfectly without so much as a micro-organism." (Moore, issue 9, 13). "I read atoms, Laurie. I see the ancient spectacle that birthed the rubble. Beside this, human life is brief and mundane." (Moore, issue 9, 17). In many respects, Dr. Manhattan is not unlike the most iconic superhero of all—Superman, who, in spite of his singularity, remains faithful to the human race—a behavior which Moore tries to deconstruct with his rendition of Manhattan. Manhattan's opposite in the sense of power range, Ozymandias, took a very different road, and developed his mental and physical faculties to such a level as to exceed any other man on Earth, purely by harnessing the latent potential present within every individual (this is also put in a strong contrast to the purely accidental omnipotence of Dr. Manhattan). The deliberateness of his training is closely bound to his desire to control and reform human affairs (while Dr. Manhattan, true to his origin, sees only determinate randomness, which should not be tampered with). However, despite being invested so much in it in general, Ozymandias is so removed from the rest of his species that he ultimately deems it appropriate to sacrifice millions of lives in order to achieve a long-standing peace and harmony. In this, he is as removed from humanity as Dr. Manhattan.

Rorschach possesses neither the godlike abilities of Dr. Manhattan, nor the social power or physical and mental excellence of Ozymandias. He is also the only of the three who solves problems "hands-on", and deals directly with others—yet much like his counterparts, finds himself entirely disconnected from them. His separation is caused by the very war he wages: he can no

longer perceive people as people; he only sees victims and actual or possible criminals, and the psychological space he reserves for his Rorschach persona is necessarily taken out from his own identity. In other words, the more he functions as a protector of his fellow men, the more he is detached from them. "(Rorschach) is almost completely outside the bounds of the society he chooses to protect." (Reynolds 106).

The trinity that Moore uses to deconstruct the conflicting nature of superheroes under the pressure of their own actions sheds a pessimistic light on the very possibility of such a life, and the only people in the story who are able to lead a normal life are those that have forfeited their vigilante career. The careful dismantling of the superhero myth in *Watchmen* irrevocably changed the landscape of the genre, and Moore is often credited with unwittingly ending the Silver Age of comics and ushering in a new, darker era of moral and conceptual relativity.

Animal Man

As an act of breaking the 4th wall—the imaginary barrier between the audience and the players, between the story and the reader—the nature of metafiction is determined by the medium in which it is used—by the shape of the barrier it tries to transcend.

There are various ways to reveal a work of art as a work of art—in other words, not as a representation of reality, but as a representation of a representation of reality. We can explicitly undermine the basis of the work, for example by the author's personal appearance in the story: Such a device is not really medium-specific. It can appear in literature as well as a film or a comicbook.

A more interesting strategy is to employ in the narrative the various stages of the creation of the particular work of art. This of course requires the reader to understand how the work is created. If we decide to openly show a crewmember or filming equipment in a movie, we expect the viewer to understand that these are a part of the cinematic production, and therefore that we want him to realize that he is watching a movie, or more precisely, to make him realize that we (as the authors) are aware that he (as the viewer) is aware of the movie's unreality.

The two mentioned types of metafiction roughly correspond to the content and the form of the work of art.

Metafiction in comics is as unique and specific as it is in any other medium. It combines many of the features of the written and the visual, while bringing its own metafictional devices into the equation. It possesses the entire arsenal of literary metafiction, but at the same time has at its disposal a large part of the world of visual means. This can be seen especially in the works of the pioneer of metafiction in comics, Grant Morrison.

His revival of the Buddy Baker/Animal Man character, originally written by Dave Wood, was from the very beginning intended for mature audience. Grant Morrison's take on the character saw him more as an everyman figure in the world of superheroes, than as a superhero himself. The focus of the series is divided between the "fictional" storyline, concerned with seemingly regular superhero stories and issues of Buddy's allegiance to the world of men and animals, and the "non-fictional" author-based disruption of the story and medium itself. Inevitably, both the stable and disruptive parts of the story are intertwined. Antagonists of certain issues are destroyed by the author, rather than the characters, and the author actively changes the course of the narrative. This tendency grows more prominent towards the end of the series, culminating in the author's explicit appearance, which is destructive for the main protagonist's sense of identity, as well as his belief in the reality of his universe. The brutal shattering of the '4th wall' is as revelatory and as unsettling for the character, as it is for the readers themselves.

Grant Morrison uses metafiction both to drive the story forward and to openly reflect upon the narrative stereotypes and genre and medium expectations.

The first issue of Animal Man which explored a possible confrontation of different realities, and set the stage for Morrison's further development of this theme, was *Coyote's Gospel* (Animal Man #5). A sudden change in visual and literary narrative techniques was clearly noticeable: from a somewhat detailed art and complex storytelling, the comics moved onto simple caricatures and fairy-tale-like narrative. It, seemingly nonsensically, transferred the focus of the story into a "cartoony" land, following the fate of a character called Crafty, a thinly-disguised Wile E. Coyote, the main protagonist of the famous Road Runner cartoons, in which he was the constant victim of cartoony violence while trying to catch the Road Runner.

Contrary to Wile, Crafty becomes conscious of the hopelessness of his role, of the pointless stream of brutality and the absurdity of his mission, thus foreshadowing the awakening of Buddy Baker himself. Tired of the endless cycle, Crafty decides to meet his creator, his God, and asks for freedom. The conversation is depicted from the creator's point of view. The reader is only able to see the legs, hands, and a giant brush. Crafty is given a chance to escape his fate, but only by being transferred from his cartoon reality into the "hell above" (Morrison, Animal Man vol. 1, issue 5, 20), i.e. the "reality" of Animal Man comics, which he accepts.

The shift from one reality to another is facilitated by both visual and textual transformation. In Animal Man's reality, Crafty is drawn much more subtly, realistically, his humorous cartoon appearance is replaced with somewhat terrifying likeness of a man-coyote. The background undergoes a similar change as well, with simplified desert rocks being transformed into a genuine desert. This helps the reader to understand the transition between the two, and immediately accept the more detailed reality as being "more real", with everything it entails.

The dissociation of the two realities is also marked by a stylistic transformation of the text. Crafty's ability of constant resurrection is described in shocking detail once he appears in Animal Man's world, significantly distinguishing the phenomenon by the sheer naturalism from its cartoon counterpart.

> The first bullet is semi-jacketed, hollow point, shatters the devil's collarbone and smashes its shoulderblade like a china plate. Briefly, its feet pedal empty air. And then it goes down. An outcrop breaks its spine. A second impact crushes its skull. Unhinges the jaw. Snaps both legs. And it hits bottom blind and quadriplegic. Many segments of the description echo their cartoon counterparts ('its feet pedal empty air'), but at the same time strike the reader with their level of terrifying literality and detail ('the first bullet is semi-jacketed, hollow point'; '...hits bottom blind and quadriplegic'), forcing him to reconsider his perception of the animated violence, and its presupposed harmlessness. The stylistic transformation of the text intuitively reinforces the reader's understanding of the difference between the two worlds. (Morrison, Animal Man vol. 1, issue 5, 12)

In its entirety, however, the issue suggests not two, but three, or possibly an indefinite number of realities (none of which could be considered absolutely and unassailably real). Crafty first becomes aware of his existence within the cartoon world and makes his transition into the comicbook world of Animal Man. Upon his death, the pull-back shot from the scene makes the reader aware that even the world of Animal Man is not, so to speak, completely true: the pool of blood next to Crafty's body is being additionally colored by a huge hand with a brush (similar to the creator's in the cartoon reality), hinting that there is a reality beyond reality, an author beyond the author, a God beyond God. This multiplicity is also touched upon in Crafty's tale in the sentence "So God sent Crafty forth from heaven

and earth. Into the dark hell of the second reality." (Morrison, Animal Man Vol. 1, issue 5, 20) with the word "second" implying numerous levels of real.

A work of fiction is in Morrison's view no less important for the understanding of existence than is the state of things we describe as reality—as much as life contains works of fiction, the works of fiction contain life itself, and it is therefore impossible to distinguish one from the other.

It is difficult to tell if Morrison's worldview was only informed, or entirely inspired, by David Bohm's theory of the implicate order, but it undeniably influenced his work on Animal Man. In the same way the followers of this theory believe it can explain the nature of our reality, the characters in Animal Man use it to explain theirs, in its complexity explaining ours, and all realities, at the same time. If the theory of the implicate is to be believed, it may be also seen as mirrored in all works of fiction, as they indeed are concrete manifestations of the infinite potential present in their creation; in other words, anything can be created, be it written, painted or filmed, and particular works are thus only fragments of what could have been formed, unfolded from the totality of the limitless options.

Starting with issue 24, Morrison employs a wholly new method of communicating the metafictional nature of his work—he replaces the story with its actual script, which results in the description of the very images we are looking at, as well as openly discussing the story.

In the first panel, the textual aspect of comicbook narrative is identified with its graphic counterpart: the words attempt to transmit the image, while the image communicates ideas we subsequently put into words. This evokes both the feeling of an unfinished work of art, as well as a peek behind the curtain of its creation. In the second panel, Morrison adds a new layer to the device, as Psycho-pirate openly reacts to the way he is supposed to be drawn: "I know you're there. Trying to make it hard for me to think." (Morrison, Animal Man Vol. 3, 156)

This approach is curiously inverted in issue 25: instead of the text representing the script, and the images standing for the story itself, the images now show only fingers typing on a keyboard (and thus have no communicative value for the story whatsoever), while the text transforms into a stream of consciousness.

This clever overlap of text and image reaches its zenith at the end of issue 25, where we see Buddy read a script describing his own adventures at the very moment of it being read:

Animal Man #25 'Monkey Puzzles.' I read it. I read my own words, my own thoughts, and I realize they're not mine after all. They were never mine. I flip through to the end of the script and there it is in black and white: 'We're looking over Animal Man's shoulders as he rummages in the kitchen drawer and finds a pair of scissors." (Morrison, Animal Man vol.3, 201)

the result of which is the very action described in the script. To differentiate the script from Animal Man's thoughts (even though the first actually includes the latter), Morrison changes the font type and the background color of the rectangle in the descriptive part beginning with "We're looking (...)". This again exemplifies comics' unique ability of to depict metafiction and parallel layers of real.

From the perspective of visual storytelling, however, two of the most prominent methods Morrison employs are partial erasure and the use of panels as an actual presence in the story.

By relying on the shared knowledge stock of the comicbook readers, he is able to use various steps of creating comics to display its "un-creation"—whether it's the juxtaposition of pencil drafts with the finished art or "leftover" underlining of the text, as if the letterer tried to keep the characters even.

In issue 12, the Yellow Aliens anti-climatically destroy a simplistic black and white villain (who is appropriately drawn in black and white) by simply erasing him from existence, slowly going

backwards through the various steps of drawing—removing inking, colors, finished lines, all the way to simple drafts.

The second metanarrative device mentioned above is the transcendence of comicbook panels. The characters, aware of their fictional essence, become aware of the panels limiting their world, and in some cases, try to interact with their borders. This most notably occurs in the sequence where Buddy, after the use of psychedelics, begins to transcend the restraints of the comicbook panels: "I'm outside! I... I... Highwater, is that you in there?" (Morrison, Animal Man vol.3, 47), growing out of proportion, reentering the panels at different angles and inappropriate scales, to which Highwater, from inside a panel, replies: "Is that your hand? Where is it coming from? I don't understand." (Morrison, Animal Man vol.3, 47).

A slightly different effect (although based on a similar principle) is used in issue 19, when Buddy is confronted with his own story; while the red paneling and the use of descriptive squares, rather than bubbles, suggest a shift in the layer of the portrayed story, it is not "read" by Buddy in the conventional sense. Instead, the images unfold before him in an ungraspable psychedelic fashion that fully utilizes the possibilities of the medium: it shares no characteristics with textual description or linear flashing of images used in films. This method is used throughout the entire psychedelic section, with different images, representing different layers of "real", randomly intertwining and transcending panels and seemingly 'separate' scenes.

Compared to for example film, the discrepancy lies in the pacing of the scene. Unless we choose to display a frame that would contain a scene resembling the layout of pages 36-37 (thus losing the essential advantage of the medium—movement), we are bound to show the images in a temporal succession; by contrast, in comics, various layers of the narrative can be portrayed "timelessly"—at the same time in a succession of images and in one still image (both of which can "last" however long the reader wishes them to); this allows Morrison to give both layers of the narrative reality a feeling of synchronicity, of happening simultaneously.

It is quite interesting that the removal, or distortion, of comicbook panels influences the content both on the temporal and spatial level; in other words, a comicbook panel is the carrier of both dimensions, and the metafictional deconstruction of its workings manifests itself in giving a sense of "broken time", as well as broken space. This can be seen for example on page 38 in vol. 3, where Buddy falls across the top of the page, only to land face first nonsensically against the whiteness of the following irregularly-shaped panel. The color white—the natural state of the paper, on which the comics is read, serves as an implicitly understood symbol of nothingness, of the disappearance of the tangible, and gives the scene a feeling of being removed from identifiable space. When Buddy crashes against whiteness on page 38, he does not crash against the content of the comics, an object within the narrative, but against the paper itself.

The comicbook panels become a direct part of the narrative itself in issue 23, when the near-invisible Psycho-pirate calls the attention of other heroes to their existence: "This cage we're kept in. They keep us here for their cheap amusement. Haven't you seen it before? Look". (Morrison, Animal Man Vol. 3, 131)

The panels (and especially their removal) are thus assigned an entirely new role—"A breach in the continuum. A door into the impossible. (...) The middle ground between our reality and the higher world, out of which we are unfolded." (Morrison, Animal Man Vol. 3, 157)—the Yellow Aliens' words again bring to mind Bohm's implicate order.

The general aim of this article was to illustrate the possibilities that the medium of comics provides particularly with regard to postmodernism. As an art form, comics represents a unique merging

of visual, as well as literary arts, employing and omitting many aspects of both, and thus creating a singular artistic experience of its own. Its use of pictorial juxtaposition, and panels in particular, as a means of conveying time and movement, allows the readers to adjust its pace to their needs, and in consequence, enables the writers to employ entirely new and original narrative approaches, ranging from multiple narration and complex non-linear storytelling, as seen in Moore's *Watchmen*, to visually communicated metafiction, and chronological and spatial distortion, as seen in Morrison's *Animal Man*, none of which could be utilized in the same way and with the same results in any other art form.

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Ema Jelínková

Adapting Jane Austen's Male Characters in Selected Film Versions of *Pride and Prejudice* and *Sense and Sensibility*

Abstract: *Subscribing to the creed of a gentleman living in Regency England "never to complain, never to explain", Jane Austen's novels reveal masculine emotional restraint and silence as being the proof of a character's worthiness. By contrast, the contemporary film adaptations of Jane Austen's novels display a contrary creed: to be positive characters, the screen versions of Mr Darcy of Pride and Prejudice and Edward Ferrars and Colonel Brandon of Sense and Sensibility need to undergo a major revision of their representations from emotional restraint to emotional display. The objective of my paper is to prove that the contradiction between novels and their film adaptations is more apparent than real and may not necessitate adapting the texts against their grain.*

Contemporary consumers of Austen's fiction or adaptations seem to suffer from nostalgia; tired and disgusted with many sordid parts of their lives as they are, Jane Austen's rural, pre-industrial world of gentlemanlike behaviour, grace, a sense of inviolable privacy and promises meant to be kept provides them with solace, escape. This is their personal Lethe. Austen herself has been criticised for deliberately failing to incorporate into her novels any of the tumultuous political events of her time, such as the Napoleonic Wars, and focusing instead on the homely domestic experience. With her comparatively innocent plots and the promise of a satisfactory ending where confusions are cleared up, misunderstandings explained and the main characters find contentment, Austen is the perfect candidate for those who seek comfort rather than excitement and a sense of positive affirmation rather than uncertainty and doubt.

As David Monaghan points out, on one hand, Austen's novels lend themselves well to screen adaption, as her plots are simply structured, her range of characters and settings is limited and her themes are ultimately romantic in nature (12). On the other hand, Monaghan adds, her reliance on free indirect discourse, carefully crafted dialogue and, of course, her underlying ironic tone make the material of her novels challenging to portray on the screen, if the adaptation wishes to remain faithful to the original source (13). Therefore, according to Monaghan, while Austen is certainly "adaptable," she is not inherently a "cinematic novelist" (13). This difficulty is generally overcome by filmmakers by selecting only the marriage plot instead of trying to fit in the bulk of Austen's novels, in order to attract crowds (as opposed to a few dedicated Austen scholars). But even the marriage plot from Austen's pen is a precious gem with many facets.

Any film or television adaptation of a novel must be highly selective as to which elements can be used as they are, which need to be altered and which are best omitted entirely. Jeremy Strong describes the typical approach of Austen adaptations as "sweetening," a practice in which "the filmmakers shape the adapted text better to fit the 'destination' genre—romantic comedy—and mute elements of the source texts' identity that might sit less easily" (88). Out of the many facets of the complex gem that an adaptation is, I have selected only one: the interpretation of desirable masculinity in the book and the film. Can it be met with an equivalent reaction—that is, approval— by contemporary readers as well as cinemagoers and, if so, how is the transition achieved? I will address this broad question by paying close attention to two Austen adaptations, generally considered both ground-breaking and trend-setting: Simon Langton's 1995 miniseries *Pride and*

Prejudice (screenplay by Andrew Davies) and Ang Lee's 1995 *Sense and Sensibility* (scripted by Emma Thompson).

The film versions, aiming at communicating the desirability of a man or the lack thereof, must find a "film language" to achieve the same impact as the book. The ground-breaking 1995 adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice* succeeded in this aim by employing an apparent contradiction: a redefining of Austen's masculinity as the man of emotional restraint as the man of emotional expressiveness to meet the desires of contemporary viewers. As Cythia Nixon writes: "While Austen's gentlemen prove their worth by meeting a demand for social restraint, they prove their worth to moviegoers by meeting a demand for social display" (27). Today's audience may feel that Austen's heroines fall in love with a somewhat whittled-down sort of masculinity, something that we, contemporary consumers, do not desire. What is good enough for the female characters is not sufficient for us, so the films must include scenes to add desirability to the male protagonists, since most of Austen's male characters do not feature prominently in the books and their personal lives and emotional battles elude us until the last moment.

Since Jane Austen apparently neglected to make her paragons of masculinity appealing to the contemporary romance-consuming audience, the films attempt to remedy this omission and rescue the gentlemen from dullness by endowing them with observable emotional displays. Nixon is convinced that "what viewers desire is cinematic revision of the novel Darcy in terms of adding extra Darcy, even erotically enhanced Darcy" (23). Not only the famous wet shirt scene in the 1995 *Pride and Prejudice*, but nearly all the departures from the novel involve Darcy and his personal battle with his body (desiring Elizabeth) and his mind (putting up a fight against it). Darcy therefore makes an appearance as a Byronic character, as a hero tortured by an excess of emotions, a brooding loner with smouldering eyes, full of pain, reimagined as a Byronic hero of sorts. Since he cannot express his inner emotional battles verbally, he engages in physical activities that do not appear in the novel but which convey these battles and the violence of his emotions to the viewer—he is seen riding, fencing, swimming and pacing the room restlessly while attempting to write a response to Elizabeth's spirited and angry rejection of his marriage proposal.

Lisa Hopkins observes that the *Pride and Prejudice* miniseries adaptation "is extremely faithful to the novel (...) It is really only with Mr. Darcy that changes have been made, and as a general rule, they all tend in the same direction: to focus on his feelings, his desires, and his emotional and social development" (115). Austen's Darcy is a particularly elusive character; after all, it is precisely Elizabeth's prejudiced misconceptions regarding Darcy, whose reserved manners and impenetrable mien are misinterpreted as pride, that lay the foundations of the novel's conflict. Hopkins notices that up to Elizabeth's rejection in the miniseries, "Darcy is presented carefully and consistently in two specific ways: either in profile by a fireplace (usually with a mirror above) or looking out of a window" (113). Hopkins does not elaborate in detail on the implications of this presentation; however, it can be argued that showing Darcy in profile rather than having him face the camera directly reinforces the impression of a man who does not let himself be known. Elizabeth's initial rejection of Darcy's proposal is the breaking point, following which Darcy becomes "of iconic centrality for both visual and narrative imperatives" and begins to feature more directly and physically on the screen (Hopkins 114). Ultimately, Hopkins argues, the adaptation reinvents Austen's restrained Darcy as a vigorously masculine and desirable character by "offering him up to the female gaze" (112).

Since the film medium cannot achieve what a novel could, having the characters deal with their emotions unseen, the eye of the camera needs to observe and capture their secret life and especially thoughts, hence the need for extra scenes that dramatise Darcy's character, in an attempt to maintain narrative unity by translating Austen's authorial voice into a cinematic vocabulary. It may be argued

that Darcy's "baptism" in the pond provides a dramatic visual symbol of his emotional rebirth—a concluding part of the dialogue between his mind and body (absent from the novel on the verbal plane) that had been running throughout the film and is now coming to its close. Apparently, Darcy accepted his love for Elizabeth and even her verbal dismissal, deciding to court her once again and differently. From that moment on, Darcy is observed smiling more often and gazing lovingly at Elizabeth—until his and her gazes are locked in the piano scene at Pemberley, signalling, finally, an emotional connection between the two (which is even strengthened by Miss Bingley's cruel remark about Wickham, which disconcerts Georgiana, who is playing a tune, but, much to Darcy's admiration, Elizabeth immediately puts Georgiana at ease).

The other ground-breaking adaptation, *Sense and Sensibility* (1995), scripted by Emma Thompson, demonstrates the same desire to add emotion to Austen's male characters, Edward Ferrars and Colonel Brandon, and to eliminate their silence. It needs to be mentioned that the film owes a part of its success to a rather extraordinary cast. Alan Rickman in the role of Colonel Brandon does not follow Austen's strictures to present himself as an awkward, silent, middle-aged person sporting flannel vests, all in all, a very disadvantaged suitor. Without any doubt, there is a great deal of masculine presence and charm to this particular actor. As in *Pride and Prejudice*, visually striking additions were made, not dissimilar to those scripted for Darcy: Colonel Brandon too is remodelled as a hero tortured by violent emotions, a musing loner, a revised Byronic hero. Since he cannot express his struggles in words, Brandon appears in emotionally charged scenes: for example, Emma Thompson scripted for him a dramatic rescue of Marianne and an equally dramatic ride to fetch Marianne's mother to her possible deathbed.

Along similar lines, Penny Gay argues that to communicate the strong emotions of the characters to the audience, Thompson's *Sense and Sensibility* utilises dynamic scenes involving "more readily comprehensible fast movement" as an expression of passion (98). This device is manifested not only in the above-mentioned scenes of Marianne's rescue by Brandon but also in the scenes featuring Marianne and Willoughby, whose mutual attraction is translated into their wild curricle rides and their spontaneous dance at the picnic (Gay 98). Furthermore, Gay observes that the costumes of the characters serve to reinforce the desired response of the cinemagoers (96–98). Brandon begins in unexciting black clothes, effectively making him invisible as a potential suitor, only to move to more relaxed attire as his role evolves and conclude the film "splendidly virile in his red-coated colonel's dress uniform for his wedding ceremony" (Gay 98). Brandon's dishevelled appearance and untidy costume faithfully reflect his overwhelming emotions in the powerful scene in which "Brandon is transmogrified into the image of the romantic Byronic hero," as he waits to see the apparently dying Marianne, while "coatless, his shirt unbuttoned at the neck, his cravat hanging loose and untied" (Gay 98).

The film also smooths the path for Brandon's upcoming "conquest" by deleting the scene with Willoughby, who makes a confession to Elinor, providing a full explanation of his motivation and behaviour, professing his undying love for Marianne and nearly swaying Elinor to his side. As in *Pride and Prejudice*, the added scenes are equated with the unspoken love of Brandon for Marianne and Edward for Elinor, which continues to grow until the moment is right to express the emotion in words. Emma Thompson expanded the role of Edward (utilising the subtle charm of Hugh Grant) and especially the youngest Dashwood sister, Margaret, showing them forming a bond nearly as strong as one between siblings. Edward shows himself capable of acting like an ideal elder brother. His kindness, generosity and willingness to assume the role of a brother are noted and appreciated by the viewers long before they grant him his place as Prince Charming and perhaps even before Elinor is aware of it herself.

Austen's novels, despite their seemingly incongruous happy endings, are painfully aware of the precarious position of the woman in the society of her time, and particularly the problematic existence of the unmarried woman. Women were economically entirely dependent on their male relatives, and should a daughter remain single, she would become a burden to her family. In this context, it is clear how grave the situation was for a family with five daughters and no sons, as is the case of the Bennets in *Pride and Prejudice*. Securing a marriage to a prosperous gentleman was the best and only career choice for women of marriageable age. Mutual liking or even love entered this equation either not at all or only as added value. These circumstances underlying Austen's life and work do not provide material suitable for the genre of romantic comedy, which is the genre to which both the screen adaptations in question subscribe. Both Langton's *Pride and Prejudice* and Lee's *Sense and Sensibility* underplay the economic aspect of marriage significantly. Economic necessity as grounds for marriage is not completely dropped from the adaptations, but the overall resonance is certainly that of mutual love being—or happening to be—the leading motive for the main characters' marriages.

The *Sense and Sensibility* adaptation, despite observing the conventions of the romantic comedy, attempts to bring at least some of the concerns regarding the role of women and their economic status onto the screen. Gay points out that in the film adaptation,

> the hierarchy of power and agency is represented by topographical trope (...): men are seen outdoors, confidently inhabiting, riding over, using, the wide and fertile landscape which they in fact do own; the women of the film are for the most part indoors, framed and contained by walls, doors, windows from which they gaze longingly at that which they can make no move to own (93).

This subtle device of connecting men to open spaces and confining women indoors may, however, remain unnoticed by most casual cinemagoers. The incident in which Brandon carries Marianne away from the rain outside—where it is no woman's business to be but where men move around with ease—into the safety (and constraint) of the house may read as a symbolic foreshadowing of their future match. Even more evocative is the very last scene of the film, where Brandon, with his new bride by his side, cheerfully tosses some coins in the air for the poor onlookers to collect. It is the men who hold money and may give it away as they please, while the women remain without property and agency—Marianne does not partake in the coin tossing.

Contemporary filmmakers who adapt Jane Austen's novels for the screen face a difficult task: they must create a bridge not only between two distinct mediums, the book and the film, but also between two periods of time. Austen's subtle art of writing between the lines does not lend itself easily to screen adaptations. Austen's novels portray a world of masculine restraint and feminine dependency, where both sexes unite in marriage as a result of discreet manoeuvres, veiled hints and small meaningful gestures. For Austen's contemporaries, well-versed in the etiquette of Regency England, her novels would provide a satisfactory read and her discerning audience would easily identify which characters should be deemed worthy and which less so. For present-day readers, however, Austen's female characters might come across as painfully passive and her male characters as cold and detached, which hardly provides a fruitful ground for romance. A successful film adaptation of an Austen novel, therefore, requires not only the translation of verbal clues into visual ones but also a significant modification of the nature of the clues in order for them to resonate with the contemporary audience in the same way as they did in Austen's time.

Over the course of the centuries, the commendable qualities that make a man a suitable partner

in marriage have not changed much; what has changed drastically is the way these qualities are represented. The gentleman of the Regency era would rely on actions rather than words, and on top of this, his actions would be unostentatious and practical rather than blaringly romantic. The contemporary construction of ideal masculinity in courting requires an open display of emotions and dramatic actions. Today's film viewers tend to expect that characters in romantic plots will be clearly shown experiencing overwhelming emotions, struggling with almost unbearable internal conflicts and, eventually, triumphantly overcoming all difficulties to be united with their romantic interest in a passionate fulfilling relationship. Should Jane Austen's message be conveyed on the screen to the contemporary audience as the author had intended, major revisions and additions are necessary, so that a seeming contradiction may arise between the film and the novel. This contradiction, however, exists only on the surface: the depth of Austen's stories can only be communicated through revisions that accommodate the contemporary audience's understanding of a romantic plot and hence close the gap between different centuries and societies, as both the1995 film versions of Austen's novels succeed in doing.

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Tomáš Kačer

Shakespeare according to Early American Actor Dynasties

Abstract: *This paper explores the importance of Shakespeare in colonial and antebellum American theatre through the work of theatrical family dynasties. It presents the earliest professional actors from Lewis Hallam's theatre company as well as some of the greatest stars of 19th century American Shakespearean acting such as Charlotte Cushman, who employed her sister Susan as her acting partner, and Edwin Booth. It was especially the Booth dynasty, founded by Junius Brutus Booth, Sr., that presented successful productions of Shakespeare's plays on American stages. Three sons of this 'Mad Tragedian', Junius Brutus, Jr., Edwin, and John Wilkes met on stage for the last time to perform* Julius Caesar *at the Winter Garden on November 25, 1864. While Edwin was the greatest star of the American theatre then, John Wilkes was a failed actor, unsuccessful businessman and political radical. The resulting rivalry between the two brothers led to competition on the stage and contributed to the tragic assassination of President Lincoln by John Wilkes Booth on 14 April 1865. The paper describes a development of American Shakespearean acting, where America was initially a mere receiver of theatre art, while in the 19th century, it became artistically emancipated and American actors could compete in quality with their British counterparts in the most challenging field for English-speaking theatre performance: Shakespearean acting.*

Theatre production in America has always been highly competitive, and Shakespeare has held a special position within it. Shakespeare's plays would often be placed on the bill as they were expected to guarantee box office sales. The best Shakespearean actors became genuine show-business 'stars' with great income, popularity and status in high society. It is no wonder then, that many actors who had reached some success in Shakespearean theatre, engaged their whole families in the business and passed down the craft to subsequent generations. What began as a one-way trade-route with 'theatre art' of dubious quality in mid-18th century (mediocre actors in substandard productions), helped to establish a successful and lively show-business. In the 19th century, a two-way exchange between America and Great Britain began, in which numerous talented American actors flourished and their performances fascinated wide audiences not only at home, but also overseas. American theatre was a net recipient of the theatre art of Shakespearean acting in the18th and early 19th centuries, while later it became emancipated artistically in this field and as such contributed to a vivid development of Shakespearean productions. Shakespeare's plays have been in the repertoire of American theatre companies since the first professional performance of *Merchant of Venice* in 1752. A number of men and women earned fame and made a living as Shakespearean actors. It was a common practice of theatre companies to consist mainly of married couples, and they would involve their children in the trade. This way, dynasties of actor families appeared.

Performing Shakespeare meant making good profits and a lot of patriarchs decided to keep this golden goose within the family. As a result, marriages between famous actor families were not uncommon; there have been whole dynasties of famous actors who built their reputations as Shakespearean actors. The following lines present a part of this dynamic world of Shakespearean artists. They introduce the most representative and/or the most typical example of a particular stage of development of the history of theatre in America, from the beginnings to the turn of the 20th Century. This is so because the actors' craft of performing Shakespeare combines several aspects, which makes it a case in point when studying a history of acting, and the influence of its development

on the art itself, its cultural standing within the United States, as well as its international (in this case, mainly British) recognition. The American stage has not produced an original American "system" of acting, yet it has been competing in quality of acting with a British artistic model since the 1820s:

> (The) American Theatre has been the host to foreign systems and foreign plays and foreign actors from the beginning. Foreign influences dominated (the American) stage for almost a century and it was only in the 1820's in the dynamic person of Edwin Forrest that a native born actor succeeded in winning overwhelming acclaim both here and abroad in a repertoire that was almost wholly British. We (Americans) have throughout the years been gracious and appreciative hosts to theatrical troupes. (Williams viii)

Early American actors were, simply said, bad British actors. Slowly though, various trends reach the United States and American actors begin to develop them in their own way, and test their acting ideas on Shakespearean roles – which they then present to British audiences. Some fail terribly. Some, on the contrary, earn the hearts of the British. This trend of adopting, appropriating and reintroducing acting styles and testing them on Shakespeare has never stopped, and it developed extensively throughout the 19th century.

Figure 1. The playbill for the first professional theatre performance in Williamsburg, 1752.

The history of professional Shakespearean productions dates to the origins of professional theatre in America. The first performance of a play by Shakespeare was by "a company of Comedians, from London" on 15 September 1752 as shown in the playbill for the production in Fig. 1 (Shattuck 8). The performers were a troupe of actors led by Lewis Hallam (playing Launcelot Gobbo in that performance), and the play was "*Merchant of Venice* by Shakespear" (sic). Based on the list of the cast, it is more than probable that the Hallams actually produced a version of the original play—and not a remake version, such as *The Jew of Venice* by George Granville, as was common practice in Britain at this time (see, for example, Shattuck 9).

The Hallams were the first company of professional actors touring America with a repertory of Shakespeare's plays. Although their activities ended with the American Revolution, they had managed to turn their company into a successful family trade in colonial America. This happened despite the high probability that they were second- or even third-rate actors: "This was expectable (...) for no English actor who was thriving in the profession would willingly have taken on the rigors of 'exile' in the colonies" (Shattuck 3). William Dunlap, the first historian of American theatre, even called the Hallam company a group of "idle young men perpetrating the murder of sundry plays" (Dunlap in Shattuck 3). Lewis Hallam was more a manager to the company than an equal actor-partner to his wife and the first actress of the company, Mrs. Hallam (her first name is not known).

Mr. and Mrs. Hallam were not the only couple in the company. Out of a dozen performers, eight were married couples: besides the Hallams, there were also the Rigbys, the Adcocks, and the Clarksons. Mrs. Hallam became Mrs. Douglass in 1755 after Lewis' death in Jamaica, where the company went on tour. The company changed names to The American Company and returned to the mainland in 1758. Lewis Hallam Jr., despite being "only eighteen, was now ready to play most of the leading roles" (Shattuck 10). The acting tradition was passed from one generation to the next for the first time.

Figure 2. Mrs. Hallam-Douglass.

The incorporation of Mrs. Hallam-Douglass' son into the troupe led to an interesting distribution of actors' energies in the company. "Mother and son often shared the honors of the evening. On at least one occasion she was the Juliet to Lewis's Romeo" (Shattuck 11). As a sketch of Mrs. Douglass suggests (see Fig. 2)[1], she was a beautiful youngish-looking woman, who could easily pass as the 13-year-old Juliet. There are no records of whether a mother and son cast as lovers caused any Oedipal concerns among audiences. The fact remains that the son Lewis, Jr., was dismissed by London audiences as an unskilled actor—yet, he left his mark as the first American to play Hamlet in London (in the 1770s). This instance of an American actor performing in England was also the first of a two-way cultural exchange between America and Great Britain—a practice which has become quite common in show business. It needs to be said, however, that Lewis Hallam, Jr.'s performance was not greeted with appreciation, and "at Covent Garden, he was allowed to play it (his Hamlet) only once" (Shattuck 10) in front of London audiences.

In the mid-18th century, London audiences had higher theatrical standards than American ones in the newly appearing theatrical centres, such as Philadelphia. The episode of Lewis Hallam's failure illustrates the rift in quality between the theatre in the Old and New Worlds. While English theatre had its stars and starlets, competing schools of acting and several exquisite playhouses, theatre in America was still in the nascent state and simply could not compete. The difference in performance quality between the two countries gradually decreased during the 19th century. By the early 20th century, with the development of the theatre scene on Broadway and the film industry in Hollywood, the two countries competed in the field of acting as two equals.

The American Company did not remain entirely dependent on the Oedipal couple of its leading actors, though. In 1765, Lewis Jr's cousin Nancy sailed from London to PLACE to join the family theatre company. She grew to be a real American star. Both critics and audiences loved her acting and praised her personage. Her "emergence to stardom" (Vaughan and Vaughan 20) was welcome with appreciation when she took upon her the roles of Ophelia, Juliet and Cordelia. She remains best known for her 'impersonation' as Imogen in *Cymbeline*, thanks to a portrait painted by Charles Willson Peale in 1771. The portrait captures Nancy Hallam in disguise as Fidele in front of a cave, with a drawn sabre in the right hand, and looking upwards to the sky (see the painting "Nancy Hallam as Fidele in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*", which is available in the Internet, e.g. at https://commons.wikimedia.org). The American Company had Nancy Hallam as their star actress, and now it also had a new male star: "Beginning in 1767, many of the American Company's male leads were played in northeastern theaters by an imposing Irishman, John Henry, who excelled as Othello and Shylock" (Vaughan and Vaughan 20). The period from 1770 to 1775 was a time of theatre development but during this time the fame of the Hallam family began to fade. The end of the company came with the American Revolution and the legislation that included a ban of theatrical performances, which came along with it.

A few records of Nancy Hallam's return to the stage after the revolution ended in 1791 exist, but she never regained her prior star status. The founding of the United States ultimately meant the end of the American Company, which "persisted under Lewis Hallam, Jr. and John Henry until 1806" (Vaughan and Vaughan 37) and the Hallams as a dynasty of actors.

In the newly born United States, the surviving members of the theatre trade, as well as a host of born Americans and newly arrived actors from Britain, set out on a turbulent journey to rebuild their careers. Shakespeare's plays remained at the centre of the repertoire of most American theatres. American theatre was dependent on imports of plays, actors and whole companies from Britain for the whole of the 19th and the early 20th century. Actors and managers often chose Shakespeare

plays to attract audiences—both to theatres in thriving cultural centres such as Philadelphia (e.g., the Walnut Street Theatre, the oldest theatre in the United States) and New York (e.g., the Park Theatre) and to travelling shows touring (then not-so-cultural) regional centres, the Frontier and the West coast.

Approaches to Shakespeare and interpretation of his plays differed immensely. The most radical expression of tension concerning interpretations of Shakespeare broke out in 1849. Two actors were performing *Macbeth* on the night of 10 May. William Macready, a British actor whose style convened the new American aristocracy, and Edwin Forrest, an American whose acting aimed to be more popular: "To many, these two actors embodied many of America's deepest divides — rich vs. poor, British vs. American, Whig vs. Democrat" ("The Astor Place Riot", n.p.). A protest started by Forrest's working-class supporters in the Astor Place opera house, against Macready's rich fans, broke into a riot. This terrible event became known as the Astor Place Riot and resulted in the death of over two dozen men with many more wounded (ibid.). From that event alone it was obvious that Shakespeare was as important to the American culture as ever.

There were dozens of good American Shakespearean actors in the 19th century, but three of them stood out as the best representatives of Hamlet: Edwin Forrest, Charlotte Cushman and Edwin Booth, who "made names for themselves performing in Shakespeare. All three starred at various times as the titular Prince of Denmark in *Hamlet*" (Saxton 115). Having already mentioned Forrest, the following lines will focus more on Cushman, and later Booth, who requires a closer examination, as he was *the* star of the late 19th century and his family history accounted as a tragedy comparable to Shakespeare's most intricate plots.

Charlotte Cushman was the greatest star actress as a Shakespearean 'tragedienne' of her time. Originally an opera singer, "she found her *métier* on the stage, especially as Lady Macbeth, a role in which she debuted in New Orleans on Shakespeare's birthday in 1836" (Vaughan and Vaughan, 49). In her adolescence, "she developed a strong contralto voice," (Shattuck 86) which enabled her to play male roles. Before one of her departures to Europe, where she developed her acting career in England and Italy, Cushman bid farewell to her admirers with an impersonation of Hamlet, which she advertised thus: "In reply to your flattering requests that I enact the character of 'Hamlet' during my present stay in Washington, I am happy to meet your wishes" ("*Hamlet*: A Playbill, 9 Feb. 1861"). The playbill lists Miss Charlotte Cushman "in her sublime rendition" ("*Hamlet*: A Playbill, 9 Feb. 1861") of Hamlet for a performance on 16 February 1861, at 8 pm.

Cushman is a case in point of this paper, which focuses on actor families, because she acted together with her sister. "Her tall stature and deep, strong voice were congenial also to breeches roles, especially Romeo, which she often played opposite her sister Susan's Juliette" (Vaughan and Vaughan, 49). The Cushman sisters achieved great success of their version of *Romeo and Juliet*. As a critic observed: "Never was courtship more fervent (...) more apparently sincere, more reverential, and yet more impetuously passionate" (qtd. in Vaughan and Vaughan 49). Charlotte and Susan toured the United States with their show, and they were also successful in Great Britain.

> With her sister Susan as Juliet, she (Charlotte) opened the production at the Haymarket on December 29 (1845), intending only a brief run of it and even a little worried about its reception. In America her Romeo, together with other male impersonations, had long since been taken for granted, but London might reject it as impropriety. (Shattuck 92)

The production turned out to be a success. Critics wrote about Charlotte as Romeo as being among the best performances ever. With the Cushman sisters' *Romeo and Juliet*, an American school of

acting entered the age of maturity in the field of Shakespearean characters. The American actress was praised as a revelation and she became a valuable cultural export to Great Britain.

There were a few problems however; these were mainly connected with Charlotte's cross-dressing and that two sisters were courting each other on stage: "When she had tested the play in the provinces during the autumn it had mainly gone well, but in Puritan Edinburgh there had been unpleasant whisperings about the indecency of sister making love to sister" (Shattuck 92). Let us leave aside the fact that the Edinburgh Puritans seemed too obsessed with their images of Juliet's post-coital lines: "Wilt thou be gone? it is not yet near day: / It was the nightingale, and not the lark, / That pierced the fearful hollow of thine ear" (*RJ* 3.5.2098-2100). They were struck the most by presence of two sisters in the roles of lovers. Audiences in other British towns were not so prejudiced as the Edinburgh Puritans: they appreciated the passion put into the performance.

Period reviews and commentaries show that this 'two-sister-act' was very convincing, and it expressed a very close relationship between the characters. Some of the reviews even claimed that such level of intimacy was allowed by a close relationship, which only siblings can have. Shattuck quotes several critics: "the best Romeo that has appeared on the stage (...)", "one of the most extraordinary pieces of acting, perhaps, ever exhibited by a woman," and "(n)ever was courtship more fervent, more apparently sincere, more reverential, and yet more impetuously passionate, than that which on the silent air of night ascended to Juliet's window" (Shattuck 93). Charlotte's performance was much admired. Her sister Susan made a good Juliet.
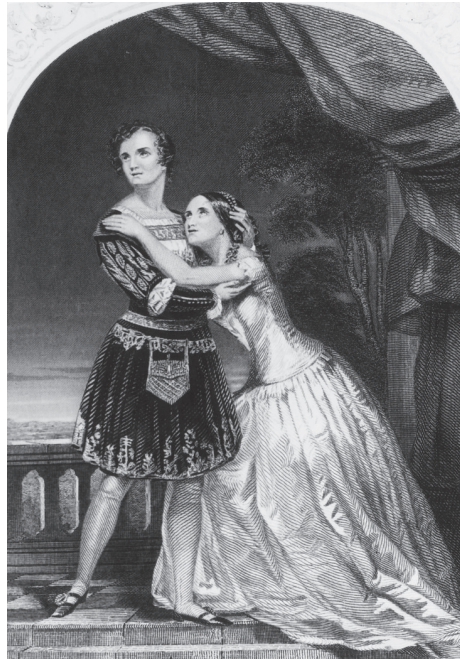

Figure 3. "Charlotte Cushman and Susan Cushman as Romeo and Juliet", lithograph by Thomas Fairland. Charlotte Cushman (as Romeo, left) and Susan Cushman (as Juliet), 1847.

Charlotte played the male lover so convincingly, that her 'masculinity' influenced her visual representation. A lithograph from 1846 (Fig. 3) depicts the Cushman sisters in an embrace. Charlotte as Romeo is in man's clothes, with a manly posture, wide waist and androgynous face, which emphasises her forehead and jaw. She is looking away from her sister, but still gives her a comforting, loving embrace. In contrast, Susan as Juliet is leaning against her sister in an embrace, her figure is comparatively much tinier, face displaying more feminine features, her hair is double the size length of that of her sister's (Fig.3).

In other words, Charlotte played the male role so convincingly that her portraitist pictured her with clear features. Depictions of her in female roles do not show masculine features, quite to the contrary— the most famous painting of the young Charlotte shows a girlishly smiling young lady (see unfinished painting "Portrait of Charlotte Cushman" by Thomas Sully). Her feminine beauty was something that helped her star status—with male as well as female audiences alike, as Cushman was "a lesbian in an era before (...) the word—or self-identification—existed" (Merrill 2). This is perhaps why she found herself so comfortable in male roles, thus somewhat paradoxically reversing Shakespeare's original idea of cross-dressing. She became the star of a woman-as-man acting in plays (*Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet*), which were written for the convention of Elizabethan man-as-woman acting.

Edwin Both was the greatest star of American Shakespearean acting in the 19th century. Edwin's father Junius Brutus, Sr. had come to America from England in 1821 as an actor and he became a patriarch of a dynasty of actors, as at least three of his sons followed in his footsteps. He was "in several respects a transitional figure. Although of English birth and training, he was an American by choice for most of his career" (Vaughan and Vaughan 45). He travelled around the United States, mostly in the South, in places farther west (such in Pittsburgh and New Orleans), and in California. He became famous as an actor of many roles, but "was best known for his Shakespearean roles (...) he excelled as the villainous Richard II, Macbeth, Shylock, and Iago" (Vaughan and Vaughan 45). His whole family travelled with him, among them three sons that would eventually become master tragedians themselves: Edwin, Junius Brutus, Jr., and John Wilkes. Edwin would become known as the greatest American Hamlet, whereas his brother John Wilkes Booth, would become one of the most infamous men of American history. John Wilkes Booth's assassination of President Lincoln will become a national tragedy in 1865.

Junius Brutus Booth, Sr. was dubbed a 'mad tragedian' towards the end of his career—only partly as a tribute to his acting technique. His fits of insanity lead to the 'mad' in the moniker. At times he would take on the character of a play in real life. His nose was broken after he attacked his acting partner once. Booth was playing Othello and he believed that his partner playing Iago was scheming against him in both on and off the stage. The broken nose became his distinctive facial feature. After his death in 1852, at least three of his children pursued a career in the theatre. This second generation of American Shakespearean actors had arrived on the scene.

Junius Brutus, Jr., was the oldest American son and besides an actor, he became a very successful theatre manager. He realized we was not as talented as his father or Edwin early in his career, and focused on activities off-stage.

His brother Edwin became the greatest star actor of his generation. As a Shakespearean actor, he was best known for his Hamlet, which he played in a series of a hundred consecutive nights from November 16, 1864 to March 24, 1865, thus setting a world record of consecutive performances. Edwin's Hamlet was a sensation and the United States was now on equal footing with Great Britain in the field of Shakespearean acting. Edwin also became a successful owner of several theatres in New York and Philadelphia.

Figure 4. Edwin Booth (as Hamlet), c. 1870.

The third theatrical brother, John Wilkes, was also an actor, but was neither as resourceful in business activities as Junius Brutus, nor as successful an actor as Edwin. John Wilkes became the black sheep of the family. At a personal level, he argued with his brothers over politics, as he became a fervent supporter of the Confederate cause. He was quite unsuccessful in business too, when his investments in the oil industry in Pennsylvania failed and he went bankrupt (his company was aptly called the Dramatic Oil).

The relationship of the three brothers resembles a Shakespearean tragedy. John Wilkes argued with Edwin; there was competition, jealousy and envy between the two. John Wilkes played all the great Shakespearean parts like Edwin—Hamlet, Richard III, Macbeth, Romeo(...) Sometimes even at the same time as Edwin, yet in different theatres; and while Edwin would play in New York, John Wilkes would tour provincial playhouses. John Wilkes was never at the centre of things, theatrically or financially Furthermore, Edwin would not let John Wilkes play in New York, and his connections in New York theatres could keep John Wilkes out of town. He did not want his brother, who was not a good actor, to ruin the reputation of their family name through weak acting. John Wilkes also tried to take advantage of the fame of his father and brother which angered Edwin. The climax came at the Winter Garden theatre, which was owned by Edwin, on 25 November 1864.

Figure 5. John Wilkes Booth (as Marc Antony, left), Edwin Booth (as Brutus) and Junius Brutus Booth, Jr. (as Cassius), at the Winter Garden Theatre, 1864.

A beneficiary performance of *Julius Caesar* took place on that night. For this special occasion, all three brothers met for the last time on one stage and played Shakespeare together. The performance was advertised as a fundraiser for the "Booth benefit Shakespeare statue fund" (*Julius Caesar*: A Handbill, 25 Nov. 1864). The brothers' last name was so well-known that in the middle of the handbill, only their first names are listed (in the order based on their age: Junius Brutus, Edwin, and John Wilkes). Full names are only included in the cast list, where they appear as follows: Junius Brutus Booth as Cassius, Edwin as Brutus, and John Wilkes as Marc Anthony. The show was a great success and the statue was eventually built in the Literary Mall in the Central Park in New York City, where it has remained till today.

Although John Wilkes had no money and Edwin knew about this, it had been agreed that the brothers would not earn anything for themselves. Yet, John Wilkes understood that this was just another blow from his older brother. Nora Titone explains in her book *My Thoughts Be Bloody: The Bitter Rivalry between Edwin and John Wilkes Booth That Led to an American Tragedy* that this rivalry added to John Wilkes' frustration, and the meeting with his brothers before the performance of *Julius Caesar* was also the time when John Wilkes actively participated in plotting against Lincoln's administration. He stayed at Edwin's home where high-profile members of the government and Union officers were a common presence. John Wilkes separated from his brothers politically, artistically, and personally in the end. He left New York and the next news about him was that of his assassination of President

Lincoln on 14 April 1865. The Booth dynasty of actors gave the United States the greatest tragedian in Edwin, but also the cause of a great tragedy—President's assassin.

In the era after the Booths, the booming theatrical culture of the United States produced a huge number of theatrical dynasties. As a conclusion to this paper, a particularly influential marital merger should be mentioned. The actor who overcame Edwin's record of a hundred performances of *Hamlet* in a row was John Barrymore and he did so in 1922. John Barrymore was a child of Maurice Barrymore and Georgiana Drew—two prominent actors from two prominent theatrical families of the turn of the century. He is the grandfather of Drew Barrymore, the popular Hollywood actress, through his son John Drew Barrymore. Thus, John Barrymore took over the torch of Shakespearean acting as a family trade from a legend of American theatre, carried it for a long time, and then passed it over to further generations of actors. However, the trade began to change: the centre of the cultural industry moved to Hollywood and lots of theatre practitioners moved to the new medium.

Thriving theatrical culture has survived, as well as the tradition of Shakespearean actors who pass their craft down through the generations of their dynasties. In the 18th century, theatre was a trade that was only imported into America, which could not match the quality of Britain's theatre production or the taste of British, especially London, audiences. But as the time progressed, American actors began to match their British counterparts even in the discipline that seems to be the epitome of English acting: Shakespearean performance.

Notes

(1) The original of this black-and-white sketch is available at The Harvard Theatre Collection.

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Bohuslav Mánek

Jiří Levý and Czech Anglophone Studies

Abstract: *The Czech literary scholar Jiří Levý (1926-1967) has gained international recognition for his great contribution to the general theory of translation and has greatly contributed to the history and theory of translation into the Czech language in his books Umění překladu (1963; Die literarische* Übersetzung*: Theorie einer Kunstgattung, German transl., 1969; The Art of Translation, English transl., 2011) and* České theorie *překladu (1957, Czech Theories of Translation), respectively. His other distinguished research included versology, theatrology and various studies on British and American writers. This paper focuses on two related but less discussed aspects of his oeuvre—his contribution to Czech Anglophone Studies and his early translations of foreign poetry into Czech. It also includes a hitherto unpublished tentative bibliography of these translations.*

Commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Jiří Levý's premature death in January 1967, many Czech as well as foreign literary scholars have published numerous papers on his works, in particular those dealing with his contribution to translatological theories. This paper focuses on two related aspects of his oeuvre—his contribution to Czech Anglophone Studies and his early translations of foreign poetry into Czech. Both of these topics are discussed and evaluated also from the standpoint of their contribution to translatology and the Czech context.

In the Bibliographical Note to Levý's selected papers entitled *Bude literární věda exaktní vědou?* (1971, Will Literary Scholarship Become an Exact Science?, 457), its editor Miroslav Červenka states that, in addition to Levý's principal papers of synthetic or specific translatological and versological character and the papers which may attract the interest of a larger number of readers he had also included several "papers on English literature, hitherto relatively little known to a larger public."[1] Dušan Jeřábek (169)[2] in Levý's obituary stresses the relation of the topics of these papers to Czech culture writing that Levý selected the authors who somehow influenced Czech culture and those he considered still undervalued in this respect, thus highlighting the comparative aspects of his choice (see e.g. his study on Shakespearean motifs in Karel Čapek's play *The Robber* (1956, *Čapkův Loupežník a Shakespeare.*, reprinted in *Bude literární věda exaktní vědou?* in 1971). These papers certainly represent an important component of Levý's oeuvre and are also internally related to his translatological research. It is thus worth drawing attention to his papers in the field of Anglophone Studies and to outline their contribution to Levý's translatological oeuvre.

The scope of Levý's research interest included, besides all aspects of translation, also versology, theatrology, history of literature and theory of literature, in the latter case with the use of some methods of exact sciences. It is characteristic of his research that they are not parallel or divergent lines of study but that he managed to successfully synthesize all pertinent pieces of knowledge in his *magnum opus*, i.e. in the book *The Art of Translation* (first Czech edition, 1963).

It is evident that Levý could not study translatology in the 1940s as it did not exist in this country (or elsewhere) at that time. He graduated in English and Czech Studies at the Masaryk University in Brno in 1949. His first degree paper was *The Poetry of T. S. Eliot, Its Unity and Development*, and his PhDr. dissertation of the same year was *Srovnávací pohled na anglický verš* (A Comparative View of the English Verse).[3]

From the very beginning, his research in all fields of his interest was accompanied with his prolific reviews for Časopis pro moderní filologii (The Journal for Modern Philology). This provided him with

a survey of contemporary development of the world literary scholarship, which he later made full use of in the anthology of literary criticism entitled *Západní literární věda a estetika*, (1966, Literary Scholarship and Aesthetics in the West Countries), edited by him and introduced with his Introduction and Bibliography. Anglophone scholarship is well represented here and he translated some of the studies.

His papers on British and American literature represent several principal lines of research. Beginning with the late forties, he published a series of penetrating studies on various aspects of T. S. Eliot's poetry, its ideas, structures and verse technique (see *Selected Bibliography*). Another line of his research was concerned with English Renaissance. Beginning with the mid-1950s, he wrote about English Renaissance poetry and drama—and it has most probably become his principal research contribution to Czech Anglophone Studies. His papers *Ben Jonson—jeho doba a dílo* and *William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson—dva typy dramatu* (1956, Ben Jonson—His Times and Work; William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson—Two Types of Drama), and the study *Divadelní prostor a* čas v *dramatech Williama Shakespeara a Bena Jonsona* (1958, Theatrical Space and Time in the Plays of William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson) were at the same time a good basis for his translatological study *O překládání shakespearovského verše a prózy* (1964, On the Translation of Shakespearean Verse and Prose), in the Professor Otakar Vočadlo's critical edition of Sládek's, Klášterský's and Vrchlický's translations of Shakespeare (1959-64).

His most pioneering contribution to the field was his two extensive studies *The Development of Rhyme-Scheme and of Syntactic Pattern in the English Renaissance Sonnet* and *On the Relations of Language and Stanza Pattern in the English Sonnet*, both published in 1961. He devoted them to detailed analyses of selected Renaissance and later sonnets both from the viewpoint of the development of ideas and their formal structure. He outlined and evaluated their development from the early Wyatt's and Surrey's renditions of Petrarch's sonnets via Watson, Daniel, Sidney, some lesser-known Elizabethan poets to Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Keats, D. G. Rossetti, Browning and G. M. Hopkins. Both studies analyse the way of how the constitutive elements of languages influence the verse forms, further developing the methodology of Russian formalism and Czech structuralism, quoting e.g. S. I. Karcevski, B. V. Tomashevski and *Travaux du cercle linguistique de Prague*. On the bases of detailed analyses of extensive materials, Levý presented conclusions of complex interactions of language structure, rhyme schemes, syntactic patterns and ideas in the development of the sonnet. He later combined these principal findings with his other versological studies and transformed them into the chapters on rhythm and rhyme in *Umění překladu* (1963 edition, 178-226, *The Art of Translation*, 217-97), where he formulated important conclusions allowing to connect analysis of texts with elucidation of historical development, e.g. "The difference in the possibilities of rhyme in English and Italian was presumably the main reason why Petrarch's sonnets with their *abba abba cdc cdc* rhyme pattern have traditionally been rendered in English according to the simplified Shakespearean *abab cdcd efef gg* pattern." (*The Art of Translation*, 236).[4]

Levý did not write many papers on American literature, he discussed it mostly within his translatological analyses of various Czech translations. However, his first printed paper was an extensive study on the literary essays on American and world literature *Kritické názory D. H. Lawrence* (Critical Opinions of D. H. Lawrence), where he analysed *Studies in Classic American Literature* (1923) and *Phoenix* (1936) and characterized their author and his approach to literature. His other contributions to American studies were written on the occasion of the centennial of the publication of the first edition of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* in 1955.

Levý's scholarly activities were accompanied by a number of popularizing studies of high quality—

prefaces or afterward to translations of Yeats's (1961) and Blake's (1964) poetry, Gay' *The Beggars Opera* and *Polly* (1964, Žebrácká *opera. Polly.*) Wilde's novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1964, *Obraz Doriana Graye*) and Zdeněk Urbánek's translation of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (1964, *Romeo a Julie*).

The period obituaries (e.g. Červenka, "Za Jiřím Levým.", 160), and biographical entries in encyclopaedias also mention his early translations of poetry published in the daily paper *Svobodné noviny*[5] and the "small magazine" *Kvart*. As these translations could show the relationship between his early practical experience and later theoretical thinking, their analysis could be useful. However, the present author was not able to find any bibliography of his translations and the scholars he consulted at the Levý Symposium, held at the Institute of Translatology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, in Prague in January 2017, were not aware of any either. Therefore, some further research has been undertaken and the Tentative Bibliography of Levý's translations found up to now is included at the end of this article (it contains information on twelve poems by eleven poets, including seven British and Commonwealth poets, two writing in Spanish, one French and one anonymous Arabian poet).

In his paper *Skotský regionalismus v poválečné britské literatuře* (Časopis pro moderní filologii 34, 1951, 151-55, Scottish Regionalism in Postwar British Literature) Levý included in his survey a poem in his own translation, which can illustrate his sensitive and self-critical approach: "Hugh MacDiarmid (...) elaborates a new Scottish poetical language into a surprising expressivity of mood and sound. It is enough to quote his poem "The Watergaw", difficult as to its language but beautiful, together with a free Czech translation, which certainly cannot reproduce the really rainbow-like sound music of the original:"[6]

Duha
V mlhavý podvečer v červenci
jsem viděl zvláštní věc:
chvějivé světlo duhy
mi zastřel lijavec;
tu vzpomněl jsem, jak divě zrak se leskl ti
v tu chvíli před smrtí.

Skřivan se za bouře v hnízdě krčil
té noci—tak jak já;
však vzpomínka na to světlo divné
mi stále napadá;
co říci chtělas mi, snad dnes již vím,
tenkrát tím pohledem svým.[7]

The Watergaw
Ae weet forenicht i' the yow-trummle
I saw yon antrin thing,
A watergaw wi' its chitterin' licht
Ayont the on-ding;
An' I thocht o' the last wild look ye gied
Afore ye deed!

There was nae reek i' the laverock's hoose
That nicht—an' nane i' mine:
But I ha'e thocht o that foolish licht
Ever sin' syne;
An' I think that mebbe at last I ken
What your look meant then.[8]

In the above-mentioned obituary, Červenka ("Za Jiřím Levým.", 162) places Levý's methodology into the context of Czech literary scholarship as follows: "The analytical papers on Whitman and T. S. Eliot closely approach Mukařovský's analyses of the semantic gesture (.)"[9] It can be concluded that Levý's English studies clearly show that he tacitly linked up with the structuralism of the Prague Linguistic Circle in the period in which, due to political and other reasons, it was proscribed, and that he managed to maintain contact with the development of literary scholarship abroad for the benefit of Czech British and American studies.

Notes

(1) "(P)ráce o anglické literatuře, širší veřejnosti dosud poměrně málo známé."

(2) See also Theimerová 1967, Hrabák 1971, Hausenblas 1972.

(3) For the chronological list of Levý's publications mentioned here and further in the paper see the Selected Bibliography below.

(4) "Rozdíl rýmových možností anglických a italských byl asi hlavní příčinou, proč petrarkovský sonet o schématu abba abba cdc cdc zdomácněl v anglické literatuře ve zjednodušené shakespearovské podobě abab cdcd efef gg."

(5) In *Svobodné noviny* there are also several translations of poetry and prose from French, e.g. from Ivan Goll and Valéry Larbaud, no. 229, 1. 10. 1947, no. 22, 27. 1. 1948, signed Igor Levý, whose identity the present author was unable to reveal. A question thus arises whether repeated misprints were possible in this case, but as all the translations listed in the Tentative Bibliography are signed by Jiří Levý, they are not included.

(6) "Hugh MacDiarmid (...) propracovává novou skotskou básnickou řeč do překvapující náladové a zvukové expresivity. Postačí, ocitujeme-li jazykově obtížnou, ale krásnou báseň "The Watergaw" i s volným českým překladem, který ovšem zdaleka nemůže reprodukovat vpravdě duhovou hláskovou hudbu originálu(.)"

(7) Časopis pro moderní filologii 34, 1951, 153-54.

(8) Glossary (by BM): watergaw (indistinct rainbow), weet (wet), forenicht (early evening), yow-trummle (cold weather after sheep-shearing), antrim (rare), chitterin' (shivering), licht (light), ayont (behind), on-ding (onset of rain), thocht (thought), gied (gave), deed (died), nae (no), reek (smoke), laverock (lark), hoose (house), nicht (night), nane (none), ha'e thocht (have thought), sin' syne (since then), mebbe (may be), ken (know). Cf. Michael Grieve and Alexander Scott (eds.). Hugh MacDiarmid Anthology. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1977, 3.

(9) "Analytické práce o Whitmanovi a T. S. Eliotovi se těsně přibližují Mukařovského rozborům sémantického gesta (.)"

(10) For more extensive bibliographies see Theimerová 1967 and www.phil.muni.cz/angl/levy/levy_bibtheimer.rtf.

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Jean Rhys's *Wide Sargasso Sea* on Page and Screen

Abstract: *Wide Sargasso Sea by Jean Rhys, a "prequel" to Charlotte Brontë's Jane Eyre, cannot compete with its nineteenth-century hypotext as far as the number of film adaptations is concerned. It has, nevertheless, been attractive to film-makers. This is, in my opinion, not merely due to its close link to the above canonical literary classic. Its two settings, the literally and metaphorically cold England, and the fiery, luscious Caribbean make for a visually rewarding, yet ominous contrast. This article examines Brendan Maher's 2006 film adaptation, with a particular emphasis on focalization and narrative sequence.*

If adaptation involves "an announced and extensive transposition of a particular work or works" (Hutcheon 7), this article deals with adaptation in the second degree. For Brendan Maher's 2006 film *Wide Sargasso Sea* is based on Jean Rhys's 1966 creative re-imagining of Bertha Mason's story in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* in the form of a prequel to the 19th-century classic. "Adaptations and appropriations," according to Julie Sanders, "highlight often perplexing gaps, absences and silences within the original" (126). Rhys, in this particular case, intended to provide Mr. Rochester's pyromaniac wife with a human identity, a voice and a personal history expressed through a narrative of her own. Jane Eyre's wedding to her romantic hero, as will be recalled, is aborted due to a legal impediment: the fact that Mr. Rochester is already married to a wife still living. Jane Eyre is then conducted to the (after Gilbert and Gubar) notorious attic, where she encounters a creature closer to a beast than a human, and, together with the reader, receives Mr. Rochester's explanation of earlier events. One mystery is thus solved, giving in turn rise to another: how could the sophisticated Caribbean heiress Bertha Mason (neé Antoinette Cosway) metamorphose into this creature? Brontë's Mr. Rochester provides us with an inevitable causal chain: tainted from birth, both individually (an insane alcoholic mother) and collectively (French-Caribbean, as opposed to good English stock), Bertha hastens her descent into insanity as a wife both "intemperate and unchaste" (read a promiscuous alcoholic).

Brontë's Bertha, of course, does not speak, she growls. The reader, therefore, becomes acquainted exclusively with Mr. Rochester's version of the events leading to his marital tragedy and his wife's madness. In *Wide Sargasso Sea*, Jean Rhys, on the other hand, presents the reader with a more balanced story. Mr. Rochester's account, concentrated in Part II, is hemmed in by two units narrated by Bertha Rochester, a.k.a. Antoinette Cosway. This heterogeneity of narrative voices is complicated by Bertha's narrative intrusions into Part II and the fluid boundary between dreams and reality. Rhys's unconventional narrative method might conceivably pose difficulties to the novel's cinematic adaptations. Yet Jean Rhys constructs her plot around a whole set of binary oppositions and their complications, which mirror the central incompatibility and alienation between husband and wife. These sets include light vs. darkness, free vs. enslaved, sane vs. insane and, above all, the frosty English vs. the hot French-Caribbean, which is a contrast highly attractive to film-makers and supremely marketable to cinema audiences.

Brendan Maher, in his 2006 film version, decided to transform Rhys's chronologically organized plot into a circular narrative both beginning and ending with Bertha as a mentally unhinged pyromaniac setting fire to Mr. Rochester's ancestral hall, Thornfield. The full circle makes for a more tightly organized narrative structure, highlighting the marriage's always already doomed nature together with Bertha's deeply ingrained desire for active destruction and self-destruction, "keeping the tragic ending always

in sight" (Sanders 133). It also enables the director to introduce the two compositional principles that will control the picture, namely 1) framing/enclosure/entrapment, and 2) stark contrast/double perspective.

Bertha's descent from her attic prison cell to Thornfield's drawing room, barely illuminated as it is, draws attention to her inability to comprehend her location and the reason for her presence there. Bertha descends from darkness into light, from a cold attic cell into a fiery pit, from one temporal frame into another, abandoning the location "where she is marginalized in the text both socially and spatially" (Sanders 130). The fragmentary manner in which her candle fails to illuminate rooms in their entirety, switching haphazardly from one individual object to another, underscores the lack of a coherent narrative in Bertha's mind. She and the viewer are isolated, disoriented, searching for intelligible clues. We have entered a room filled with symbolic zombies. Zombiism, a key concept in both the film and the novel, operates as an omnipresent metaphor for alcoholism, insanity, out-of-bounds sexuality, the exotic Other etc. *"A zombie is a dead person who appears to be alive or a living person who is dead,"* as Rochester shall learn on the *voodoo*—infested Jamaica (Rhys 64, italics hers). This specific scene features two living people dead to the world, the incarcerated, insane Bertha and her husband slumped in an alcoholic stupor. Additionally, Rochester's ancestors decorating the walls are physically deceased, yet their malignant influence has been a steady factor in Bertha's tragic fate. In Sandra Drake's opinion,

> England, personified by Rochester, is responsible for Antoinette Cosway's course from increasing reduction to the condition of zombi to apparent death (insanity) shortly to be followed by real, self-inflicted death. (200)

A source of her husband's excessive pride, the forebears also set rigid feminine deportment norms out of reach to anybody outside their narrow circle. Bertha's extraction has always precluded her from matching this *milieu*, a shortcoming her husband was originally willing to ignore for the sake of her dowry. An extremely sophisticated female ancestor also serves as a foil to emphasize Bertha's now disheveled physical state. Here the film adheres to both cinematic conventions concerning the signaling of madness and Charlotte Brontë's specific rendition of it: a filthy nightgown and tangled hair, Dutch camera tilt with a blank stare, compulsive fast-edited flashbacks to earlier, sexually charged events. Her husband's recognition occurs exclusively at the physical-sexual level suggesting Bertha's lost capacity for abstract reasoning. According to Linda Hutcheon, adaptations flood us with "the doubled pleasure of the palimpsest: more than one text is experienced—and knowingly so" (Hutcheon 116). In this specific scene, then, the pleasure is theoretically treble, as the cinema goer might simultaneously experience Maher's film, Rhys's book and *Jane Eyre*.

The trebling ends when Bertha glimpses a picture of Jamaica on the wall, and promptly loses interest in everything else. Interesting camera work underscoring the questions of perspective and comprehension ensues. A shot establishing a parallel between the candle in Bertha's hand and the fire starting in the room; a low-angle shot climbing along Bertha's figure up to her face, which nevertheless remains shaded and unreadable; the picture of Jamaica from Bertha's perspective but not through her eyes; a half shot back to Bertha; a close-up of her face with a spark of recognition and finally the viewer's perspective blends with hers. This procedure, in my opinion, prepares the cinema goer for a shift of place focalized through Bertha's consciousness. This transition is easily achieved for, as McFarlane reminds us, "film may count on the informative powers of mise-en-sc ne to achieve this relocation almost on the instant" (McFarlane 22). Maher chooses the painting on the wall as a

point of entry into a completely different world. Mr. Rochester has made a mistake: believing that his Jamaican past is safely stowed away (Bertha locked in the attic, Jamaica framed on the wall), he turned his back on Jamaica in his inebriated state. Bertha, however, has freed herself and "spilled" over from the attic to take control of his ancestral hall through its destruction. Similarly, Jamaica on the wall occupies an ever larger space on the screen, until it replaces English reality altogether.

Together with a different chronotope (Jamaica, years earlier), we are now entering Rochester's externally focalized consciousness. This frustrates the previously mentioned expectation of Bertha's perspective on her homeland, underscoring the fact that both England and Jamaica are first approached through the person who understands them the least. The resulting defamiliarization draws our attention to the comprehension difficulties each of the protagonists experiences in the other's alien environment. The film's two organizing principles, namely parallelism/contrast and entrapment/enclosure we have identified in the Thornfield section, are built upon in Rochester's (and the viewer's) first exposure to the island.

At this point Maher uses fast-paced back-and-forth cuts between what the protagonist truly observes in the port and what lies in wait for him in the mysterious Jamaican hills. The extraordinarily rapid cuts tax the viewer's perception skills, creating cognitive and perceptual overload, which parallels Rochester's disquieted state of mind. This effect is significantly enhanced by distressing diegetic and non-diegetic sounds, namely menacingly buzzing insects, chuckling black servants and upsetting, vaguely African music. The visual transition from England to Jamaica is thus accompanied by musical narrative cueing to be used consistently throughout the film. Among the functions music performs in film adaptations, Annette Davison lists the following three highly relevant to our discussion, namely, "indicating the geography, culture, or era in which a scene is set encouraging an audience toward particular interpretations of narrative elements; and generating a sense of unity" (Davison 213). To be more specific, the African theme in the film is invariably used to signal threats. Escalations in its speed and intensity prepare viewers for upcoming crises and, above all, the tune evokes *obeah/voodoo* ceremonies in which humans are transformed into *zombis*. These, as we know, belong to crucial metaphors in *Wide Sargasso Sea*. Music thus conspires with image to mark Jamaica as an alien and alienating place, a non-England, where Rochester finds himself alone among complete strangers.

The busy colonial port, illuminated by the merciless tropical sun, sets up another crucial binary opposition, this time predicated on characters' race, that is, the division between humans white and black, the colonizers and the colonized, thereby announcing the important themes of race and racial purity. While slavery as an institution has been abolished on the island, the film has an excellent opportunity to illuminate the ongoing ruthless exploitation of former slaves through visual means: colour supplementation, clothing, and the division of labour. Simply put, if you are black, you will be seen running barefoot, dressed in rags, hefting heavy burdens. If you are white, you will be shown as a stationary commander in British colonial attire framed with white curtains. Rochester's position vis-à-vis the other race is far from simple. While he condemns slavery in theory, he also tends to be repulsed by the non-whites and resents the black servants' mostly silent, yet inescapable presence.

In addition to repetitive sharp cuts, music and racial divisions, Maher also uses other means to convey Rochester's negative bias against Jamaica. "Is everything on this island designed to prick, bite or sting?" (Maher) Rochester asks in his very first replica in the film. The second introduces his own father's suspected malicious intent in sending him to Jamaica to marry money. The viewer, however, does not truly need dialogue to grasp Rochester's discomfort. His anxiety, persecution fantasies and revulsion at his new homeland are amply expressed through his constrictive surroundings, his facial

expressions, his tone of voice and his body language. For example, we first encounter him standing imprisoned between two white curtains. These are used to make conspicuous both his limited capacity to appreciate Jamaica and his commodified status as a commercial article on display. Rochester, who—in his opinion—was metaphorically framed by his father and Bertha's family, is often shown as physically framed in reality. Antoinette, as we know, is about to acquire him in exchange for her dowry, and thus symbolically put him down on a par with women paraded in drawing rooms for the sake of economically advantageous marriages and also slaves in the market. Rochester is not ignorant of his own rather ignoble motivation underscoring his upcoming marriage to Antoinette/Bertha. He is entrapped by the British patriarchal order, which designates second sons to "prostitute themselves" in advantageous marriages to heiresses. His awareness of the situation radiates from his whole persona, that is, from his scowl, his petulant, childish tone of voice, his constricted physical motion and his stoop. Likewise, his readiness to revenge himself for this humiliation with cruelty, his repressed anger and his sense of injustice are also obvious in his body language. Yet his economic situation leaves him no choice but to go through with the marriage. He is trapped on an island surrounded by the perilous Sargasso Sea, dubbed a sailor's graveyard. As his wife in the film's prologue, he is caught up in a hostile, incomprehensible environment.

Yet the bride's youth, beauty and erotic attraction seem to override his original objections against the marriage. In the film, as in the novel,

> (t)he different stages in the changing relationship between English husband and White West Indian wife are marked by the husband's changing and confused attitudes to the landscape. (Ramchand 183).

For a time, Jamaica becomes an earthly paradise replete with fascinating tropical nature, in which Edward and Antoinette Rochester discard their socially conditioned prejudices together with the shame at their nakedness.

It is, paradoxically, Antoinette's unbridled sexuality, the very glue in their relationship, which drives the first wedge between husband and wife. For this kind of abandon appears, to Rochester, unseemly in a young lady. It threatens his masculine integrity, and serves to illuminate the remarkable differences in the huband's and the wife's upbringing and socialization. Erotic fascination, on Rochester's part, and absolute adoration on Antoinette's, are first shown as a type of black magic that metamorphoses living humans into *zombis*, that is, a type of *obeah*. The omnipresent black servants further complicate the situation since, as mentioned above, Rochester's emotions towards non-whites are at best mixed. Therefore, the fact that—apart from his wife—he never has any contact with white people (or, as he sees it, his equals) seems to enhance his subjectively perceived isolation/entrapment. To him, the servants appear as judgmental voyeurs, and what he frequently perceives as their condemnation seems to be his own guilt projection. On the other hand, the director makes it abundantly clear that various power struggles for domination are taking place in the household, and they cannot be comprehended without the understanding of slavery and its attendant traumas and grievances. Unfortunately for his marriage, Rochester receives some of this information, distorted, from a half-black, liminal source that is far from unbiased.

As noted previously, the binary opposition black vs. white starts as a relatively stable category. This holds true until Rochester becomes familiar with the genuine situation on the island, which has a long history of miscegenation strongly connected to the only recently abolished slavery. The clear divide between the black and the white subsequently collapses, and it becomes clear that Jamaica

features a whole spectrum of racial permutations. Worse yet, his own wife's father, according to rumour, not only died of drink but also "had his way" with every female slave on his plantation. It is a mulatto posing as Antoinette's half-brother who informs the husband of her father's "bad blood," complemented by the lunacy, promiscuity and alcoholism on her mother's part. The informant, Daniel Cosway, acting as a snake in the Garden, poisons the already inherently compromised marital bliss.

Wide Sargasso Sea conveys the message that snakes cannot be kept away from paradise through the instability/permeability of physical boundaries, with windows, curtains and blinds, once again, playing a major role. In contrast to the film's beginning, Rochester now wishes to shut himself in, rather than get away from Jamaica and his marriage. The aptly selected white shutters he uses to protect his sexual freedom, however, are a double fiasco. Not only do they fail to protect against the assumed voyeurs' gaze, but also visually evoke prison bars. This is abundantly illustrated in a key scene featuring Daniel Cosway's first visit to the honeymoon house. The man's sudden appearance behind the white blinds, or symbolic prison bars, is filmed from Rochester's (and the viewer's) point of view. Both are, therefore, subject to the same jolt when the menacing figure unexpectedly enters the frame from the right. Yet we observe Rochester's reaction already from the predator's (or Daniel's) perspective, immediately exchanged for Rochester's point of view. The rapid, shot/reverse-shot pattern in extreme close-up throughout the dialogue enables the viewer to experience the emotional impact of Cosway's speech accompanied by alarming rattle snake sounds.

Later in the film, however, Rochester learns how to manipulate permeable and impermeable boundaries to his advantage, which naturally culminates in his wife's incarceration in the English attic. By now he has inherited his father's possessions in addition to the not inconsiderable fortune acquired through marriage. Having escaped from the attic, Bertha sets Thornfield on fire. In this respect, all the three versions considered in this article, *Jane Eyre*, *Wide Sargasso Sea*, the novel, and *Wide Sargasso Sea*, the film, match. Each of the three, however, uses the said events for a different type of narrative closure (or lack thereof). Having brought his cinematic narrative full circle back to Thornfield, Maher has his Bertha, illuminated and awakened from her zombie-like stupor through the combination of fire and Jamaican light, regain her ability to speak and reason, and jump to her fiery death with a smile on her face. Rochester's survival appears unlikely and so does a happy future with Miss Jane Eyre.

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The Impact of Brexit on Universities

Abstract: *When the results of the British referendum on Brexit were announced in the early morning hours of 24 June 2016, the shock and dismay at how people voted was felt strongly also in academic communities both in the UK and Europe. Many questions regarding the educational sphere started to emerge almost immediately. What about the exchange programmes, funding, research, staff, and students? There was a lot of anxiety, a lot of uncertainty, and a lot of speculation. Since the end of June 2016, however, the situation has cleared up at least a little bit and more specific contours of the effect of Brexit on universities have emerged. The aim of this paper is to present the ongoing discussion of the Brexit related FAQs and its recent results and to highlight the strategies academic communities have adopted so far.*

Introduction

In order to understand the reaction of the British universities, it is helpful at first to look at how the community voted in the referendum. It is hardly surprising that both the students and academic staff voted differently to the majority of general public. As the Brexit referendum result was very close, 48.1 per cent (16 141 241 votes) voted for Remain and 51.9 per cent (17 410 742 votes) voted for Leave (BBC News, "Results"), the future of the United Kingdom was decided by merely a very narrow margin of 3.8 per cent (1.269.501 votes), many of whom reportedly googled the meaning of EU only after casting their Leave vote[1]. On top of that, only 72.2 per cent of the 46 501 241 eligible voters decided to participate (BBC News, "Results"). This means that 27.8 per cent (12 949 258 voters) of British voters did not execute their voting rights. Importantly, many of the abstain voters were young people. Only about 30 per cent of people aged 18–25 decided to cast their votes, but they voted overwhelmingly for Remain (BBC News, "Results"). Given the result of the referendum, young people probably started to regret their passive approach very soon, as it is their future which is at stake and they will definitely suffer the consequences of Brexit. The passivity of British young voters in the Brexit referendum is in sharp contrast to the "youthquake" of 2017 General Elections, where it were their votes that saved the election results for Jeremy Corbyn's Labour Party (BBC News, "UK election results 'may delay Brexit talks.'"). On one hand, the unprecedented turnout of the young voters might be interpreted positively as victory of active citizenship and changed attitude to political engagement, but on the other hand, it can be seen as a result of frustration and proof of how deeply and dangerously British society is divided. In Rhiannon Lucy Cosslett's words, the real reason why young people participated in the election was anger:

> People were upset with their parents and grandparents for what they perceived as craven selfishness. We grew up with an open, pro-European outlook, and felt that our elders were limiting our options while thinking only of themselves. Anger is a great motivator, and I think Theresa May underestimated how long it can simmer for when she called a snap general election less than a year after the referendum vote (Cosslett).

As far as university teachers are concerned, their pro-EU stance is no surprise. In a survey published just before the referendum, nine out of ten academics proclaimed they would vote for Remain. As John Morgan notes, "Among academics, who were asked to state their subject affiliation, support for Remain was highest in the social sciences and business/law (91 per cent) and highest for Leave in engineering (16 per cent)" (Morgan). The academics are overwhelmingly united across disciplines in

the way they voted as Brexit will affect researchers in natural disciplines, the engineering disciplines and social sciences alike. The motivation of the university staff for their support of the EU membership is clear, since, in professor John Curtice's words, "Both culture and self-interest move in the same direction" (Curtice in Morgan). The academics also expressed scepticism about the success of post-Brexit Britain and over 40 per cent stated their willingness to consider moving outside of the UK in the future. As one of the respondents said:

> My entire research team is funded by EU money. Obviously without belonging to the EU we can't continue with the work we are doing, and given the ESRC (Economic and Social Research Council) etc. don't usually fund work in our field very much these days, it's just not realistic to imagine that alternative funding will be made available. So I have a feeling we might move bit by bit over to Germany, where the funding for this kind of research is pretty handsome, and better supported generally (Morgan).

Thus, one year after the referendum, the fear of Brexit brain drain is more present than ever. First EU academics have already left (Savage) mainly because of the pressing instability of the current political situation, which even worsened after the 2017 General Elections resulting in a hung Parliament, as will be discussed later.

FAQs

Regardless of their preferences, however, the academic community must face the current situation: the people voted as they voted, and both academic staff and students must withstand the fact that Great Britain will lose her EU membership and the benefits they have been enjoying for many years could be lost forever. Universities UK, an association which represents British universities, decided to act quickly after the results were announced. As a powerful lobby group, they function as coordinators and try to negotiate with the British government. Already on 27 June 2016, they managed to get the guarantee of a *status quo* from Jo Johnson, Minister of State for Universities and Science, for this and the next academic year 2017/2018 regarding the following key questions:

1. Will EU students still be able to study at UK universities?
2. Will tuition fees rise for EU students studying at UK universities as a result of Brexit?
3. Will EU students continue to be eligible to receive loans and grants?
4. What about students participating in the Erasmus+ exchange programme?
5. Will the UK continue to have access to EU funding for research and innovation such as Horizon 2020 and European Structural and Investment Funds (ESIFs)?
6. Will UK universities still be able to employ staff from other EU countries?
7. (Universities UK)

These FAQs summarize the main concerns of students and academics both in the UK and EU: the possibility to study and work abroad and the eligibility for funding. Probably in no other area there is so much consensus. As Graeme Reid puts it, "Higher education and research are perhaps the most consistently harmonious dimensions of our EU membership. Despite 40 years of wrangling between politicians, the academic community across Europe has grown ever closer" (Reid). Besides formulating these 6 key questions and getting the confirmation from the British government that there will be no immediate changes, Universities UK call on the British government to provide similar reassurances to EU students who want to apply for courses starting in school year 2018/2019, when the UK is likely to

leave the EU. What happens after the UK has left the EU will depend on what is agreed as part of the UK's exit negotiations that formally began on 19 June 2017.

On 17 January 2017, British Prime Minister Theresa May in her long-awaited speech "Plan for Britain" outlined twelve main objectives for the Brexit negotiations, which can be summarized as the so-called "Hard Brexit." In her 40-minute speech, she spent only about 40 seconds on the theme of research and innovation, but she envisions Global Britain as "being one of the best places in the world for science and innovation" and acknowledges the importance of higher education: "One of our great strengths as a nation is the breadth and depth of our academic and scientific communities, backed up by some of the world's best universities" (May). Most importantly, she expressed her wish that the universities "continue to collaborate with our European partners on major science, research, and technology initiatives" (May). To secure her position in negotiations, but probably mainly because the polls in May 2017 showed a significant support of the Conservative Party, the British Prime Minister decided to take a risk and called snap General Elections for 9 June 2017, hoping for a landslide victory. Nevertheless, instead of the promised stability, the political situation in Britain became even more complicated with the Conservative Party losing their majority and forming a new government only with the support of the ultraconservative Northern Irish Unionist Party. It is not clear if the UK government is going to adhere to "Hard Brexit" during the Brexit talks or if it will adopt a different, softer, approach. Regardless of the direction the Brexit talks will take, the idea of making post-Brexit Global Britain a success seems even further away. As S&P economist Jean-Michel Six said: "In terms of the (UK's) outlook for growth, it's clear that things are not going in the right direction. This latest bit of instability can only weaken the business environment and consumer confidence" (BBC News, "UK election results 'may delay Brexit talks'").

Concerns for universities after Brexit

How to achieve the objective of making the UK "the best place for science and innovation" (May), when Brexit has already started to take its toll on both sides? After the referendum, some of the 31 000 EU academics currently working in Britain decided to apply for permanent residency, but they were reportedly told to "make arrangements to leave" by the Home Office (Tabolt). In other words, despite the official *status quo* and Jo Johnson's claim that everything is "business as usual" for now as the UK is still a member of the EU, it is not as simple as that. The uncertainty has created an atmosphere of fear, anger, distrust, and very often resignation. As Brian Cox sums up,

> We have spent decades—centuries arguably—building a welcoming and open atmosphere in our universities and, crucially, presenting that image to an increasingly competitive world. We've been spectacularly successful; many of the world's finest researchers and teachers have made the UK their home, in good faith. A few careless words have already damaged our carefully cultivated international reputation, however. I know of few, if any, international academics, from within or outside the EU, who are more comfortable in our country now than they were pre-referendum. This is a recipe for disaster (Cox in Talbot).

The UK scientists have also stared to suffer the consequences of Britain's vote to leave the EU. According to a confidential survey of the UK's Russel Group elite universities, there have been several cases of British academics being asked to leave EU-funded projects or to step down from leadership roles because they are considered a financial liability (Sample). In addition, some British researchers leave the EU projects voluntarily, because they do not wish to be "the weak link in a consortium" (Sample). Thus, the British universities are very seriously concerned about their ability

to recruit research fellows for current projects. As Joe Gorman explains, "If you have an idea for a project today, it will be about 18–24 months from now that your project would actually start. But it is also approximately when Brexit negotiations will be reaching completion and the effects will start to become real" (Gorman).

Being aware of the present problems, Universities UK decided to accelerate their lobbying and published a proposal on which the government should act during the Brexit talks. They clearly articulated what the major concerns for universities after Brexit are:

1. Increased barriers to recruiting talented European staff
2. Damage to international research collaboration
3. Increased barriers to recruiting European students
4. Loss of funding for research and innovation
5. Reduced outward mobility opportunities for staff and students

(Universities UK)

To minimize the turbulence of Brexit and ensure that British universities can maximize their contribution to a successful Global Britain, these issues must be addressed by the UK government. As short term transitional arrangements, according to Universities UK, the government must act swiftly and first and foremost guarantee the rights of EU nationals and their families currently working in Britain. As Julia Goodfellow, President of Universities UK, had argued one week before the Brexit talks began, "The most urgent priority for the negotiations is to provide certainty on work and residency rights for all EU staff currently working in UK universities" (Goodfellow, Universities UK). If not, the UK might lose international talent and its competitiveness might be threatened.

Secondly, it is crucial that the British government confirms that EU students starting a course in school years 2018/19 and 2019/20 will still be able to apply for loans and grants on the current terms and that they will continue to be eligible for home fee status. In Goodfellow's words, "We have already seen a small dip in the number of applications from EU students this year, so it is important that the UK projects the message globally that we are open and welcoming to international talent" (Goodfellow, Universities UK). Given the costs, it is highly unlikely that the EU students will be able to afford the luxury of studying in Britain without financial support. The reason why the number of applications has already started to decline might be the current rhetoric of the British government. As Brian Cox puts it, "Ministers must consider our global reputation before uttering platitudinous sound-bites for domestic consumption, and think much more carefully about how to ensure that the UK remains the best place in the world to educate and to be educated. UK universities are everything the government claims it wants our country to become; a model for a global future" (Cox in Talbot). It is also important that the government ensures that the current conditions for the students will apply for the duration of their course, and that there will be more time to plan for a smooth transition post Brexit.

Furthermore, continued access to the highly successful Erasmus+ programme should also be a top priority. As Ruth Sinclair-Jones, Director of the Erasmus+ UK National Agency, explains:

The number one priority should be to try to make sure that the UK can stay fully participating in Erasmus+, because of the benefits to everyone, not just the UK. But if that's not possible, I would absolutely want an alternative scheme to be in place, so that the next generation of UK young people don't miss out on the benefits of international engagement with their counterparts in Europe (Sinclair-Jones in Clarkson).

Although everyone unanimously agrees on the importance of this flagship EU project, it is not clear at all whether the UK will be able to participate after Brexit. The EU negotiators face a dilemma: on one hand, Britain is a pivotal member of the Erasmus student exchange and the third most popular country for the students to study, but on the other hand, Brussels does not want to "let the UK cherry-pick the best parts of EU membership" (Clarkson) as it needs to deter other countries from leaving the EU. This dilemma will be ever present throughout the Brexit talks—everyone agrees on the benefits of the EU programmes such as Erasmus+ or Horizon 2020, but once the UK decides to abandon the key EU principle of free movement of people, these programmes in their current form are endangered. They are incompatible with Theresa May's call for "Hard Brexit" and stricter immigration rules. The supporters of Brexit argue that an alternative scheme is negotiable, giving Switzerland as an example the post-Brexit UK should follow regarding Erasmus+. After the Swiss voters narrowly supported stricter immigration rules in a referendum, the EU suspended Switzerland's full membership in the Erasmus+ student exchange programme because the new rules were against the EU principle of freedom of movement. Instead of being a full member, Switzerland is now merely a partner country. In order to support student mobility, the Swiss government set up its own exchange scheme, the SEMP (Swiss-European Mobility Programme), which is based on a series of bilateral agreements and system of scholarships. Crucially, the scholarships are financed not by the EU, but by the Swiss government. In other words, if this is the way the UK follows, it must be prepared to pay. As there exists an enormous enthusiasm for student mobility, the British government has two options—either to stay in the Erasmus+ programme and pay into the system or to set up its own, fully financed, exchange scheme. The EU stance seems quite clear, as Marianne de Brunhoff, from the French Ministry of Education, explains:

> What we want is for as many countries as possible to be associated with this Erasmus system—which benefits a huge number of young Europeans—but under normal conditions for everyone: either countries that belong to the EU or associate countries that respect fundamental EU principles (Brunhoff in Clarkson).

In other words, the negotiators during the Brexit talks must take into consideration the fact that participating in the Erasmus+ exchange programme and keeping Theresa May's political promise to restrict immigration is not compatible. As Caroline Clarkson ponders, "The EU is generally good at forging compromises. But when it comes to Erasmus, would it really be able to make an exception for the UK on freedom of movement after suspending Switzerland for the same reason?" (Clarkson).

Conclusion

Despite being almost unanimously against Brexit, the universities are admirable in their organized effort to protect the academic community and its international spirit. Instead of trying to shout more loudly than others or panicking, the academic community tries to offer pragmatic agenda and consensus. Universities UK is well aware of the problems Brexit causes for the academic community and therefore calls for a change in domestic policy. It is absolutely essential, in order to thrive post Brexit, these policies must be ensured by the British government:

1. A simplified and improved visa regime for international staff.
2. A simplified and improved visa regime for international students.
3. Enhanced support for international research collaboration.

4. Increased public investment in research.
5. Enhanced mobility opportunities for UK staff and students.
6. Supporting innovation to drive economic growth.
7. Improved regulation and infrastructure to make the UK the best place in the world to do science and research. (Universities UK)

Let's hope that the voice of the universities will not be overheard in the upcoming turbulent pre and post Brexit times. In Graeme Reid's words, "Science should be on the inside track, working with the Cabinet Office team. We need to play our part in helping the PM make a success of her plans, while securing the best outcome for science that we can" (Reid).

Notes
(1) See e.g. Rosalie Chan, "The UK is Googling What the EU Is Hours after it Voted to Leave", Time, 24 June 2016, http://time.com/4381612/uk-brexit-google-what-is-the-eu/.

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Jozef Pecina

Superheroes in Antebellum Popular Fiction

Abstract: *The first comic book superheroes appeared in the late 1930s, but American popular fiction was populated by characters possessing various superpowers much earlier. The article focuses on the depiction of superheroes in city mysteries and Crockett Almanacs. City mysteries, particularly those written by George Thompson, the most prolific author of antebellum sensational literature, include vigilantes who roam the mean streets of antebellum cities and help those in need just like the Dark Knight does in the pages of DC's comic books. In contrast, Davy Crockett, the central character of Crockett Almanacs, humorous pamphlets published in the 1830s and 1840s, shares some traits with Superman, the world's first superhero.*

Superheroes have been present in popular imagination since times immemorial. From classical mythology to Spider Man, Wonder Woman, Deadpool or Wolverine they have been saving humanity in the most spectacular manner possible. In the past few decades, thanks to adaptations to big screen, superheroes have become a global phenomenon no longer limited to comic book addicts. The aim of the present paper is to trace the antecedents of modern superheroes in a rather unlikely source, in 19th century popular fiction. Because of their relative obscurity, both Crockett Almanacs and city mysteries, published in the antebellum era, have long evaded the attention of comic book scholars.

The first decade of the 21st century witnessed a surge of academic books on superheroes. Monographs like Peter Coogan's seminal work *Superhero: The Secret Origins of the Genre* (2006) or John Lawrence's and Robert Jewett's *The Myth of American Superhero* (2002) or essay collections *Super/Heroes: From Hercules to Superman* (2007) and *The Superhero Reader* (2013) have established superhero studies as a legitimate academic discipline and have contributed considerably to the definition of the genre and its history.

The genre has roots outside comics but superheroes are intertwined with comic books to a much greater extent than with other media, and they have played a central role in comic book history almost from the beginning (Hatfield et al. xi-xii). Comic book scholars agree that modern superheroes have their forerunners in classical mythology. There are a number of parallels between mythological heroes and superheroes—they possess enormous strength, some of them have vulnerabilities, they stand up against oppression. This link has been confirmed by Jerry Siegel, who, together with Joe Schuster, created Superman, the comic books' first superhero. In an interview, Siegel recalled how he conceived his most famous protagonist: "I am lying in bed counting sheep when all of a sudden it hits me. I conceive a character like Samson, Hercules and all the strong men I ever heard of rolled into one. Only more so" (Goulart 74).

From more modern sources, early twentieth-century pulp fiction has been identified as a major inspiration for comic book artists. Pulp magazines were a holdover of the late nineteenth-century dime novels, which, in turn, developed from the sensational novels and city mysteries that were so popular in the 1840s. These magazines tempted teenage audiences with fancy covers and offered stories from a variety of genres that included western, crime, and, increasingly, science fiction. Among the heroic protagonists of pulp magazines were such famous characters as Tarzan, El Zorro or Dick Tracy. Their powers were so great that they had to disguise themselves and work undercover and they are considered to serve as a prototype of the new superheroes (Petersen 134).

It is the above mentioned city mysteries that will be discussed in more detail since they offer a number of striking parallels with modern superhero comic books. City mysteries appeared in the 1840s in Europe as a sub-genre of sensational novels and quickly became popular in Britain and across the Atlantic as well. In city mysteries, the haunted rural landscape of gothic novels was replaced by the dark streets of American cities. Their authors depicted depravation and the debauchery of wealthy city elites and they claimed that they uncovered tales of criminal underworlds. The poor were portrayed as victims of brutality of both criminals and businessmen and often needed protection by various vigilantes. The neglect of city mysteries by comic book scholars can be explained by the genre's obscurity. They were intended for quick reading and quick disposal and were printed on low-quality paper and the surviving copies were available only in rare book rooms of American libraries. It was only in 1998 that George Lippard's *Quaker City* (1845) was reprinted for the first time and four years later that the University of Massachusetts reprinted two of George Thompson's city mysteries, *Venus in Boston* (1849) and *City Crimes* (1849). It is the latter novel which I want to focus my attention on.

Peter Coogan defines a superhero as "a heroic character with a selfless, pro-social mission; with superpowers/extraordinary abilities, advanced technology, or highly developed physical, mental, or mystical skills; who has a superhero identity embodied in a codename and iconic costume, which typically express his biography, character, powers, or origin" (31). His definition is based on a legal decision from 1939 when, in the *Detective Comics vs. Bruns* case, Judge Learned Hand ruled that Wonder Man (from *Wonder Comics* #1, 1939) was a copy of Superman and therefore the publisher of Wonder Comics had infringed the copyright of Superman's publisher Detective Comics. Judge Learned Hand in his ruling established that mission, powers and identity defined a superhero. "Mission" means that the character stands against oppression and injustice, "powers" are the extraordinary abilities, physical or mental skills and "identity" includes the use of a secret identity and costume (Castells and Cardioso).

George Thompson's *City Crimes,* set in antebellum New York and Boston, includes a number of tropes that scholars associate with the superhero genre. In fact there are so many of them that the resemblance of this city mystery to Batman, that "enduring icon of 20th century pop-culture" (Duncan, Smith 67) who was created by Bob Kane and Bill Finger in 1939, ninety years after the publication of *City Crimes,* is almost unbelievable. Frank Sydney, the novel's main protagonist, is what Coogan calls a "dual-identity crime fighting avenger-vigilante" (158). He is a twenty-one years old orphan who has inherited considerable wealth from his deceased uncle. In the first chapter, he makes a pledge to help those who are in need:

> From this night, I devote my time, my energies and my affluence to the relief of deserving poverty and the welfare of all who need my aid with whom I may come in contact. I will go in person to the squalid abodes of the poor—I will seek them out in the dark alleys and obscure lanes of this mighty metropolis—I will, in the holy mission of charity, venture into the vilest dens of sin and iniquity, fearing no danger, and shrinking not from the duty which I have assumed (107-8),

so he decides to act as a champion of the oppressed. Though he does not wear any tight-fitting costume, he roams the streets of the metropolis armed with a sword-cane, in a disguise so intricate that even his closest associates cannot recognize him. Besides his ability to hide his true identity, he does not possess any superpower. But regarding this trope, Batman was created as a superhero without superpowers as well. He has a mission of vengeance and his superior intelligence and physical power enable him to prevail over his opponents (Coogan 41).

Though there is no traceable direct link between Bill Finger and Bob Kane, the creators of Batman, and *City Crimes*, several elements later used in Batman's stories are present in Thompson's novel. Sydney has a teenage sidekick named Clinton Romaine just like Batman has his Robin. Sydney is often assisted by Dennis, his trustworthy footman exactly like Batman is helped by Alfred Pennyworth, his butler. And, what is more, throughout the entire novel, Frank Sydney fights against his arch-nemesis, a supervillain named Dead Man, who has his face disfigured by acid, just like the Joker, one of the most villainous characters from the Batman universe. George Thompson's contribution in shaping the character of a supervillain is remarkable, since he created one of the most ruthless and deplorable villains the genre of city mysteries had ever seen.

In his taxonomy, Coogan identifies five types of supervillains—the monster, the enemy commander, the mad scientist, the criminal mastermind and the inverted superhero (61). The Dead Man, whom Thompson describes as

a man of frightful appearance: his long, tangled hair hung over two eyes that gleamed with savage ferocity; his face was the most awful that can be imagined—long, lean, cadaverous and livid, it resembled that of a corpse. No stranger could view it without a shudder; it caused the spectator to recoil with horror. His form was tall and bony, and he was gifted with prodigious strength (134)

falls into the first category. Not only is he hideous in appearance, he is also a human monster without a soul, with perverted sense of right and wrong. The Dead Man is the leader of a group of thieves and murderers who inhabit subterranean vaults under New York City and call themselves "the knights of the Round Table." Coogan defines supervillain as someone who "commits villainous or evil acts and does so in a way superior to ordinary criminals or at a magnified level" (76). Throughout the novel, the Dead Man commits numerous brutal murders, cuts the tongue of Sydney's sidekick and the eyes of two little children, escapes from a prison and tortures Frank Sydney in what he calls the Chamber of Death, which makes his evil acts far more superior than those of other criminal protagonists of city mysteries. The Dead Man even has his own two henchmen, appropriately named Maggot and Bloodhound.

Another feature of supervillains is monologuing, which comes of the villain's belief in his absolute supremacy. Coogan defines it as the "tendency toward self-absorbed, self-destructive talking; instead of killing the hero, they spout off on their greatness, the hero's feebleness, and the inevitability of their victory" (89). The Dead Man delivers a number of monologues throughout the novel. After he entraps Sydney, instead of killing him instantly, he lists all the wrongs done to him by the superhero and the spouts off a river of threats:

But'tis not my wish to kill you at once-no, that would not satisfy my vengeance. You shall die a slow, lingering death; each moment of your existence shall be fraught with a hell of torment; you will pray for death in vain; death shall not come to your relief for years. Each day I will rack my ingenuity to devise some new mode of torture (237).

And, finally, as if this was not enough, Thompson kills off his supervillain in a spectacular comic-book fashion. The Dead Man is strapped to a table, has a chemical injected causing terrible pain and finally, a flask with gunpowder is placed in his abdomen and then "awful was the explosion that followed; the wretch was torn into a hundred pieces; his limbs, his brains, his blood were scattered

all about" (301). All of the conventions present in Frank Sydney and the Dead Man became realized some ninety years later in Finger's and Kane's Batman.

Just as the conventions in Thompson's novel predate those of Batman, Superman has his forerunner in Davy Crockett, the legendary hero of the American frontier. While David Crockett was a real life frontiersman and US Congressman from Tennessee, Davy Crockett was a popular fictional character who surfaced just as his real namesake perished at the Alamo in 1836. He became a protagonist of numerous fictional biographies, plays, and, most importantly, a series of comic almanacs published between 1835 and 1856. The tall tales of the almanacs, aimed at popular audiences and written by anonymous authors, exploit the frontier adventures of Crockett and contain some of the most superhuman deeds American popular fiction witnessed in the nineteenth century.

The last Crockett Almanac was published in 1856 and afterwards, Crockett disappeared, until he was rediscovered in the 1930s by scholars like Constance Rourke or Richard Dorson. However, no link has been established between Superman and Davy Crockett by scholars devoted to comic book studies. The reason is the same as with city mysteries, because of the disposable nature of the almanacs, these have been available only in auctions or rare book rooms of libraries and Dorson's pioneering work remained unknown outside the academic community. In the words of Michael Lofarro "the then current popularity of the almanac tales has not translated into modern availability of the original texts" ("Hidden Hero" 47). Only in 2010 did the Boston Public Library digitize a number of issues of Crockett Almanacs and ever since they have been available online. Michael Lofarro, a Davy Crockett scholar, has in fact been the only critic aware of the almanacs' role as a precursor of twentieth-century comic books and calls Crockett "a nineteenth century comic book superhero" ("A Taste of Tales" 1).

An even more interesting fact related to the lack of attention among superhero scholars regarding Davy Crockett's position as the first American superhero is that in the mid-1950s, Davy Crockett became a pop-culture icon of his own. Though the original Almanacs remained rare and largely unknown, it was Walt Disney who helped to elevate Crockett to the status of popular hero. Just as the Golden Age of Comics with its superheroes was slowly coming to an end, between 1954-55 Disney released a trilogy of television films about Crockett, followed by a 90-minute movie named *Davy Crockett, King of the Wild Frontier*. All the films were a huge success. "The Ballad of Davy Crockett" that accompanied the films became a number one record and a merchandizing craze followed. According to Andrew Hutton, Disney licensed about three hundred products to carry the official Crockett label, among them raccoon tails. In 1954, they were sold for 25 cents per pound but after the films were released, the price rocketed to 5 dollars, as every child wanted to have their own coonskin cap (xli). However, by the end of 1955, the Crockett craze was over.

The August 1939 issue of *Action Comics* offers the following introduction of Superman's powers: "Leaping over skyscrapers, running faster than an express train, springing great distances and heights, lifting and smashing tremendous weights, possessing an impenetrable skin—these are the amazing attributes which Superman, savior of the helpless and oppressed, avails himself of as he battles the forces of evil and injustice." (Lawrence, Jewet 42) The introduction of Davy Crockett in the first of the almanacs is very similar, though minus the noble mission of fighting against injustice. Crockett can "run faster, - jump higher, - squat lower, - dive deeper, - stay under longer, - and come out drier, than any man in the whole country" ("The Hidden Hero" 51) but these traits are modest when compared to what Davy would be capable of in later issues. There can be observed a transition from the comic and folk-tale tradition of the earlier almanacs. To hold a popular audience, Crockett tales grew taller, settings more exotic, and situations more unbelievable, requiring more superpowers from Davy.

John Seelye's compares this shift to pornography, where "an appetite having been created must be fed increasingly bizarre variations upon a basic situation" (Seelye 41). From the triad of powers, identity and mission, Crockett meets only the first criterion and his powers are truly beyond anything comparable in 19th century fiction. He has no secret identity and, in most of the stories, he is definitely not a champion of the oppressed, since he can be considered a super-racist of 19th century fiction. African-Americans, Mexicans and Indians are usually targets and victims of his frolics.

Some of Crockett unbelievable adventures are associated with his pet animals. In the 1846 Almanac, in a story named "Crockett's Wonderful Escape by Driving His Pet Alligator up the Niagara Falls" Crockett is trying to evade a group of British soldiers during the Revolution. While riding his pet alligator named "Long Mississippi," he gets surrounded on the Niagara River by British boats. The British are cheering in triumph, but Crockett surprises them when he rides the alligator up the Falls: "I jist tickled up the old Alligator with my toe, twisted his tail around, my body, put my thumb to my nose, an' we walked up the great hill o' water as slick as a wild cat up in a white oak" (39). In *Davy Crockett's Almanac* from 1847, there is a similar story named "Crockett and His Bear, Sailing Down a Ninety Feet Waterfall" where Davy is again on the run, this time with his pet bear Death Hug and he is running from a group of Mexican soldiers. The only way how to escape them is down the frozen river, so Crockett and Death hug mount an ice floe and sail down the waterfall.

Crockett's two most superhuman deeds that put even Superman to shame involve celestial bodies. In the 1837 Almanac, Davy saves the United States from destruction by Halley's Comet. He claims that he was appointed by the President "to stand on the Alleghany Mountains and wring the Comet's tail off" ("The Hidden Hero" 56). He manages to turn the comet off the collision course but he badly burns his hands and hair, so afterward he is "as bald as a trencher" (56). The second story is "Crockett's Morning Hunt." One morning, Davy wakes up to a totally frozen world. He even cannot light his pipe because the sparks freeze up mid-air. He soon discovers what the matter is—"the airth has actually frizz fast in her axes and could'nt turn round; the sun had got jammed between two cakes o'ice under the wheels" ("Crockett's Morning Hunt" 28). This is actually one of the few stories where Crockett meets the superhero criterion of "mission" since he becomes aware of the fact that if he does not act, "human creation is done for." Crockett takes a bear off his back, beats him till hot oil starts dripping and pours the oil "over the airth axes" (28). He then oils the sun, gives the earth a good kick and this is how he gets the earth moving and frees the sun. Satisfied with his job of saving humanity, he lights his pipe, shoulders the bear and walks home "introducing the people to fresh daylight with a piece of sunlight in my pocket" (28).

And, what is more, there are not just many parallels to DC's Superman in Crockett's stories but to Marvel's X-Men superheroes as well. In "Crockett Blowing up a Man of War," Davy walks down to the beach where he encounters a pirate ship. He decides not to waste his ammunition on such a thing and grows very mad, until a streak of lightning flashes from his eyes: "As I grew madder and madder as I looked at it, till my blood biled an my breth hissed as it come out of my body and hit agin the cold air outside. Jest about that time my eyes struck lighting agianst my flint and the flash struck the pirate and sot fire to the powder maggizenes an if the chips didn't fly, then thair's no sogers in Mexico" (24). In X-Men universe, there is a mutant named Cyclops whose superpower is a powerful blast of energy emitted from his eyes.

Both Davy Crockett and Frank Sydney can be considered nineteenth-century superheroes. Davy Crockett is capable of saving humanity, thus he shares some traits with Superman, the world's first comic book superhero, while Frank Sydney, the main character of George Thompson's city mystery *City Crimes* is a prototype of dual identity vigilante that would fully surface in Batman. My research

suggests that the superhero genre conventions which scholars usually associate with 20th century pulp magazines and comic books were already present in antebellum popular fiction.

Acknowledgement

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Helena Polehlová

Venerable Bede and Stephen of Ripon: Two Accounts of Anglo-Saxon History

Abstract: *Venerable Bede's* Ecclesiastical History of the English People *is a generally accepted and celebrated canonical authority for our knowledge of the early history of Anglo-Saxon England. Outside the frame of historiography,* The Life of St Wilfrid*, an 8th-century Anglo-Latin hagiography, however, also comprises valuable records which shed slightly different light on the earliest Anglo-Saxon history and offer an interesting insight into it, although the* Life *is primarily aimed at a different purpose. Presenting two records of church synods, the paper attempts to analyse the reasons why historical facts are treated differently in Bede's* Ecclesiastical History *and* The Life of St Wilfrid*, written by Stephen of Ripon, the Venerable Bede's contemporary.*

Introduction

> Should history tell of good men and their good estate, the thoughtful listener is spurred on to imitate the good; should it record the evil ends of wicked men, no less effectually the devout and earnest listener or reader is kindled to eschew what is harmful or perverse, and himself with greater care pursue those things which he has learned to be good and pleasing in the sight of God. (*EH* Preface)

These are the opening words of the preface to the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (*EH*) by which the Venerable Bede, using a commonplace parallel to the well-known *historia magistra vitae*, clearly states the purpose of his magnificent account of events of Anglo-Saxon England.

Undoubtedly, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* is a generally accepted and celebrated authority—an essential source for our knowledge of the early history of Anglo-Saxon England, thus being within the frame of the historiographical canon. According to Bertram Colgrave's preface to the *Ecclesiastical History*, during the 8th century the reputation of the *History* rapidly spread not only through England but also on the Continent through the activity of English missionaries and it was Alfred the Great who had the *History* translated into Old English as one of the books "most necessary for all men to know" (Bede (1969) xvii).

Partly outside the frame of historiography, the *Life of Bishop Wilfrid* (*LW*), which is an 8th-century Anglo-Latin hagiography, also comprises valuable records which shed a slightly different light on Anglo-Saxon history and offer an interesting insight into it. Although it belongs to the genre of hagiography, the aim of which is to depict and celebrate lives of saints, usually highlighting their miracles, a lot of emphasis is put on the chronological account of bishop Wilfrid's earthly life. Therefore, it is perceived by Farmer as a commemorative biography (Farmer 38) of bishop Wilfrid (634-709/10), a controversial personality, a very influential man, an abbot, bishop of York, and the main supporter and promoter of the Roman way of Christianity against the Irish way at the synod of Whitby in 664. Wilfrid's role at the synod seems to have predetermined his life-long adherence to the authority of Rome. The fact that during his life he made three journeys to Rome is astonishing. Not only did he appeal to the papal synod and receive decrees in favour of his case but he also made use of his journeys to edify the church in Britain: together with the Roman way of liturgy and discipline he brought continental artisans to build and decorate churches in his diocese and bought continental fabric and materials

(*LW* V, XXXIII, LV). As John Blair argues, "no other bishop except Theodore made such a contribution to the educational and liturgical maturing of the English Church; and no other bishop had such a stormy political career" (Blair 94).

However distant the subject of the paper may seem, it is topical to consider the reasons why the works, both written during the first three decades of the 8th century, record particular events differently, although they correspond with each other in recording other events. Presenting two significant church synods, which were held in 664 and 703, the paper aims to consider the approach of the Venerable Bede and Stephen of Ripon to recording selected events of Anglo-Saxon history with regard to the authors' background and the general purpose of their work.

The Synod of Whitby
Not surprisingly, the synod of Whitby, which is recorded in both the works in question, was an essential event in the life of the English Church as it was of greatest importance for the unity of the Christian Church in England. With abbess Hild presiding over the synod (which may seem contradictory to our modern conceptions of the role of women in the early middle ages), in 664, the Whitby double-monastery hosted a meeting of adherents of two opposing parties within the church—the Irish and the Roman parties. It was held in the presence of two Northumbrian kings—Oswiu and his son Alhfrith. There were discrepancies between the Irish and Roman rules of Christianity, namely in the computus, or the way the date of Easter was being calculated, and the form of monks' tonsure. From the range of problematic issues discussed, it is the computus which is most emphasized both by the Venerable Bede and Stephen of Ripon.

Since Bede was not present himself at Whitby, he had to rely on other testimonies. Moreover, as Stephen is very likely to have accompanied bishop Wilfrid to the synod and had the opportunity to record the event as an eyewitness, Bede's description is most probably based on that of Stephen's as the resemblance of both records is striking. Bede describes the event very thoroughly, giving it a hallmark of a rhetorical disputation. He has bishop Wilfrid, the spokesman of the Roman party, expound the correct computus and its biblical tradition. Actually, Bede probably made use of an excerpt from his earlier *De temporum ratione*, a detailed treatise on computus. It is probably Bede's interest and pedagogic zeal, combined with his skill of an exegete, which account for the lengthy and very detailed disputation in favour of the Roman party.

It would have been natural for Stephen to give such a vivid and detailed account of the event as well because it was the starting point from which Wilfrid's future career of bishop darted. Nevertheless, Stephen's account is much briefer and simpler than that of Bede's. Both passages culminate with king Oswiu's judgement in favour of the Roman rule.

The Ecclesiastical History	The Life of Bishop Wilfrid
Then, I tell you, since he (St Peter) is the doorkeeper I will not contradict him; but I intend to obey his commands in everything to the best of my knowledge and ability, otherwise when I come to the gates of the kingdom of heaven, there may be no one to open them because the one who on your own showing holds the keys has turned his back on me. (*EH* III, 25)	The king wisely replied, 'He (St Peter) is the porter and keeps the keys. With him I will have no differences nor will I agree with those who have such, nor in any single particular will I gainsay his decisions so long as I live.' (*LW* X)

Obviously, the two extracts document a great similarity, although Bede's account is much more eloquent; what precedes this passage in his account is a lengthy disputation on the computus, enriched by explanation of history of the primal church.

As stated above, Stephen's account is shorter; the disputation is limited to the only argument of each party. King Oswiu's conclusion occupies approximately the same amount of space as in Bede's account. Bishop Wilfrid's role as the spokesperson of the winning party, however, is given more emphasis.

The Synod of Austerfield

Another event the paper would like to present is the synod at Austerfield[1], another event of the English Church, held in 703. The synod meant an important breakpoint in bishop Wilfrid's life: it was one of the councils where Wilfrid had a chance to defend himself and his right to be bishop of York in the presence of Northumbrian kings and the archbishop of Canterbury. Stephen of Ripon is very critical about the atmosphere of the synod and depicts the bishop's defence vividly in extensive chapters XLVI and XLVII:

> So, during the reign of Aldfrith, a synod was held in a place called Ouerstraefelda which was attended by the holy Archbishop Berhtwald and the bishops of nearly all Britain (...) But many questions and great altercations arose among them, especially among those bishops of the churches who, being impelled by avarice, by no means desired to keep the peace among the churches of God; nor is there any doubt that they did it at the desire of King Aldfrith and with the consent of some of the abbots. (*LW* XLVI)

Surprisingly, in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* there is not a mention of the council although it must have been quite an important event of the church, and Bede did record other synods, e.g. Hertford or Hatfield. Walter Goffart calls it a clear example of Bede's *suppressio veri* (Goffart 307). What was his reason for omitting such an important event?

To answer the question, it is essential to take the authors' background and the purpose of their work into consideration. Nothing more is known about Bede's life than what he reveals about himself at the very end of his *Ecclesiastical History* in book V: born in the vicinity of the double-monastery in Wearmouth-Jarrow in 672 or 673, Bede had spent all his life in Northumbria, a life filled with constant study and never-ending intellectual activity. Although Northumbria of Bede's lifetime was not an area of peace and tranquillity, which is true of any other Anglo-Saxon kingdom, yet the monastery provided Bede with peaceful and stable surroundings which enabled his writing numerous works, including *The Ecclesiastical History*.

Much less is known about Stephen of Ripon: Colgrave identifies him with a monk from Canterbury, an excellent singing master, who accompanied bishop Wilfrid, on his journey to Northumbria, and later spent his monastic life in Ripon (Colgrave x; Goffart 281); however, opinions on his identity differ (Lapidge 14; Goffart 281-282), so the only fact we can rely on is that he belonged to one of bishop Wilfrid's monasteries, and that he is the author of the *Life of Wilfrid*, written most probably between 710 and 720.

It appears that there cannot have been a greater difference between the life of Bede and the life of bishop Wilfrid: Bede, on the one hand, living a quiet life of a monk and scholar in seclusion; Wilfrid, on the other hand, experiencing a turbulent life full of ups and downs both in the milieu of the church as well as the royal court. He seems to have been very much aware of how important it was to "have

good credit and standing with the king of the moment", and this seems to have been the "secret of his success" (Kirby 28). At the same time, however, it was the stumbling block in case he lost the king's favour. The fact that Wilfrid spent 26 of 46 years of his episcopate in exile speaks for itself.

Another justification of the different approach lies in the general character and purpose of the works: *The Ecclesiastical History* should be perceived as a spiritual history; the history of the British Church, which is an inseparable part of the universal church; the history of salvation in the British Isles (McGowan 299). Early medieval historiography differs to a great extent from what a twenty-first-century historiography would look like: Bede includes letters or epitaphs, cites dialogues, and last but not least, devotes a lot of space to depicting lives and suffering of saints. In Anglo-Saxon times there was no clear-cut line between church history and political history. In spite of its title, the *History* focuses mainly on the history of Northumbria, which seems quite natural as Northumbria was the kingdom where the Venerable Bede had spent all his lifetime, and he probably had the easiest access to the information concerning this kingdom. What is more, it was king Ceolfrith of Northumbria to whom the *Ecclesiastical History* is dedicated (*EH* Preface).

As is evident from the opening words of the *Ecclesiastical History*, for Bede, historiography has a moral purpose: according to Kirby, his aim is to "emphasize Christian virtues and the merits of faith and charity" (Kirby 29), and to "set models for present emulation" (Goffart 255). The time Bede lived in (despite being defended and isolated by the walls of his monastery) was turbulent: after a relatively peaceful reign of king Aldfrith, a period of constant and sudden changing of kings came (from 704 to 737 five different kings ruled in Northumbria, which is more than during the preceding 70 years). Bearing this in mind, it is not of much surprise that Bede focuses mainly on the distant past, "about which he knew less but about which he cared deeply" (Kirby 3). The twentieth-century scholars agree that Bede's aim was to idealize "the past rather than the devalued present" (Campbell 84); Goffart sees in the *Ecclesiastical History* "a gallery of heroes" and "a tale of the fast-receding age of the English Church" (Goffart 253, 254). This motive together with the peaceful surroundings of Bede's monastery, distant from political affairs, is mirrored in the serene character of the *History.*

Of course, it is impossible to perceive the text of the *Ecclesiastical History* as Bede's original product: as stated in the preface, Bede made use both of written and oral records: "innumerable witnesses, who either knew or remembered these things" (*EH* Preface). As Goffart aptly says, it is not the originality, but especially Bede's "pedagogic creativity" and "deftness of selection, combination, and rearrangement" which must be praised as original (243). He goes on to say that it cannot have been by coincidence that Bede had completed his *Ecclesiastical History* just a few years before the bishopric of York was promoted to the archbishopric in 735 (Goffart 297). From this perspective the *Ecclesiastical History* may be perceived as an official document celebrating the glorious past of the future archdiocese.

Stephen's approach is different. He seems to have known and experienced the political situation his hero—bishop Wilfrid—had to cope with (Kirby 4). Therefore, Stephen's *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, however ranked among works of hagiography, unquestionably mirrors the political life of the late 7th and the beginning of the 8th centuries.

The Anglo-Saxon world for Stephen is always seen through the prism of bishop Wilfrid, for which there are several reasons. First, he knew bishop Wilfrid in person and accompanied him on numerous journeys. That is why it is mainly his personal memories which he used as sources for his work, together with oral testimonies of other monks, followers, and supporters.

Second, Stephen's focus is concentrated on the limited period spanning from Wilfrid's birth in 634 to the first anniversary of his death in 710 or 711. Stephen maps Wilfrid's life chronologically: the first

third of the *Life* refers to Wilfrid's early career up to his becoming bishop, the second two thirds have a character of apology, depicting Wilfrid's repeated deposition from his see, his appeals to the pope in Rome, and repeated unwillingness of Northumbrian kings to acknowledge the papal decrees granting Wilfrid his innocence and his lawful position of bishop. What follows is a period of exile filled with his missionary activity in Selsey, the Isle of Wight, and Frisia.

The answer to the question probably lies also in Bede's attitude to Wilfrid and to the text of the *Life of Bishop Wilfrid* itself. Goffart sees in Bede's omissions a reaction against Stephen's "aggressive step" which he made by setting his hero—bishop Wilfrid in as favourable light as possible, which provoked Bede to give his own treatment of history (Goffart 290). According to Kirby, bishop Wilfrid was not a proper model for imitation and did not fit into Bede's scheme; to a secluded scholar he may have seemed too much linked with the political background of that time - the bishop vigorously arguing with the archbishop and kings did not conform to Bede's idealized past (29). Undoubtedly, Bede had access to the information recorded in Stephen's *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, yet he decided not to include all of it. Another interpretation of his omission lies at the heart of Bede's concern as a preacher: his main interest was in describing God's effect on the English nation, and Northumbria in particular, by selecting certain personalities and events. As Campbell claims, "he omitted that of which he disapproved" (38). Another explanation is offered by Catherine Cubitt who suggests that Bede did not consider ordinary councils significant enough to influence his audience both in an encouraging or threatening way; therefore, only councils (Whitby or Hatfield) whose consequences for the English Church are crucial attract Bede's attention (Cubitt 20-21).

On the other hand, Goffart's statement that Bede omits nearly all Wilfrid's achievements in Northumbria, e.g. his monasteries and churches in Ripon and Hexham (315), seems to be unfounded and contradictory to the contents of the *Ecclesiastical History*. In my view, *EH* V, 19, which is referred to as Wilfrid's obituary, giving a flashback of Wilfrid's career, is based on the *Life of Bishop Wilfrid* intensively, and it records most of Wilfrid's successful activity in Northumbria as well as his missionary activity in Selsey, Isle of Wight, and Frisia. The very last part of the chapter includes the text of Wilfrid's verse epitaph. Surprisingly, it is not mentioned in Stephen's *Life of Wilfrid* at all. Had there been such an epitaph at the time of writing of the *Life*, Stephen would almost certainly have recorded it. Most probably, lines 5 to 8 refer to the most prominent of Wilfrid's achievements: the construction of the church in Ripon, its magnificent decoration with gold and purple, and endowing the church with the Gospels written and a special shrine made for them.

Here lie great Wilfrid's bones. In loving zeal / He built this church, and gave it Peter's name, / Who bears the keys by gift of Christ the King; / Clothed it in gold and purple, and set high / In gleaming ore the trophy of the Cross; / Golden the Gospels four he made for it, / Lodged in a shrine of gold, as is their due. (*EH* V, 19)[2]

Conclusion

The paper's aim was to ponder on the reasons for different records of two significant events of Anglo-Saxon history. The dominant reason seems to be the general purpose of both works in question: as Venerable Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* serves primarily didactic and moral purposes, it follows that Bede decided to omit details of events which would either bring forth harmful facts of the history or which he did not consider to be significant enough. Although Wilfrid may have appeared not to be a proper model for imitation by Bede's audience, Bede's attitude to his personality, however, does not seem to be as negative as Goffart or Kirby state; the tone which Bede uses when describing

bishop Wilfrid's career and achievements is always very polite and the fact that the verse epitaph, recapitulating Wilfrid's major contribution, was quoted by the Venerable Bede supports this opinion strongly. Unquestionably, combining these two accounts which reflect the events in a slightly different way creates a more colourful and plastic picture of the Anglo-Saxon world of the early 8th century and sheds more light on church and political affairs of the period.

Notes

(1) Austerfield near Doncaster (Colgrave 179).
(2) Cf. *LW*, XVII: "The altar also with its bases they dedicated to the Lord and vested it in purple woven with gold (...)"; "(...) he had ordered, for the good of his soul, the four gospels to be written out in letters of purest gold on purpled parchment and illuminated. He also ordered jewellers to construct for the books a case all made of purest gold and set with most precious gems (...)"

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Alice Tihelková

The Human Cost of Austerity in Britain since 2010

Abstract: *In 2010, David Cameron's Conservatives were elected into office on a promise to reduce the country's staggering deficit. Despite Cameron's claims that "we're all in this together", the austerity measures fell the heaviest on those at the bottom: low-income working families, single parents, the disabled, the unemployed. In addition to affecting the subjects of the cuts materially, austerity has also had a number of major psychological impacts. Identifying these as shame and humiliation, fear and anxiety and loneliness and isolation, the present paper demonstrates how they are related to specific government policies, such as the bedroom tax, benefit sanctions or the work capability assessment. Shown to be causing considerable distress and loss of social capital, the policies are presented as a reversal of the post-war Bevanite ideas about the role of the welfare state.*

Introduction

Until 2010, the word "austerity" had been inextricably linked in the minds of British people with the country's wartime and postwar years, evoking images of food rationing, the government's "make do and mend" campaign yet also the determination to rebuild the country so that it provided a fairer deal to the working population. In the first few years following the Second World War, the country faced tremendous economic odds. Painful restrictions on consumption were deemed necessary to boost exports, but bold plans were simultaneously underway to design a system of comprehensive welfare from the cradle to the grave. The ethos of the post-war effort could be summarized by the title of a book penned by social reformer and Labour minister Aneurin Bevan—*In Place of Fear*, expressing the ambition to provide the people with security unknown in the prewar era (see Bevan). As sociologist Danny Dorling observed, "By 1952, a consensus had formed in Britain that it was possible to create a society where all could live without fear of going hungry, being poorly housed, or of living with (or dying in) great pain ... that consensus was one which regarded the possibilities of the future with optimism" (Dorling 3).

After 2010, amidst the economic turmoil brought about by the 2008 credit crunch, austerity re-entered public discourse, but this time with starkly different connotations. Under the Conservative-led coalition cabinet headed by David Cameron, budget deficit reduction became a priority. However, in contrast with the post-war austerity programme, in which material restrictions were being offset by increases in welfare, the principal Cameronite recipe involved rolling back the state and slashing Britain's public expenditure (Mendoza 78). In 2010, the biggest public spending cuts since the Second World War were announced, including major cuts to social security and a plan to axe around 900,000 public sector jobs by 2018 while freezing the salaries of the remaining public sector staff. Despite the Prime Minister's claims that the planned austerity was not ideologically motivated, his 2013 speech at a City banquet revealed his intention of turning it into a permanent mission: "We are sticking to the task. But that doesn't just mean making difficult decisions on public spending. It also means something more profound. It means building a leaner, more efficient state. We need to do more with less. Not just now, but permanently" (Watt).

Notwithstanding Cameron's early reassurance that "we're all in this together", figures reveal that the main burden of the austerity measures implemented by his Cabinet fell heaviest on the poorest tenth of the population, who saw a 38 per cent decrease in their net income in 2010-15 (The True Cost

of Austerity and Inequality). Women, ethnic minorities and the disabled were particularly affected. Faced with a reduced budget, households were forced to cut back on essentials, especially food and heating. This led to a dramatic rise in the dependence on food banks, which saw their number increase from 56 in 2010 to 445 in 2015, with over a million emergency packages being handed out annually. Homelessness, too, saw a sharp increase of around 50 per cent due to a combination of a lack of affordable homes, skyrocketing rent prices and benefit cuts (Pickard-Whitehead). Another adverse effect was the rise in the reliance on debt and high-interested loans as individuals and families strove to make up for the financial shortfall. With banks unwilling to lend to those on lower incomes, the use of payday loans from companies with controversial lending practices became widespread. In addition, the government's welfare-to work initiative, based on the premise that work was the way out of poverty, delivered doubtful results as many of the newly created private-sector jobs proved to be part-time or zero-hour contract positions which left those forced into them worse off due to a combination of low pay and non-guaranteed number of hours worked.

The costs of austerity (for a more comprehensive treatment of the economics of austerity, see Atkinson) are far from merely material, however. Both the concrete economic measures adopted by the government and the general atmosphere of insecurity and apprehension have had a number of major psychological impacts on those facing the cuts, as testified by the soaring use of anti-depressants (up 38 per cent) and the rising suicide rate (highest since 1981) among economically vulnerable groups. Charities, mental health professionals and researchers have been pointing out what they consider as the profound effects of austerity on mental health over the past several years, warning that the cuts in welfare as well as local services were "driving people to the edge" (O' Hara).

The present article seeks to categorize and analyze the main psychological impacts of Britain's austerity programme and link them with specific government policies. Although determining clearly defined categories is no easy task due to many overlapping issues, a number of distinct impacts do stand out, namely: humiliation and shame, fear and anxiety and isolation and loneliness. Each will be dealt with separately below.

Impact No. 1: Humiliation and Shame
Humiliation and shame are strongly social emotions, connected to a sense of self-worth and compliance with societal or moral standards (McGrath, Griffin and Mundy). The implementation of the government's austerity measures has exposed those targeted to a variety of humiliating experiences arising from both the hardened official attitude to benefit claimants and the effects of increased poverty in daily life.

From the outset of their term of office, Cameron and his ministers sought to construct a narrative around welfare dependency that would justify the planned cuts. For that purpose, the historical stereotype of the deserving and undeserving poor was adopted, creating an artificial divide between "working families who work hard and want to do the right thing" and those believing "that it pays not to work. That you are owed something for nothing" (David Cameron's Speech to the Conservative Conference). The latter group came to be referred to as "scroungers", "skivers" or "shirkers", implying that their existence on benefits was a parasitic one, depriving the state of valuable resources. Although based on inaccuracy, as the largest volume of benefits paid out actually comprised in-work benefits such as the housing benefit, child benefit or tax credits, the government's disparaging language, promptly adopted by some of the right-leaning press, left benefit claimants feeling worthless and vulnerable to the anger of the rest of the society (Tihelková 125).

One of the most profound sources of humiliation and shame has been the inability to afford food as a result of the benefit cuts, especially for parents of small children. Despite the frequent media portrayal of benefit claimants as "feckless" and "irresponsible", the ability to budget and manage within limited resources represents a key component of self-esteem in low-income individuals (Mc Kenzie Ch 2). The necessity to visit a food bank, in particular, can have a devastating psychological impact as a sign of the ultimate failure of the provider role. Many, therefore, keep postponing the visit until the last minute to avoid the humiliation. The experience of Lorna, a school dinner lady and a mother of three from Tower Hamlets, is a case in point:

> I felt very ashamed having to go to a food bank for the first time. It was down to my son's school liaison officer coming round to my house, because I hadn't sent my son into school for a couple of days as I couldn't afford a packed lunch for him and I couldn't afford to pay for a school dinner. I couldn't do what a mum should do for them—look after them. I couldn't even feed them. That just makes you feel really low as a parent. (The True Cost of Austerity and Inequality)

The shame attached to food bank dependency has been further exacerbated by comments made by government ministers or newspaper columnists linking food bank use with inadequate budgeting skills of the poor or even with deliberate welfare abuse.

The government's welfare—to work programme, designed to force "workshy" claimants into work, has been another major cause of humiliation. The increasingly coercive treatment of claimants was brought into public attention by the release of *I, Daniel Blake*, an anti-austerity film by Ken Loach, depicting the struggle of a middle-aged benefit claimant to save his own economic existence as well as personal dignity. As shown not just by the activist filmmaker (who referred to the government's measures as "conscious cruelty") but also a by various social researchers, the jobseeking process became markedly more punitive after 2010 (Demlanyk). Numerous claimants have reported being exposed to unsympathetic or even hostile behavior by the Job Centre Plus staff when showing difficulty coping with the details of jobseeking due to insufficient computer or language skills or a failure to understand the complexities of the process. Having to apply for the jobseeker's allowance for a brief period of time, freelance journalist Harriet Williamson observed, "I felt like I'd fallen into the pages of Kafka's *The Trial*. The process of receiving a benefit seemed to be peppered with vague and arbitrary rules that no one explained, and my treatment at the job centre made me wonder if I'd committed an imaginary crime" (Williamson).

Many looking for work on the volatile employment market have faced humiliation when subjected to benefit sanctions, a new benefit-withdrawal policy imposed on claimants who have failed to meet the tightened rules of active jobseeking. Transgressions such as not arriving on time for a job centre interview can result in the removal of benefit payments for up to three years, leaving the claimant effectively destitute. Reported to have caused enormous distress, the policy has come under criticism for being unjustly employed when the sanctioned claimants were unable to arrive for a defensible reason, such as having been hospitalized, getting delayed due to an incident involving their children, not having enough money to travel to the interview or commute for work or being given confusing information by the Job Centre itself (Stone).

Impact No. 2: Fear and Anxiety

In a markedly unequal society with a growing precariat facing insecure job and housing prospects, fear and anxiety are widespread phenomena (Standing 20). However, in addition to this general

socio-economic context, Britain's recent surge in mental health issues can be directly linked to a number of concrete austerity policies or their cumulative effect.

Being safely housed is one of the most fundamental human needs. The successive post-war governments expended substantial effort and funds to build council homes to house those unable to buy their own property. Though significantly reduced in number through the privatization scheme initiated by the Thatcher administration, council homes continued to provide affordable housing to the society's most vulnerable. In 2013, however, council tenants with a "spare room" in their homes were subjected to a so-called under-occupancy charge, colloquially referred to as the bedroom tax (Mendoza 57). Unable to relocate to a smaller home due to the depleted council stock, around 600,000 tenants were faced with the sole option of staying put and receiving a cut of up to £20 to their weekly budget. In addition to the resulting material difficulties and increased dependence on food banks and debt, the bedroom tax exposed the penalized tenants to considerable stress, leaving them anxious about their future ability to cope. Disabled people using their extra room to accommodate their carers felt victimized by a government punishing them for their disability, some fearing the loss of personal independence following the measure. Homelessness became a widespread worry, especially among single-person households such as widowed people or empty nesters. Some of the testimonies recorded in a qualitative study on the Bedroom Tax published in the *Journal of Public Health* reveal the character of the impact (Moffat et al, 4):

> I felt some of the darkest days of my life took place the last few months (due to the bedroom tax). I mean it's just terrible … I mean people just don't realise. (#25 Male, 58)

> You think of food banks, you think of soup kitchens and someone living in a cardboard box in the street. That's how I felt. When I compared to where I was five years ago (working), I thought, How have I got in this position? (#39, male, 46)

> Mental health is definitely one (user problem) that's on the increase. The amount of people who come in, 'I've got depression, I can't cope. I've got anxiety'. It's just awful for them, awful. (#4 Service provider, independent sector)

Conducting her research into austerity in 2013, social affairs writer Mary O'Hara was provided access to a summary of logged calls to a suicide helpline. She was informed by the helpline staff that the character of the calls had changed significantly after the introduction of the austerity legislation. Claiming to be close to breaking point, callers were reporting a series of survival-based concerns, with the Bedroom Tax and the potential loss of a home being prominent among them. One of the callers, "David", made repeated calls to the helpline to express his terror at the looming Bedroom Tax payments as there was no way he could afford the extra cost from his incapacity benefit. He was in enormous distress, could not sleep and was skipping meals. Other callers produced similar stories, some of them reporting to have attempted suicide because of their unmanageable benefits situation (O'Hara Ch. 7).

Having achieved a mere fraction of its objective to free up council properties (only 6 per cent of the tenants targeted actually relocated to smaller homes) while causing considerable harm to vulnerable groups within society, the bedroom tax remains one of the most controversial austerity measures.

Another policy with a major mental health impact has involved the reduction of the number of

disability benefit claimants by means of the so-called work capability assessment, performed in a computer-based question-and-answer format by ATOS, a privately hired French company. Forcing thousands of disabled individuals into work was framed by the government as helping them achieve personal independence. In reality, however, the impersonal testing process exposed the subjects to severe stress. Many were found "fit for work" despite major health issues, including being unable to walk or go about the daily routine. Anti-austerity campaigner Richard Woodward, himself a depression sufferer, summarized his feelings about being summoned to the assessment as follows: "I now felt overwhelming feelings of dread, anxiety and fear, and found it impossible to envisage anything but a humiliating, degrading, and stressful ordeal" (Woodward). A number of deaths or suicides occurred as a direct result of the assessment process (Mendoza 67). The government's positive framing of the reassessments sharply contrasted with the angered response from members of the public as well as medical experts and a number of politicians, some of whom referred to the policy as "crude", "inhuman" and causing "considerable distress", with veteran Labour MP Dennis Skinner calling the private assessment company a "cruel, heartless monster" (Steadman).

What has made austerity particularly burdensome is that the multiple cuts and benefit caps introduced by the government have often impacted the same group of individuals. The cumulative effect of the cuts—the experience of several areas of life being under attack and of further cuts looming—have created an atmosphere of escalating anxiety amongst those affected. This pervasive dread of what is in store for them has been compounded by the feeling that the government is out to punish the poor. Speaking to writer Mary O'Hara, voluntary sector manager Elwyn James from Rhondda, Wales, observed:

> A lot of the people we work with feel smashed to pieces by the system. They feel the system is not out there to help them; it's out there to punish them. They're trying to make decent lives out of very little. I don't think people are necessarily aware of the magnitude, the extent of the impact. If you grind people down over and over—for generations, really—they become incredibly disempowered. (O' Hara Ch. 2)

According to a study by the expert group *Psychologists Against Austerity*, a feeling of agency (the capacity to make choices and affect one's destiny) is an important mental health factor. A general sense of mastery, together with good social resources, protects vulnerable people, such as the disabled, from developing depression and other psychological problems (McGrath, Griffin and Mundy). On the other hand, public services that are punitive or paternalistic have a disempowering effect that reduces agency. As seen above, the cumulative effects of the cuts, together with the perceived hostile attitude of the welfare authorities, have contributed significantly to the feeling of disempowerment and thus a loss of agency among those affected, with the increased incidence of mental health issues being an inevitable outcome.

Impact No. 3: Isolation and Loneliness
Feeling connected to others is vital for establishing a meaningful identity and finding one's place in the world. Humans with a healthy sense of community show better emotional well-being and are more resistant to mental health problems, regardless of social class. In her book *Getting By. Class and Culture in Austerity in Britain*, anthropologist Lisa McKenzie has demonstrated that even a community considered as very deprived (St. Ann's in Nottingham) can demonstrate high levels of social cohesion and complex networks of mutual assistance and support (McKenzie Ch.2).

For certain groups (the disabled, the elderly or mothers of small children), however, the ability to engage in community life depends on the availability of certain care or support services provided by the local government. Yet it was local authority budgets that were singled out for a massive dose of cuts under Cameron's administration, shrinking by around 30 per cent since 2010. The financial squeeze has led to the rationing of care and services, with assistance frequently withdrawn from people with the so-called moderate level of needs. The impacts on their quality of life have been profound.

The disabled, in particular, have been hard hit, as revealed by *The Other Care Crisis,* a joint report by a number of Britain's leading charities. Examining the direct impact of the cuts, the report uncovers "shocking new evidence of disabled people failing to be supported to wash, dress, leave the house and communicate with those around them. It shows them withdrawing from society" (Brawn et al. 4). The report also demonstrates that 47 per cent of the disabled respondents were unable to take part in community life after the withdrawal of support services and 34 per cent of them were unable to work or take part in volunteering or training activities. Feeling that they could no longer make a meaningful contribution to society, instead becoming more dependent of family members and putting extra strain on them, 53 per cent reported suffering from mental health issues as a result.

In addition to the disabled, the elderly have also witnessed a decrease in their quality of life as a result of cuts to services facilitating their participation in community life. One of the services whose loss has caused widespread concerns is that of community wardens, a local outreach service with the task of checking on older people and escorting them to various gatherings and events. The wardens operate as a guarantee against social isolation, enabling the older residents to feel part of their community. A respondent speaking to Mary O'Hara explained, "Previously for anyone who was elderly or disabled there were one or two wardens that were assigned to ring us and see if we were okay. That was a friendly word but it's all being cut back" (O´Hara 227). Scaling back similar services is thus going to further isolate many of Britain's elderly to the point where they may completely lose touch with the outside world.

Younger people, however, have been affected by the local authority cuts as well. One of the major blows to frontline local services has been the decimation of Sure Start, an early intervention programme founded in 1998 to provide daycare and parenting support. Despite being an enormously popular service, Sure Start has been left unprotected from austerity measures, with two thirds (about 2,300) centres having their budget reduced and over 400 closing down as a result. Low-income mothers of young children are a group particularly vulnerable to social isolation, which is why supportive networks, such as those provided by children's centres, are vital for their emotional well-being, with direct impact on their children's development. However, with the closure of over 400 Sure Start centres, the vital source of advice, support and socialization has been removed from young mothers, increasing the likelihood of loneliness and the resulting depression (O´Hara 226). Women in general have been a group particularly affected by the local government spending cuts as their reliance on various community services, due to their role as primary carers, tends to be much higher than men's.

Conclusion

The government's effort to save the banking sector and rebalance Britain's economy following the 2008 crisis have come at the expense of the society's most vulnerable. Groups already suffering from the combination of employment precarity, low wages and the rising cost of living have been further affected by a series of austerity measures putting their very economic survival at risk. In addition to material impacts, including food and fuel poverty and a risk of homelessness, groups such as the

disabled, the elderly or low-income carers have suffered a series of psychological impacts resulting from the economic insecurity and the isolating effect of the cuts. Policies such as the bedroom tax, benefit sanctions or demolition of local services have brought about a significant loss of social capital and various mental health issues among those affected. The planned long-term continuation of austerity can be expected to further deepen their social exclusion. This political and economic course can be regarded as a fundamental reversal of the post-war efforts to deliver the unprivileged sections of society from the fear-based existence caused by economic instability and material deprivation.

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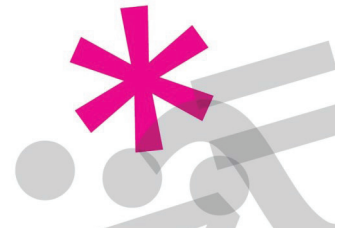
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The manuscripts should be submitted in English in the range of 3000 - 6000 words, with references formatted according to the MLA 8th edition, see www.mla.org. Please note that submissions which do not conform to the MLA style with in-text citations will not be considered for publication. Authors are solely responsible for the correct use of English language. Each submission should be preceded by a 200-word abstract outlining the article and also short bibliographical information about the author.

For the Vol. 5 Nr. 1 to be issued in October 2017 please send the contributions in electronic form to Jan Suk, the volume's editor. Commencing from 2018 the journal will publish one monothematic issue per year. For the Vol. 5 Nr. 2 issued in December 2018, send your contributions to Michaela Marková. The special issue's theme is "Contemporary Children's Literature in an Uncertain World." Submitted articles should resonate with the following description of the project:

"Given the complexities of the socio-political and cultural situation of contemporary society, the special issue will discuss the role contemporary children's/YA literature (fiction, poetry, life-writing etc.) plays in children becoming empathic global citizens. It will focus on works by writers who implement the need for kindness in an uncertain world. In view of our current historical moment of vast movements of people around the globe, attention will be given to literary representations of the migrant and refugee experience, (particularly in a British context). As Karen Sands-O'Connor has recently stated, "(h)ow Britain saw itself and its citizens was and is reflected in the books published about Black people for children" (2017, 2), an assessment that can be made extensive to writing about Asian, immigrant, and refugee people. (Taking the lead from Sands-O'Connor, contributors are asked to consider how these narratives address the social and cultural complexities of contemporary British society in the 21st century and how they may impact their young reading audience.) The articles will, ideally, consider titles that teach the importance of empathy, openness and sharing or those that showcase the power of unexpected friendships and allegiances. Dedicated to furthering original research in children's literature, the special issue will also address representational difficulties inherent in the portrayal of 'othering'/monsterisation and its consequences, and how these difficulties affect the empathetic imagination fostered through a metadiscursive act of reading."

Emails to editors of both the forthcoming issues in 2018 are Michaela.Markova@uhk.cz and Jan. Suk@uhk.cz. The deadline for Vol. 5 Nr. 1 is 1st May 2018, for Vol. 5 Nr. 2 the deadline 1st September 2018.

For more information about the periodical please contact Jan.Suk@uhk.cz

For more information visit the journal's webpages: http://pdf.uhk.cz/hkjas/

ETHICAL STATEMENT

Publication Ethics

The publication of an article in a peer-reviewed journal *Hradec Králové Journal of Anglophone Studies* is an essential contribution in the development of a coherent and respected network of knowledge in the field of English Studies. It reflects the quality of the work of the authors and the institutions that support them. Peer-reviewed articles support and embody the scientific method. The Department of English Language and Literature, Faculty of Education, University of Hradec Králové as the publisher of the journal *Hradec Králové Journal of Anglophone Studies* takes its duties of guardianship over all stages of publishing extremely seriously and we recognize our ethical and other responsibilities. We are committed to ensuring that advertising, reprint or other commercial revenue has no impact or influence on editorial decisions. Therefore, any detected cases of misconduct, whether on the part of authors, reviewers or editors, will be vigorously pursued.

For responsibilities of authors and the Editorial Board, consult the journal webpage: http://pdf.uhk.cz/hkjas/publication_ethics.php

John Cage