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## INTRODUCTION

The volume contains a selection of articles dealing with a variety of topics focused around literary and cultural studies. Grażyna Branny takes the reader to *The (Un) Known World* of Edward P. Jones. The author concludes after Henry Louis Gates that orality of black cultures is responsible for the lack of Black Aesthetics. Joanna Dybiec-Gajer devoted her article to Mark Twain's Polish translations. She *outlines* "the translation history, publication policy and reception of Twain and his *oeuvre* in the Polish context." Agnieszka Gicala focuses on the historical framework of *The Cloud of Unknowing* by "following the tradition of negation in Christian mysticism." Paweł Kaptur deals with the Restoration period by analyzing two poems of Dryden *Astrea Redux* and *To His Sacred Majesty*. Wojciech Majka in his article "looks at the phenomenon of history from a typically phenomenological perspective." Monika Mazurek touches the problem of reflecting Elizabethan times in Victorian historical novels. Przemysław Michalski makes an attempt at showing that William Shakespeare was familiar with poems of Philip Larkin. Marku Salmela suggests some possible functions of the grotesque in naturalistic fiction by examining Stephen Crane's novella "The Monster". Maria Luisa Venegas Lagüéns concentrates on Ella Hepworth Dixon – a new woman writer of the *fin-de-siècle* who had to give up her dream of becoming an artist and conform to the demands of society. Artur Piskorz outlines the filmic representations of the terrorist attacks in New York, Madrid and London. Paweł Hamera explains "how the Irish State Trials and the events leading to them were depicted in *Punch* and *The Illustrated London News*." Andrzej K. Kuropatnicki writes about ale and beer, the staple drinks in medieval and early modern England. Finally, Mariusz Misztal presents and discusses archival sources connected with Churchill's important visit to Cyprus in 1907.

Mariusz Misztal  
Andrzej K. Kuropatnicki

# Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis

Studia Anglica III (2013)

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## SOUTHERN HARLEQUINADE AND 'THE SIGNIFYING MONKEY': *THE (UN-) KNOWN WORLD OF EDWARD P. JONES*

### Summary

From the white man's perspective, *The Known World*, written by an African American author, does not only introduce readers to the little known world of free black slaveholding in the ante-bellum South but also to an even less known sphere of black representation of human experience, which calls for specific Black Aesthetics, in accordance with the proposition made by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. in *Figures in Black: Words, Signs and the "Racial Self."* As Gates indicates, it is the primary orality of black cultures – whether African or African American – that is both responsible for this lack of Black Aesthetics and lay at the foundation of not recognizing blacks as humans. Jones's narrative method demonstrates that Black Aesthetics is not only necessary but also feasible, its very foundations having lain dormant at the core of what prevented this theory from surfacing in the first place – the said orality itself.

Pronounced as brimming “with beauty and compassion and humor and love – with life” by the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, as echoing both Toni Morrison and William Faulkner by the *Boston Globe*, and as “a masterpiece that deserves a place in the American literary canon” by the *Time*, Edward P. Jones's first novel *The Known World* (2003) won the 2004 Pulitzer Prize, following the author's debut collection of short stories, the recipient of the National Book Award, *Lost in the City* (1992). The most frequently emphasized merit of the book, apart from its “epic scope” (*New York Times Book Review*), “biblical rhythms” (*Denver Post*), “superior storytelling” (*Rocky Mountains News*), “imaginative leaps” (*Seattle Times*) and “pitch perfect” dialogue (*Washington Times*), is its “tremendous moral intricacy” (*The New Yorker*) as “a story about profound moral confusion” (*Denver Post*). As such, it is, Faulkner-like, driven by the oxymoronic tensions between irony and compassion, humor and pain, understatement and revelation.

Touching upon the little known issue of a free slave-owning Negro in the ante-bellum South, the African-American author of this ironically titled novel presents the schizophrenic, almost surreal, world of Henry Townsend – a pure reflection of Southern reality – where the protagonist, bought out of slavery by his own self-freed parents, himself turns into a slave-owner. Meanwhile, paradoxically,

his father, Augustus, a recognized furniture artisan, is deceitfully deprived of his dearly bought freedom by an off-hand alliance of law and crime – a slave patroler, who, literally, swallows his 'freedom papers,' and a human trader, while his mother, Mildred, an Underground Railroad volunteer, dies in defense of her son's runaway slave-overseer, Moses.

The narrative structure of *The Known World* is a curious blend of modernity and orthodoxy – flashbacks and omniscient flash-forwards. The former take us back to Henry Townsend's enslaved childhood on the plantation of his owner and future patron, William Robbins, who cares for him almost as much as he does for his two out-of-wedlock mulatto children (one of whom, incidentally, marries Henry's widowed wife). The latter offer a glimpse into the future fates of Henry's slaves as free people in the North, thus suggesting the precariousness of "the known world" of the South.

The story of Henry Townsend begins with his premature death in the prime of his youth and economic prosperity built by him on slave work on his own plantation. As we can surmise from the ending of the book, his sudden departure from this world after a brief illness, and as such hardly a sufficient reason for death, appears to be quite symbolic, precluding the impending collapse of the whole economic order of the South based on human ownership. Hence, upon Henry's death, six out of his thirty-three slaves disappear mysteriously while his wife's, Caldonia's, twin brother, Calvin, at last follows his better impulses by dismantling the family plantation and settling to do menial work in Washington D.C. Meanwhile, Henry's escaped slaves establish themselves successfully in the North: one of them, the apparently crazy Alice, as a natural self-made artist, in whose model of Henry's plantation on display in an exhibition hall in the country's capital a few years later, the owner "stands by his grave, but that grave is covered with flowers as though he still inhabits it",<sup>1</sup> while "the slave cemetery is just plain ground, no grass and nothing else. It is empty, even of the tiniest infants, who rest alive and well in their mothers' arms."<sup>2</sup>

Starting as a property of his master, to whom he once, as a boy, reports on his father beating him up for failing to show up at his weekly meetings with his already free parents on the road, Henry becomes a skilled shoemaker under the tutelage of his protective owner until his parents' last installment to the latter finally buys his full freedom. Soon afterwards, with the help of the same William Robbins, he acquires land to build a house on, and, first, a slave for an overseer – whom he treats as equal until his former master instructs him to the contrary – and, then, house servants and field hands for the overseer to supervise. However proud of his achievements otherwise, Henry withholds the news of his first human purchases from his parents. When finally informed on the matter, they never again sleep under his roof raised with slave labor, preferring to stay in a negro cabin instead. Not only do they condemn their son for turning his own kind into property, but they

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<sup>1</sup> E. P. Jones, *The Known World* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2003), p. 386.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 385.

also distrust his loyalty in keeping to himself (which he this time does, though) the incident in his parents' house when his father thrashes him severely to make him aware of how a slave feels when flogged, to which Henry responds by breaking one of his father's beautifully decorated canes in demonstration of "how a master feels."<sup>3</sup> Significantly, this instrument of the fatherly correction, intricately carved in a piece of wood, one of many that Augustus sold and was famous for far and wide, presents a train of squirrels in pursuit of the roundest acorn, in illustration of the white – and not only, as it appears – man's greed.

As indicated by Ira Berlin in *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (1974), economic success in the South was impossible without slave ownership, "and free Negroes were no more exempt from this than whites." On the other hand, as Berlin continues, while most of them "were truly *benevolent despots*, owning *only* their families and friends *to prevent their enslavement* or forcible deportation, a small minority of wealthy freemen exploited slaves for commercial purposes."<sup>4</sup> Quite apart from the ironic ring to the author's words, which seem to deliberately camouflage what Jones aims at revealing in his novel, i.e. moral schizophrenia behind the institution of slavery, it is debatable to which of the two categories of slave owners Henry indeed belonged. Aspiring to benevolence, he nevertheless owned neither his kith and kin for the alleged protection, nor was he indeed quite so benevolent, having his runaway slaves, more or less routinely, punished with mutilation of the ear or cutting of the Achilles tendon to prevent recourse of the crime of theft of his live property by that very same property.

What seems in fact to be Henry's problem appears to be associated with what Berlin refers to as "the Southern ideal," or "the planter ideology," with which, befriended by his former master, he begins to identify to the point of deluding himself, quite uncritically, as to indeed himself being "a patriarchal master in the best tradition,"<sup>5</sup> quite apart from his skin color, often darker than that of his slaves. For, as Berlin stresses, the mixed-blood freemen's "close connections with whites enabled them partially to overcome the burdens of race."<sup>6</sup> Paradoxically, though, unlike his lighter-skinned brother-in-law, Calvin, who finds it repulsive to uphold the family "legacy" of slavery, which his mother insists on him and his sister doing, Henry has no second thoughts as to the right or wrong of owning his own kind, thus casting himself, like so many other members of his race and status did, into the grotesque figure of what might be called a Southern Harlequin.

This 17<sup>th</sup> century character, in a half-black and half-white mask with distinctly "negroid" features, possibly represents an African slave set free by a wizard and

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> I. Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: The New Press, 1974), p. 273 (emphasis mine).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 274.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 276.

thus transformed into Harlequin.<sup>7</sup> However, American Minstrelsy transported the noble black-and-white mask of Harlequin into two separate ignoble characters – the black figure of Tambo and the white one of Bones, thus implying a shift from archetype to stereotype<sup>8</sup> – from the archetype of black (mulatto)-and-free because human, to the racist stereotypes of EITHER white-and-free, OR black-and-slave. Since Henry Townsend, as neither white nor slave, does not fit into either of the mutually exclusive categories, nor does he answer to the description of an Harlequin as a noble figure that the latter is,<sup>9</sup> he emerges as a grotesque mutation of one – a Southern Harlequin, for he does not know who he is – white or black – and not in the least because he is a mulatto but because he chooses a schizophrenic social status, which consciously suppresses this kind of awareness. Thus, as Ira Berlin indicates, “elite free Negroes were suspended uncomfortably between slave and free, black and white,” quite apart from their “physical attributes,” with their affluence and lifestyle akin to that of whites rather than their own race, “yet [...] barred from full acceptance in white society and often viewed with suspicion by blacks.”<sup>10</sup>

With Henry Townsend, this kind of suspension does not stop at the racial or even social level but goes beyond, into the spheres of ideology and morality, for he does not only slavishly obey his former master and imitate his methods of exercising power over his slaves but also sees nothing wrong about siding with the white planter against his own race. His attitude could then be defined as a form of “intellectual indenture” to the white planter class,<sup>11</sup> the phenomenon which Jean Price-Mars also terms *bovarysme collectif*,<sup>12</sup> and Jules De Gautier elaborates on into a state of being “fated to obey the suggestion of an external milieu, for lack of auto-suggestion from within”,<sup>13</sup> which is exactly what Henry does by accepting the ideology of the oppressor for lack of his own integrity.

As such, he can be said to claim visibility for himself, apparently denied to blacks by the whites, but, as Gates argues,

to feel the necessity to make such a claim, is already to reveal too much about perceived absence and desire. It is to take the terms of one's assertion from a discourse whose universe has been determined by an Other. Even the terms of one's so-called spontaneous desire have been presupposed by the other.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> H. L. Gates, Jr., *Figures in Black: Words, Signs and the "Racial" Self* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 51–53.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Berlin, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

<sup>11</sup> Gates, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in Gates, *op. cit.*, p. 54, n. 32.

<sup>14</sup> Gates, *op. cit.*, pp. 53–54.

Hence Gates questions here the popular black pretence to presence in literature and life (cf. Toni Morrison's essay *Playing in the Dark*) as in fact as colonizing as what it serves to counteract because confirming the basically quite irrational white association of blackness with invisibility. By claiming visibility then, Henry Townsend adopts the ideology of the racial Other and paradoxically confirms his own 'absence' and thus his total dependency on the white presence for both his own import and existence. And indeed, it is to William Robbins that he owes practically everything, including his freedom – even though bought for him by his parents – as well as his profession, land, slaves, status, and, last but not least, planter ideology, with its bestial methods of slave discipline.

Suspended between his black identity and white ideology, Henry, quite paradoxically, fails to see what both his black overseer, Moses, bitterly comments on upon becoming his slave, and a white slave-owning widow, Clara Martin, fears, i.e. the end of the known world of the South. When he changed hands as property, first on Mr. Robbins's and then Henry Townsend's plantation,

It took Moses more than two weeks to come to understand that someone wasn't fiddling with him and that indeed a black man, two shades darker than himself, owned him and any shadow he made. [...] it was already a strange world that made him a slave to a white man, but God had indeed set it twirling and twisting [...] when he put black people to owning their own kind. Was God even up there attending to business anymore?<sup>15</sup>

Hence, Moses is unable to comprehend what Henry takes for granted, and perceives it as harlequinade turned into grotesque minstrelsy, which defies the stereotype, where 'dark-skinned' now means 'free' while light skin spells slavery. Similarly, the known world is turning upside down for Clara Martin, afraid of being poisoned, like her neighbor was, by her slave-cook, when she complains to her cousin, sheriff Skiffington's wife, Winnifred, that "[...] the world is changing from once upon a time. [...] Time has no meaning anymore, [...] Loyalty either."<sup>16</sup> Paradoxically, Henry, whose peculiar sensibilities and grand economic aspirations make him miss all of that, will be the first to depart into a different kind of 'unknown world' before 'the known' one indeed disappears forever.

The eponymous 'known world,' however, appears in the book in a slightly different, although related, context – that of a 16<sup>th</sup>-century map of the world, described as such in the legend, and hung on the wall of the county jail by sheriff Skiffington, where the name 'America' features only in reference to South America – about the right size – with North America mercilessly dwarfed and shorn of Florida. Thus the concept of 'the known world' as defined by the above image appears to be as ironic as it is hopeful under the circumstances, for 'the known world' is known only in so far as those knowing it are still alive, and changes with time, so 'time' *has* meaning after all – contrary to what Clara Martin claims in her own best interests – while

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<sup>15</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–9.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152.

'change' is both desirable and inevitable because brought about by progress, although for people like Henry and Clara it spells the end of the only world they know, or want to know for that matter. As pertinently suggested by Shane Graham, "[t]he trope[s] of maps and map-making [...] central to Jones's novel. [...] suggest[s] that the geographies of power in the U.S. are still being explored and surveyed, and hints at the complexities of such a project."<sup>17</sup>

However, with the ambiguous character of Alice Night, the allegedly mad slave gone crazy after being kicked by a mule on a plantation which had no trace of the animal, "mapping takes on a more literal importance",<sup>18</sup> for, allowed by the patrolers to roam the forests at night, Alice "mapped her way again and again through the night"<sup>19</sup> into freedom. It is "[t]his knowledge of the world beyond her master's property"<sup>20</sup> that enables her to discover that 'the known world' is not necessarily the only one for her to know, and that it is certainly not the happiest one. When she reproduces it in her "part tapestry, part painting, and part clay structure"<sup>21</sup> hanging on a hotel wall where Calvin stays in Washington D.C., it looks as irrelevant and obsolete to the viewers from the North as the 16<sup>th</sup>-century map of 'the known world' in Skiffington's office – without either the USA or the South in it – must have looked to the ante-bellum Southerners. Alice's new and hitherto 'un-known world' is likewise the world of her artistic talent, as is also the one discovered by Moses's wife, who takes up a job in the city, and by their son, Jamie, who becomes "as fine a young man as any father or mother could want"<sup>22</sup> – both guided into this unknown world of freedom by the world-wise Alice.

Edward P. Jones's proposition of "the known world" is aptly echoed in Carolyn V. Berman's article on "*The Known World* in World Literature," the issue made relevant by Alice's ambiguous presence in Jones's book as an African trickster figure:

Today, [...], "world literature" often signifies the literature of the "unknown world." [...] For Glissant and a number of contemporary writers, the relatively unknown works now dubbed "world literature" bear more widely and immediately on the state of the whole world than their better-known counterparts. As Milan Kundera has written, small countries have become "important centers for world culture" in recent decades due to their "new and surprising vision of the world" ("Czech Wager"; qtd. in Dash 146–147). [...] Rather than asking what we mean by the "world" in world literature, I ask what theories and works of world literature mean by "the world." In particular,

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<sup>17</sup> S. Graham, "The Known World". *Texas Review*, 25 (2004), p. 157.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

<sup>20</sup> Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

<sup>21</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 386.

how do they connect a known world to the unknown totality lying beyond it, which we might call “the world”?<sup>23</sup>

Just as what lies beyond ‘the known world’ in Jones’s book is freedom from slavery, it is a need for a similar kind of freedom from being enslaved by the limited vision of the known world of the Western tradition and literary theory that, as Berman states, should prompt us to search beyond, into the uncharted territory of the African tradition to create a literary theory relevant for the discussion of African American texts, like that of *The Known World* by Edward P. Jones.

The need for such a theory as well as a semblance of one is put forward by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. in his very illuminating study of the relationship between sign and race, *Figures in Black: Words, Signs and the “Racial” Self*:

The challenge of theorists generally is to realize that what we have for too long called “the tradition” is merely one tradition of several and that we have much to learn from the systematic exploration of new canons. [...] It is here that the hegemony of the Western tradition at last can be seen to be the arbitrary and ideological structure that it is.<sup>24</sup>

While thus commenting on the arbitrary character of the ideological supremacy of the white literary tradition, Gates likewise points out to the paradox of the ‘natural’ origins in African-American oral culture and slavery, of much of the contemporary theory of signification,<sup>25</sup> for, as the traditional African-American saying goes: “Signification is the Nigger’s occupation.”<sup>26</sup> Drawing an analogy between Western rhetoric and the rhetoric of African-American signifying, Gates remarks:

If Vico and Burke or Nietzsche, de Man, and Bloom, are correct in identifying four and six master tropes, then we might think of these as the master’s tropes and of signifying as the slave’s trope, the trope of tropes, as Bloom characterizes metalepsis, “a trope-reversing trope, a figure of a figure.” Signifying is a trope in which are subsumed several other rhetorical tropes, including metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony (the master tropes), and also hyperbole and litotes, and metalepsis [...], aporia, chiasmus, and catechesis, all of which are used in the ritual of signifying. [...] Indeed, the black tradition itself has its own subdivisions of signifying, which we could readily identify with the typology of figures received from classical and medieval rhetoric, [...] [such as] marking, loud-talking, testifying, calling out (of one’s name), sounding, rapping, playing the dozens, and so on. [...], black mythology’s archetypal signifier, [being] the Signifying Monkey. [...] These trickster figures [...] are primarily mediators: [...], and mediations are tricks.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> C. V. Berman, “‘The Known World’ in World Literature: Bakhtin, Glissant and Edward P. Jones”. *A Forum on Fiction*, 42 (2009), p. 231.

<sup>24</sup> Gates, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 235.

<sup>26</sup> Quoted in R. D. Abrahams, *Deep Down in the Jungle: Negro Narrative Folklore from the Streets of Philadelphia* (Chicago: Aldine, 1970), p. 53.

<sup>27</sup> Gates, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–237.

Hence, the intriguing figure of the apparently crazy Alice from Jones's novel, who appears at once to be everywhere and nowhere, spying on Moses when he masturbates in the forest, and limping through the crossroads with ever a new song on her lips, each with a mysterious because telling (signifying) message to convey, is akin to a messenger of the gods in the Yoruba mythology of Nigeria, known as *Esu*, or the "Signifying Monkey," and to its "New World figurations" of Brazil, Cuba, Haiti, United States.<sup>28</sup> Alice places herself in that tradition by her Signifier's (Signifying Monkey's) "ability to talk with great innuendos, to carp, cajole, needle, and lie."<sup>29</sup> Her ominous song on the day of Henry's death and the days to come: "Master dead master dead master be dead"<sup>30</sup> is more than just informative, which 'signifying' normally is not<sup>31</sup> – it damns, or prophesizes, or conveys a wish (if not wishful thinking) in anticipation of the impending end of 'the known world' of slavery, thus covering such tropes of black signification as: loud-talking, calling out (master's name), testifying (master's demise), rapping (rhythmic repetition) and the dozens (cursing master). While hanging on the crossroads like their guardian *Esu*, who "interprets the will of god to people, [...] [and] carries the desires of people to the gods,"<sup>32</sup> Alice safely divides her loyalties between those who would use her (master, patrollers) and those whom she might serve (runaway slaves).

In her limp, like *Esu*, whose "legs are of different lengths: one [...] anchored in the realm of the gods, and the other [...] in the human world,"<sup>33</sup> Alice spans both worlds, the sacred and the profane, when she sings: "Baby dead baby dead baby dead," and "Christmas oranges Christmas oranges Christmas oranges in the morning."<sup>34</sup> She thus parodies a Christmas carol, making an ironic association between the spiritual feast of Christmas tide and the four oranges that Caldonia and Henry give their slaves on this occasion, as well as, ironically, equates God's Nativity with the death of a slave baby, as if to imply that there is no room even for little Jesus in the South, where people own their kind, and all hope there is reduced to four oranges for Christmas. Alice's function as a trickster is also to span the then known world of slavery and the then yet unknown, either to herself or to her fellow slaves, world of freedom, as well as her personal worlds of alleged madness, on the one hand, and art, on the other. What seems to act as a liberating factor, in both the literal and figurative sense, for both Alice and those she leads into freedom, is her Signifier's trickery, through which she "wreaks havoc upon the Signified"<sup>35</sup> – her

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 237.

<sup>29</sup> Abrahams, qtd. in Gates, *op. cit.*, pp. 238–239.

<sup>30</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>31</sup> Gates, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 237.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*.

<sup>34</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

<sup>35</sup> Gates, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

former master who hates mules, Henry's overseer: Moses, and the slave patrollers – by pretending to be mad. As Gates explains, referring to the writings of Mitchell-Kernan and Zora Neal Hurston for evidence, “signifying is a sexless rhetorical game” – albeit formerly used mostly in the masculine version – for the first time employed “as a vehicle of liberation for an oppressed woman, and as a rhetorical strategy in the narration of fiction” by Hurston herself in *Their Eyes Were Watching God*. In Jones's book, each of those two functions appropriately rests with a different trickster – the first one with Alice, while the second one with the author/narrator, although Carolyn V. Berman seems to think that Alice, the trickster, in fact represents the author, “both in her knowledge” and “her capacity for invention.”<sup>36</sup>

That Alice is indeed a trickster figure there seems, by now, to be hardly any doubt, but that she is/was in fact “oppressed” seems, at first sight, to be an exaggeration, considering the way she manages to fool the master and the overseer on the Townsend plantation as to her feeble mind, heavily aided in that trick by the author's signifying, or his use of “a language of implication.”<sup>37</sup> However, the author's trickery succeeds in revealing, at least to the reader, almost as much as it attempts to withhold from the other party always accompanying the Signifying Monkey in this African trope – the Lion, who “interprets or reads literally and suffers the consequences of his folly, which is a reversal of his status as King of the Jungle,” in this case, the master of the plantation.<sup>38</sup> The way the author/narrator recounts the circumstances of the alleged kick by a mule as well as the song about a dead master that Alice keeps chanting, suggest a serious mental shake-up that she must have been subjected to on her previous plantation, and not in the least because of the mule, apparently not to be found within miles of the plantation for the planter's morbid fear of the animals, the fact which no one on Henry's plantation could verify because of the distance between the two places.

The omniscient narrator's odd choice of details related to the alleged accident as well as the way they are grouped together, leave the reader flabbergasted as to the truth of what really happened, for the information that the mule was “one-eyed [...] but no more ornery for being one-eyed than any other mule” and that “moments after the kick, she slapped the mule and called it a dirty name,” is followed by the information that she was thereby sold to Henry by the planter “who had no heirs and who was afraid of mules,”<sup>39</sup> as if there was an obvious logical connection between those facts. Her greatest transgression appears to have been “the dirty name that made everyone know she had gone down the crazy road because before the kick Alice had been known as a sweet girl of sweet words.”<sup>40</sup> Just as no one questioned the circumstances of the accident although they heard it only

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<sup>36</sup> Berman, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

<sup>37</sup> Gates, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>39</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

either from her or from her former owner, so also no one seemed surprised that she "could describe everything about the Sunday the mule kicked her in the head"<sup>41</sup> although she had been apparently out of her mind ever since, but everybody saw her raise "the front of her frock for the moon and all to see" while singing "with all her might":

I met a dead man laying in Massa lane  
 Ask that dead man what his name  
 He raised the bony head and took off his hat  
 He told me this, he told me that.<sup>42</sup>

According to Gates, who refers to Kochman's definition of signifying, it

depends on the signifier *repeating* what someone else has said about a third person, in order to *reverse* the status of a relationship heretofore harmonious; signifying can also be employed to *reverse* or *undermine* pretense or even one's opinion about one's own status. This use of repetition and reversal (chiasmus) constitutes an implicit parody of a subject's own complicity in illusion.<sup>43</sup>

In other words, the purpose of Jones dispassionately repeating several times throughout the book, with minor variations, of the same piece of gossip about Alice being a victim of a mule who kicked all reason out of her, is to achieve an exactly opposite effect – to subvert it in order to parody the characters'/readers' naivety and willingness to uphold an illusion. In fact, it may have been mulattoes that Alice's first childless owner lived in dread of rather than mules, considering 19<sup>th</sup> century beliefs about the affinity between both mixed breeds. So if she was sold and then left alone, unharmed, to her own devices, it may have been that she had lost her child by the owner rather than simply losing her mind (unless it was both), and either because he wished it so or to his own angry kick, making him 'one-eyed' in retaliation (just as masters made their runaway slaves one-eared) rather than merely 'call him names,' or threatening to murder him, or even attempting to do so (as the words of her song might suggest), and then feigning madness to save her life. And, maybe the reason why she was let go rather than hanged was because he was too greedy to lose his property just like that, or because – in the more optimistic but much less likely version – he wanted to save his reputation, or conscience, or because he 'loved' her as Mr. Robbins did Philomena, the mother of his two mulatto children, although not enough to marry or free her. Whatever the truth, the author's signifying method of narration is there to say that there was not a grain of truth in the story that had no witnesses and could not be verified, as well as to jeer at anybody, including the narrator, who wishes to uphold an illusion to the contrary.

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<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>43</sup> Gates, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

Jones's narrative method in his novel is as much an instance of signification as of an oxymoronic reversal of the traditional slave narrative, or rather the latter as resulting from the employment of the former. This corresponds with Gates's explanation of the essence of the African American discourse as ensuing from the reversal of the white racist, "simianlike" perception of an African American as merely a white man's negative, in the figure of the Signifying Monkey, "who dwells at the margins of discourse, ever punning, ever troping, ever embodying the ambiguities of language – [...] our trope for repetition and revision [...]."<sup>44</sup> In a similar way, Jones's is not a mere reversal of the slave narrative, because of its signifying aspect, which takes it beyond, into the realm of revision. Pretending to give as objective as possible, because often semi-historical, account of people and events, which he supports with fictional historical data, chronicles, documents and statistics, Jones, in fact, manages to evoke just the opposite impression, deliberately as if, making his account at times sound inconsistent, contradictory and thus unconvincing, but in this way pointing to the essential problem under consideration in his novel – one of an utter moral confusion and double standards of the Southern harlequinade, given to illusory thinking, and presented here through the ambiguities of signification.

And so, Henry's portrait emerging from Caldonia's musing on his alleged benevolence as a master perfectly matches her own image sketched by the narrator upon Henry's death – that of a slave-owner's dutiful wife apparently concerned about the fates of her slaves – both of them in effect emerging as their own anti-theses – opposite to what the words used to describe them might otherwise suggest. Thus she remembers her late husband

talking about how he would be a master different from any other, the kind of shepherd master God had intended. [...], talking of good food for his slaves, no whippings, short and happy days in the fields. A master looking down on them all like God on his throne [...]. Yes, he sometimes had to ration the food he gave them. But that was not his fault – had God sent down more food. [...] Yes, he had to have some slaves beaten, but those were the ones who would not do what was right and proper. Spare the rod [...], the Bible warned.<sup>45</sup>

Similarly, on the day of Henry's death, hearing Caldonia address their slaves, Henry's father remembers how he "had always believed in her, having seen from the beginning a light in her that had failed in his own son born into slavery. But the light was not in her words,"<sup>46</sup> this time, as he, paradoxically, remarks, hearing her assure her slaves: "He cared about you all, and I have no less care than he did. I have no less love,"<sup>47</sup> the words which sound more threatening than comforting under the circumstances. For, as she speaks, the narrator comments,

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<sup>44</sup> Gates, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

<sup>45</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–181.

<sup>46</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Every word was not original, was part of something she had heard somewhere else, something her father may have told her as a bedtime story, something Fern Elston may have long ago put into Caldonia's head and the heads of dozens of other students. [...] Something she had read in a book, written by a white man in a different time and place.<sup>48</sup>

As the above quotations demonstrate, it is the author/narrator who appears as a trickster here: by repeating the opinions and impressions of others, as well as his own, for that matter, through signifying, he is subjecting to revision the whole issue of an alleged benevolence of anyone at all capable of owning other people, especially if they are better educated. And Caldonia, born free, "had been educated all her days,"<sup>49</sup> just as her extremely celebrated teacher, Fern Elston, who, however, has no intention of ever freeing Ralph, her only slave and friend, although she is dismayed at Henry Townsend's adult fascination with Milton for his Devil's proclamation "that he would rather rule in hell than serve in heaven."<sup>50</sup>

This revising function of the Signifier in Jones's novel goes beyond personal opinions and the narratorial voice, into the seemingly objective sphere of fictionalized historical data and statistics, revoked by the narrator, time and again, throughout the book, or the quite non-fictional 1860 census, disproved as completely unreliable not only by Jones.<sup>51</sup> Hence, while citing the data from the census, concerning the number of free Negroes owning slaves in the fictional county of Manchester, in the state of Virginia, the author/narrator subjects it to revision by stating that "the census taker, a US. Marshal who feared God, had argued with his wife the day he sent his report to Washington D.C., and all his arithmetic was wrong because he failed to carry a one."<sup>52</sup> Another tanner, unable to calculate how big the county was – "with the damn mountains in the way" – "sent in figures that were far short of the mark."<sup>53</sup> Similarly unreliable information in the census concerns the number of colored people in the county of Manchester, whatever their origin, whether black, Indian, or mixed. For example, one of Robbins's white slave patrollers, Harvey Travis, married to a full-blooded Cherokee woman, told the tanner that his children were slaves, "and let it go at that," because that is how he called them: "niggers and filthy half-breeds when they and that world got to be too much for him."<sup>54</sup> Similarly, the census taker, who at first wanted to register them as white, on seeing their slightly darker skin, classified them as black in the actual report sent to the federal government in Washington D.C.

And last but not least, the author's/narrator's trickery of signification shows the officially unregistered oddities of the Southern law and reality as matching

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<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>51</sup> Berlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 385–386.

<sup>52</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

the fact of a “historian [...] especially drawn to the quirks of the country” reporting the hatching on the same day of the year 1851 of five double-headed chicken on one of the plantations, two of which “were even said to do a kind of dance when the harmonica was played.”<sup>55</sup> The latter phenomenon is thus made to sound more plausible than the actual hard facts of this Southern harlequinade. However, by repeating the gossip rather than resorting to facts, the narrator revises the actual reality of the South, which encompasses far more dismal “quirks”: a free mulatto daughter owning her own mother and brother, purchased for her in an act of grace by a white planter of a lover – the case of Mr Robbins’s mulatto mistress, Philomena; or a white step-mother selling her deceased husband’s white children from his first marriage on her way to Paris to get rid of the burden; or, the light-skinned Fern Elston, regularly paid by her equally light-skinned relatives to keep her mouth shut about their passing somewhere in the North, etc.

Hence, from the white perspective, *The Known World*, written by an African American author, does not only introduce readers to the little known world of free black slaveholding in the ante-bellum South but also to an even less known sphere of black representation of human experience through an unfamiliar cultural tradition calling for a literary theory which could be applied to black texts, in line with the proposition made by Gates in his critical study *Figures in Black*. Jones’s narrative method in fact demonstrates that despite the primary orality of black cultures – whether African or African American – which is not only the main reason for lack of Black Aesthetics, but which also, as Gates indicates, lays at the very foundation of not recognizing blacks as humans,<sup>56</sup> this kind of theory is not only necessary but also feasible, its very foundations lying dormant at the core of what prevented this theory from surfacing in the first place – the said orality itself.

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>56</sup> Gates, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–26.

**Południowa arlekinada a „Sygnifikująca małpa”:  
(Nie)Znany świat Edwarda P. Jonesa**

**Streszczenie**

Z perspektywy białego człowieka, *Znany świat*, napisany przez autora pochodzenia afroamerykańskiego, wprowadza czytelnika nie tylko w mało znany świat wolnych niewolników czarnego Południa sprzed wojny secesyjnej, ale również w jeszcze mniej znaną sferę czarnego obrazowania ludzkiego doświadczenia, które wymaga zastosowania specyficznej czarnej estetyki, według koncepcji przedstawionej przez Henry'ego Louisa Gatesa Juniora w książce *Figures in Black: Words, Signs and the "Racial Self"*. Jak twierdzi Gates, to przede wszystkim zasadnicza oralność czarnych kultur – czy to afrykańskiej, czy afroamerykańskiej – odpowiada za brak tzw. czarnej estetyki literackiej – zjawisko, które zasadniczo przyczyniło się do postrzegania czarnych jako istot podrzędnych. Narracyjna metoda Jonesa wykazuje, że czarna estetyka nie tylko jest konieczna, ale również realnie możliwa, jako że jej podstawy leżą właśnie w samym sercu zjawiska, które nie pozwoliło owej teorii ujrzeć światła dziennego – czyli zjawiska oralności kultury afrykańskiej i afroamerykańskiej.

# Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis

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## THE MAKING OF MARK TWAIN IN THE POLISH CONTEXT – ON THE AUTHOR'S 100<sup>TH</sup> DEATH ANNIVERSARY

### Summary

2010 marked the hundredth anniversary of Mark Twain's death and thus constituted a good opportunity to reflect upon the author's reception outside of the English speaking countries. This article discusses reception of Mark Twain in Poland. Paradoxically, although a household name across all social strata and recommended reading for primary schools, Twain as a prolific and versatile writer and social critic remains to a large extent conspicuously absent both in the Polish popular and academic discourse. The aim of this paper is to shed some light on the paradox and reconstruct the eponymous "making of Mark Twain," by outlining the translation history, publication policy and reception of Twain and his *oeuvre* in the Polish context. It discusses Twain's most popular Polish translations, Soviet reading of Twain in the 1950s and Twain's first and only Polish biography. Finally, it briefly deals with Twain's translators and critics who can be considered the makers of Twain in Poland.

### Misplaced in an index

Finding information about Mark Twain in Poland's most comprehensive study concerned with the history of American literature,<sup>1</sup> *Historia literatury Stanów Zjednoczonych*, is a task for patient and inquisitive readers. Following its concept and thus focusing on the largest literary themes and developments, the study does not devote a separate chapter or subchapter to Twain; hence, it does not include the writer's name in the table of contents. Turning to the name index for help, the readers become engaged in hide-and-seek set up by absent-minded editors, as Mark Twain is to be found neither under T, for Twain, or C, for Clemens, but under M, for Mark (Volume One). This apparently insignificant and negligible act of first-name terms familiarity or, rather, of editorial misplacement seems to acquire the dimension of a Freudian slip in the Polish context.

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<sup>1</sup> A. Kopcewicz and M. Sienicka, *Historia literatury Stanów Zjednoczonych* (Warsaw: PWN, 1982–1983).

### Locked in a children's room – most popular translations of Mark Twain

The early appearance of first Polish translations of Twain's books – already during the author's lifetime and before Poland's regaining of independence in 1918 – testifies to the early development of interest in the writer among Polish publishers and readers. By the year of the author's death ca. ten editions of his books had appeared. Symptomatically for Twain's early American and Polish reception as a humorist, the first translation to be published was *Humoreski* (three volumes, 1879–1881) while five further publications of this type followed in the discussed period, i.e. up to the end of 1910. Other translations, in chronological order, include: 1898 – *Przygody Hucka* (*Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*), 1899 – *Królewicz i żebrak* (*The Prince and the Pauper*), 1901 – *Tomek Sawyer i ciekawe przygody jego* (*Adventures of Tom Sawyer*), and 1904 – *Pamiętniki o Joannie d'Arc* (*Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc*).

Studying the issuing translation history, one observes a growing popularity of Twain's books for children over *Humoreski*. In 1954 a short bibliography of Twain's Polish publications appeared as an appendix to a critical study of the author, discussed in a later section (Soviet reading of Twain). The bibliography, although somewhat incomplete, clearly shows the greatest popularity of what is commonly considered Twainian canon of children's literature, with *Książę i żebrak* as the most popular reading.

**Tab. 1.** Recurring publications of Twain's books in Poland (volumes of short stories are not included) by 1954<sup>2</sup>

Title	Number of editions (including the first edition)
<i>Książę i żebrak</i>	13 + 1 adaptation
<i>Przygody Tomka Sawyera</i>	11
<i>Przygody Hucka</i>	6
<i>Yankes na dworze króla Artura</i>	3

Estimating the total number of editions of the very same titles in 2010, we can notice a shift in the ranking, with *Przygody Tomka Sawyera* becoming Twain's most frequently published book in Polish. The estimates are as follows: *Przygody Tomka Sawyera* – ca. 55 editions, *Książę i żebrak* – ca. 44 editions, *Przygody Hucka* – ca. 27 editions. Tom Sawyer's rising popularity can be easily accounted for by the workings of educational policies and market mechanisms as *Przygody Tomka Sawyera*, despite various canon revisions, has had a stable position on the ministerial list of obligatory reading for primary school pupils. Some of the publication houses explicitly advertise their Tom Sawyer's novels as *lektura szkolna* whereas others publish special editions adapted to the needs of reading weary pupils, accompanied by

<sup>2</sup> Based on "Mark Twain's Publications in Poland", [in:] M. Bobrova, *Mark Twain*, trans. J. Brodzki (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1954). All translations of quotations and other textual material from Polish are my own – J.D.-G.

the novel's summary, protagonists' descriptions, etc., i.e. "indispensable information you need at school" as the publishers put it.<sup>3</sup>

One might assume that the novel's status of a compulsory school reading would go hand in hand with a considerable load of secondary literature from more popular critical editions to academic articles. Contrary to expectations, *Przygody Tomka Sawyera*, probably because of its perception as a straightforward adventure book for children, has not attracted much attention of Polish authors and critics, as if they were not paying heed to Twain's preface in which he reminds his readers that:

Although my book is intended mainly for the entertainment of boys and girls, I hope it will not be shunned by men and women on that account, for part of my plan has been to try to pleasantly remind adults of what they once were themselves, and of how they felt and thought and talked, and what queer enterprises they sometimes engaged in.<sup>4</sup>

It was not difficult for Polish readers to have disregarded Twain's foreword as, together with other paratexts such as the dedication and conclusion, it has been absent from most editions. Likewise, *Przygody Tomka* in the apparently "Well-Prepared Reading" series lacks the foreword while the conclusion – due to the translator's or proof reader's oversight – is changed. Twain's concluding remarks refer to the art and craft of writing for young readers: "When one writes a novel about grown people, he knows exactly where to stop – that is, with a marriage; but when he writes of juveniles, he must stop where he best can."<sup>5</sup> Highlighting the difficulty of finding the right moment to finish, Twain the author is yet in charge of the writing process, stopping at what he considers the most appropriate turn of the narrative. In the Polish rendering, the end of the novel for "juveniles" becomes a matter of chance or happenstance: "Pisząc powieść o dorosłych, wie się dokładnie, kiedy skończyć – oczywiście na małżeństwie. Lecz pisząc o młodzieńcach, należy skończyć tam, gdzie akurat wypadnie", i.e. "writing of juveniles one must stop where it [the end] just comes up."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. M. Twain, *Przygody Tomka Sawyera*, trans. P. Beręsewicz (Kraków: Skrzat, 2009), blurb.

<sup>4</sup> M. Twain, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, on-line edition <<http://www.gutenberg.org>>.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* (emphasis J.D.-G.).

<sup>6</sup> A similar omission of paratexts is also characteristic of most Polish editions of *Przygody Hucka Finna* which include neither Twain's Notice or Explanatory. A noteworthy exception is *Przygody Hucka z angielskim* (Fihel and Jemielniak [Warsaw: Telbit, 2009], designed as a text book for learning English, accompanied with exercises and capsules with cultural and historical background information, where the paratexts are discussed in detail. See J. Dybiec-Gajer, "Parateksty w polskich przekładach powieści Marka Twaina *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* i *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* – między pomijaniem a dopisywaniem", *Między Oryginałem a Przekładem XVII* (2012), ed. E. Skibińska (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2011), pp. 55–83.

*Przygody Tomka* has appeared in numerous editions, translations and adaptations, and theatre performances; interestingly, also as a translated adaptation of a French original.<sup>7</sup> Yet, no critical edition of *Przygody Tomka* has been published so far. The paradox of the discrepancy between the abundance of Tom Sawyers on the book market and scarcity of serious or academic writing seems to lie in the unchanging perception of Twain as an author of books for young readers in the first place.

In an excellent article “De same ole Huck – America’s *speculum meditantis*” and one of the very few academic texts devoted to Twain in Polish scholarship, Janusz Semrau comments on “Huck’s versatile signifying presence” in American culture today, calling it the “Huck Finn Syndrome.”<sup>8</sup> In the Polish context, the traces of this syndrome are scarce and faint. Twain’s most acclaimed novel, with Huck’s “closing resolution” dubbed “one of the most celebrated lines in all American literature”<sup>9</sup> has been considerably less popular in the public reception in Poland than *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. This is reflected in the number of translations: whereas *Tom Sawyer* has been rendered into Polish fourteen times, *Huck Finn* is available in six translations.

### Other writings of Twain in Polish translation

As of writing this article, the majority of Mark Twain’s *oeuvre* has been translated into Polish. This section presents a brief outline of Twain’s writing in Polish translation other than the children’s literature discussed above.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Mark Twain’s writing of social criticism, was, to paraphrase his own words from *The Innocents*, “drifting with the tide of a great popular movement.”<sup>10</sup> More precisely, Twain, dubbed a true voice of democratic America and a critic of imperialism, was widely published in the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of Poland. As a critic points out, “Outside of the United States, Mark Twain’s books were published in the highest number of copies in the Soviet Union, which should not be surprising given his label of “a critic of capitalism,” which was easy to attribute to him, and given anticlerical and antireligious contents of his works.”<sup>11</sup> A harsh criticism of colonial exploitation, *King Leopold’s Soliloquy* was published in 1961, a year after Congo’s declaration of independence from Belgium, as *Monolog króla Leopolda*, with an extensive foreword discussing

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<sup>7</sup> A. F. Loiseau, adapt., *Przygody Tomka Sawyera: na podstawie powieści Marka Twaina*, trans. A. Lemiszewska (Warsaw: Zetzet, 2006).

<sup>8</sup> J. Semrau, “De same ole Huck – America’s *speculum meditantis*”, *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, 42 (2006), p. 429.

<sup>9</sup> J. Semrau, “The dis-closure of Huckleberry Finn. *Natura naturata vs. lumen naturale*, lighting out vs. *Lichtung*”, *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, 43 (2007), p. 315.

<sup>10</sup> Twain (2003), *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>11</sup> A. Augustyniak, “Poślowie”, [in:] M. Twain, *Opowiadania i humoreski, t. 1. Listy z ziemi* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo 86 Press, 1993), p. 269.

the history of Congo's cruel exploitation. The then official understanding of Twain is aptly illustrated by the following words from the preface:<sup>12</sup>

Mark Twain, an outstanding realist writer, entered the world literature not only as an excellent humorist, but also as a ruthless denouncer of bourgeoisie duplicity, bigotry and lawlessness; as an opponent of racial discrimination in his home country, he likewise passionately fought with bloody crimes of the imperialists in colonial countries, suppressed by an iron foot of the white "civilization."<sup>13</sup>

The communist interest in Twain's writing critical of church is well reflected by the swiftness with which some translations appeared. In 1966, only four years after the posthumous publication of *Letters from the Earth*, to some extent under Soviet pressure that Twain's texts were suppressed in the United States,<sup>14</sup> the text – ironically called the author's "satanic verses"<sup>15</sup> – appeared in Polish translation.<sup>16</sup> Also in this period the first full-length books of Twainian criticism and biography were published: in 1954, just two years after its publication in the USSR, a Soviet interpretation of Twain's work appeared (Bobrova), as if paving the way to the "correct" reading of the author, followed in 1963 by the first and only biography of Twain penned by a Polish author (Stawiński), both of which are discussed in the later sections of the article.

Books on Twain that present him the way he wished himself appeared in Poland much later, after the changes of 1989. In 1993 Twain's *Autobiografia* was published while Bigelow Paine's *The Boy's Life of Mark Twain* appeared as late as 2005 under a more promising title *Mark Twain*. The latter, described by a critic as "old fashioned," was criticized for both a hagiographic style, "written on the knees," and shortcomings of translation: "there are many paragraphs whose original meaning can be only deduced from the context."<sup>17</sup> Despite these, the reviewer

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<sup>12</sup> As they reflect the culture-specific idiom and rhetoric of the period, the source-texts of quotations are given in the footnotes.

<sup>13</sup> J. Stroynowski, "Wstęp", [in:] M. Twain, *Monolog króla Leopolda* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1961), p. 6. "Mark Twain, wybitny pisarz-realista, wszedł do literatury światowej nie tylko jako świetny humorysta, ale również jako bezwzględny demaskator burżuazyjnej obłudy, bigoterii i bezprawia; wróg dyskryminacji rasowej we własnej ojczyźnie, namiętnie też zwalczał krwawe zbrodnie imperialistów w krajach kolonialnych, dławionych żelazną stopą białej »cywilizacji«".

<sup>14</sup> A. Gelb, "Anti-Religious Work by Twain, Long Withheld, to Be Published", *The New York Times*, August 24, 1962.

<sup>15</sup> Augustyniak, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

<sup>16</sup> *Listy z Ziemi* found their way to subculture in a 1999 recording (recitation) by the heavy metal band KAT, whose work includes themes of dissent, rebellion against God, nihilism and the occult.

<sup>17</sup> E. Nowacka, "Sekretarz pisze biografię" [review of Paine's *The Boy's Life of Mark Twain*], *Nowe Książki*, 4 (2006), p. 37.

recommends the “somewhat boring” book to those who are “especially interested in the biography of the author of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*.”<sup>18</sup>

A conspicuous absence on the list of Polish translations of Twain’s work is *Gilded Age*, the novel whose title came to stand for a period of American history. The absence of its translation was already bemoaned by Juliusz Kydryński in the introduction to his 1966 translation of *Letters from the Earth*, but not much has changed since, although the term *połączany wiek*, i.e. *gilded age* is widely used in Polish with reference to American history and Twain’s writing.

Yet what constitutes Twain’s least known sphere of writing activity for Polish readers is his travel literature. Out of five Twain’s travel narratives three are available in Polish translations. The earliest rendering – *Pod gołym niebem* (*Roughing It*) – was published in 1960, followed by *Życie na Missisipi* (*Life on the Mississippi*) in 1967.<sup>19</sup> These narratives, read as depicting harsh and adventurous life in the Wild West in a humorous way, tapped in the public interest in Poland, where the myth of *Dziki Zachód* was very much alive in public imagination, promoted by frequent broadcasts of westerns on television and translations of Karl May’s series. “Twain’s *oeuvre*,” notes a critic, “brings to our mind steamships on the Mississippi, legend of the Wild West and friendly urchins as protagonists.”<sup>20</sup>

*The Innocents Abroad*, Twain’s first sustained form of a narrative and the travel book which secured him both literary renown and financial security, appeared in Polish translation under the title *Prostaczkowie za granicą* only three years after the changes of 1989. As a shrunken version of the original – 326 pages out of the English 493 – it naturally cannot give justice to the nuances and richness of *The Innocents*. *A Tramp Abroad* and *Following the Equator*, Twain’s most critical travel narratives, are still waiting for their Polish translations. Scanty attention devoted to Twain’s travelogues might not seem surprising, given a relatively recent scholarly interest in travel writing in general and in Twain’s travel books in particular. Symptomatically, commenting on the status of the genre in his *Mark Twain’s Travel Literature*, Hellwig uses the present tense to point out: “Travel literature often seems relegated to a subgenre of nonfiction writing, sometimes reduced to a variety of journalism ill suited for the themes and structures of literature.”<sup>21</sup> Yet what is interesting is such a long absence of the translation of *The Innocents*, given not only its enormous popularity among American readers but also critical commentary of church and imperialism appraised by Soviet critics.

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> For a brief overview of Twain’s travel writing in Polish translation see J. Dybiec, “Świadectwo nowej tożsamości amerykańskiej w podróżniczym bestsellerze Marka Twaina *Innocents Abroad*”, *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Historicolitteraria X, Folia 73* (2010), ed. T. Budrewicz (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego, 2010), pp. 68–84.

<sup>20</sup> Augustyniak, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

<sup>21</sup> H. H. Hellwig, *Mark Twain’s Travel Literature: The Odyssey of Mind* (Jefferson and London: MacFarland & Company, 2008), p. 7.

## Soviet reading of Twain

As widely believed, totalitarian systems are not at ease with humorous writing. This is aptly reflected in Kundera's well-known *The Joke*, whose narrative is structured around the consequences of what was meant to be an innocent prank. "[The Soviet] system did not like mockers and scoffers," wrote the Polish columnist M. Kozakiewicz, commenting on a 1930 ban on importing Twain's writing to the USSR, "and the anekdotchiki stroili Belmor-Kanal."<sup>22</sup> By an ironic turn of history, the article appeared in a 1995 issue of the newspaper *Trybuna*, former *Trybuna Ludu*, the press organ of the Polish Workers Party.

Yet humour was accepted, provided it poked fun at the right things. The task of *linientreu* critics was to blunt the sharpness of satire and irony, and, if necessary, to interpret them in an ideologically correct way. Such was the design of the first book, in form of a popular study, devoted to Twain which appeared on the Polish market in 1954, a year after Stalin's death. Unsurprisingly, it was a translation from Russian,<sup>23</sup> with the original written by M. Bobrova. What succinctly characterizes the spirit of the times is the book's publication place – Stalinogród, i.e. the town of Katowice in 1953 renamed in an act of personality cult to commemorate Stalin. As was the editorial practice prior to 1989, the information about the number of printed copies was provided, which in this case was 5175.

The book presents Twain as America's first and foremost social critic, praising him for relentless criticism of "reactionary forces" such as "religion and bourgeoisie morality."<sup>24</sup> For this reason, what moves centre stage is writing in which Twain criticizes and contests the shortcomings of the capitalist system: selected stories in *Opowiadania i humoreski* (*Short Stories and Humorous Tales*, 1951), *The Gilded Age* and *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (*Yankes na Dworze Króla Artura*, 1936). It also discusses Twain's "children's literature," highlighting the qualities which Soviet criticism found useful.<sup>25</sup>

The study begins by tracing the origin of Twain's artistic and personal identity as well as style, which are, in the author's view, the simple, working class surroundings of his childhood days:

Life among the working classes and a constant mixing with them gave birth to Twain's inner immunity to duplicity and degradation of bourgeoisie morality – an immunity

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<sup>22</sup> M. Kozakiewicz, "Kiedy zabraniano Twaina i Holmesa", *Trybuna*, 12 (1995), p. 6.

<sup>23</sup> Kuhlczak outlines the interface of literature, translation and book market in post-1989 Poland, providing figures illustrating the changes in the number of translations. While in 1989 there were 90 translations from Russian, the figure dropped to 19 a year later (2007, p. 153).

<sup>24</sup> Bobrova, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. bibliography of Twain's Russian translation and criticism 1867–1972 by I. M. Lev-idova (1974).

which later helped him in his fight for his own independence and for the right to speak the truth.<sup>26</sup>

Discussing *The Innocents*, Bobrova highlights the humorous qualities of the narrative, yet admonishing the readers against a superficial treatment of the travelogue as just another entertaining reading. Twain's irreverent humour finds the critic's acceptance as it is directed at "bourgeoisie traditions in social and private life" and driven by "hatred of profiteers, bankers and clergy."<sup>27</sup> Further, it is legitimised as embodying "the characteristics of traditional, folk humour of Western America",<sup>28</sup> thus being the voice of the true and uncorrupted United States.

Following the publication's ideological design, the author discusses in more detail *The Gilded Age*, as in her view it echoes Marks' and Engels' ideas:

Mark Twain was at a distance from the ideas of socialism, he knew neither the works of Karl Marks nor of Friedrich Engels but the instinct of a realist writer very much concerned with the fate of his own country made him sound the alarm at the sight of the indifference of wide working class masses toward the criminal policies of the bourgeoisie government.<sup>29</sup>

Likewise, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is analysed as a testimony to the author's commitment to put an end to racial discrimination and to promote human rights. Here, the rhetoric of "two Americas" is employed: the democratic and virtuous America of oppressed simple farmers and workers is juxtaposed with the corrupt and ruthless America of the wealthy bourgeoisie.

The entire reactionary America hates the book and is afraid of it, whereas the democratic America loves it; it is this latter America that fights with racial discrimination and with the annihilation of rudimentary social and political human rights.<sup>30</sup>

The popular study, however, is not devoid of critical undertones towards Twain. Firstly, Bobrova disapproves of Twain's feeble support for Gorki during his US visit, writing that "Mark Twain's stance towards the events [Gorki's visit] was

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<sup>26</sup> Bobrova, *op. cit.*, p. 14. Życie wśród ludu i ciągłe obcowanie z nim zrodziły w Twainie tę wewnętrzną odporność przeciwko obłudzie i nikczemności burżuazyjnej moralności, odporność, która później pomogła mu w walce o własną niezależność i prawo do mówienia prawdy.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30–31.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 69–70. Mark Twain był daleki od idei socjalizmu, nie znał dzieł Karola Marksa ani Fryderyka Engelsa, ale instynkt pisarza-realisty, którego blisko obchodzi los własnego kraju, kazał mu uderzyć na alarm na widok obojętności szerokich mas ludowych wobec zbrodniczej polityki burżuazyjnego rządu.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125. Nienawidzi i boi się jej [książki] cała reakcyjna Ameryka, natomiast kocha ją Ameryka demokratyczna, ta, która walczy przeciwko dyskryminacji rasowej, przeciw niweczeniu elementarnych społecznych i politycznych praw człowieka.

hesitant, incompatible with his beliefs.”<sup>31</sup> Secondly, Twain’s misanthropy and disappointment in humanity is harshly criticized:

Losing the faith in man and the future, the author, by the same token, was forced to acknowledge the odious American reality as unavoidable, as something against which struggle is pointless.<sup>32</sup>

Constructing and re-imagining Mark Twain in the way sketched above was aimed at chiselling away at the myth of America as a Promised Land, a myth very much engrained in the Polish popular consciousness. Twain’s American anti-Americanism was a trump card in the communist propaganda as his criticism acquired legitimacy and authority as a voice from inside. Not without reason in 1962 *New York Times* wrote that “Mark Twain is a literary hero in the Soviet Union.”<sup>33</sup>

### Twain’s first Polish biography

Under the telling title “The Discovery of Twain” (“Odkrycie Twaina”) a review of Twain’s first Polish biography was published. The book, written by Julian Stawiński, appeared in the series of popular-style biographies “Profile” of the publishing house Wiedza Powszechna in 1963. “Julian Stawiński’s idea to present Mark Twain to the Polish reader in a popular series,” writes the critic, “can be considered an excellent one.”<sup>34</sup> The critic praises not only the author’s idea, but also his vast knowledge and erudition, demonstrated in a plethora of comments ranging from references to American history and Twainian scholarship to quotations and anecdotes. However, what constitutes Stawiński’s assets can easily become a disadvantage for the reader, as the detail-minded and meticulous yet indiscriminating author overwhelms his reader with only loosely organized information. The critic points out to this, writing: “In the flood of facts of greater or lesser importance and numerous digressions, the really vital aspects get lost. Twain’s best books do not receive proportionately adequate treatment.”<sup>35</sup> For instance, although extensively quoting critical acclaim of *Huck Finn*, Stawiński fails to explain why the book actually earned such acclaim and what constitutes Twain’s literary achievement. Further, he too hastily dismisses some more or less serious academic interpretations of Twain’s writing, including early studies indebted to psychoanalysis. Summarizing his review, the critic bemoans “a wasted opportunity” and states

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<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 195. Postawa Marka Twaina wobec tych wypadków była chwiejna, nielicująca z jego poglądami.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194. Tracąc wiarę w człowieka i w przyszłość pisarz tym samym zmuszony był uznać nienawistną rzeczywistość amerykańską za rzecz nieuniknioną, z którą walka jest bezcelowa.

<sup>33</sup> A. Gelb, “Anti-Religious Work by Twain, Long Withheld, to Be Published”, *The New York Times*, August 24 (1962).

<sup>34</sup> Z. Najder, “Odkrycie Twaina” [review of Stawiński’s *Mark Twain*], *Nowe Książki*, 23 (1963), pp. 141–142.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

that "Stawiński could have given us a much better book on Twain."<sup>36</sup> After reading the review, the reader might be more than tempted to insert a question mark after the review's eponymous "discovery of Twain."

Yet a review of Stawiński's book would be neither complete nor just without pointing to the author's achievements. As if compensating for his digressive and anecdotal style of writing, at the end of the book the author included a chronology of Twain's life – the most complete overview at the time – and a dictionary of names with short explanations, thus introducing a section of American culture to a wide audience. Stawiński's greatest contribution, although not really successful, was his very attempt – and a daring one, given the scope of material – to bring Mark Twain closer to the Polish reader. Whereas critics and translators alike bemoaned the neglected memory of Twain in Poland (Najder 1963; Kydryński 1966), Stawiński actually moved beyond declarations and wrote a book by which he meant to change the status quo, for which he deserves the benefit of trial.

Stawiński, greatly interested in American literature, might have approached writing a book on Twain as an intellectual challenge and adventure. It is a tempting hypothesis but he might have sensed some distant parallels between his own and Twain's eventful lives. Riding the wave of erudition and immersed in his favourite American topics, he might have lost sight of the overall design of the book, thus coming short of his goal. This coming short of a goal seems to have characterized some of his enterprises in his life. Twain's biography was among Stawiński's greatest projects. Demanding a sustained effort, meticulousness and organization, it seems to have been beyond the author's ability. Yet its very publication was a sign of success, followed by its translation into Slovak in 1982.<sup>37</sup>

### Of Twain's makers: translators and critics

Admittedly, of Samuel Clemens' makers Twain was the most successful one. Of his Polish makers translators played the most significant role, making the author's work available to the Polish reader. Some of them appeared in a double capacity of not only translators but critics and commentators as well. Here only a map of Polish renderings of Twain and their reviews is outlined, discussing the translations in more detail and analyzing the translators' profiles would go far beyond the scope of the article. For the same reasons others who contributed to popularizing Twain in Poland by preparing cultural productions based on Twain's work such as performances for theatre and television, adaptations as materials for foreign language learning or recitations are not included.

An impressive number of over fifty translators rendered Twain's writing into Polish, and the list could be extended if the early anonymous translators could be identified. The most glamorous names in the profession include the poet Antoni

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> For a detailed biography of Stawiński see M. Supruniuk, [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Warsaw-Kraków: Instytut Historii PAN, 1982), pp. 7–9.

Słonimski and Stanisław Barańczak. While the first rendered short stories<sup>38</sup> already before WWII and *The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg* in 1968, the latter translated only a limerick and a poem from *Huck Finn* (Barańczak 1993). Twain's most popular book in Polish – *Przygody Tomka Sawyera* – has been translated fourteen times: the first rendering of 1901 was carried out by Helena Ros, whereas the latest one from 2010 was done by Maciej Miłkowski. The most frequently published translation is Kazimierz Piotrowski's (19<sup>th</sup> edition in 1996). *Królewicz i żebrak*, Twain's second most frequently published book in Polish is available in eight translations, with the oldest going back to 1922, signed L.P., and the latest going back to 2000 by Danuta Petsch. The most frequently published translation of *The Prince and the Pauper* was by Tadeusz Jan Dehnel (19<sup>th</sup> edition in 1998). *Przygody Hucka* exists in six translations, the first was by Teresa Prażmowska (1898) and the latest one by Magdalena Machay (2008), with the most popular one by Krystyna Tarnowska (10<sup>th</sup> edition in 1995).

Interestingly, some of the translators also engaged in the role of commentators writing paratexts to accompany their translations. While most of the texts are brief and of purely informative nature, some stand out: Juliusz Kydryński's introduction to his rendering of *Letters from the Earth*, and Piotr Skurowski's to his award winning translation of *The Autobiography*.<sup>39</sup> In particular the latter seems to be one of the most comprehensive texts about Twain written in the Polish language. Another insightful text is Teresa Truszkowska's afterword in her rendering of *The Mysterious Stranger* (1982). In translation history, translators' pronouncements on their work as early contributions to translation theory are not uncommon; here, however, the paratexts are not concerned with problems of translation but, as critical texts, are aimed at familiarizing the reader with Twain and his *oeuvre*. This might grow out of the contemporary understanding of the genre of the paratext as well as the authors' primary professional interests going beyond translation such as theatre criticism (Kydryński), British and American literature (Truszkowska) and American studies (Skurowski), with their translational activity considered by them to be of secondary importance. It seems that among Polish makers of Twain it is his translators-academics or translators-poets who assume a particularly considerable position as Twain's popularisers and critics.

Insight into Twain's reception can be gained by studying reviews of the author's publications in Polish. What projection of the author emerges out of these texts? On reading the reviews – generally discussing the writings in very favourable terms – the reader's understanding of Twain as a canonical literary figure is confirmed. Yet, interestingly, a careful reading discloses an undercurrent of wary excuse addressed at the reader. A book under review, despite its significance and

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<sup>38</sup> These include *Opowiadania (Short Stories)* (1923) and *Romans eskimoski* (1946), with two of the short stories *Krążek śmierci* and *W sprawie pokojówek* reprinted in 1946 or 1947 by Wyd. Lit. Oddz. Opieki nad Żołnierzami I Korpusu.

<sup>39</sup> *Autobiografia* received the award of the monthly *Literatura na świecie* for the best translation published in 1993.

the author's renown, might be a fatiguing reading. "I do recommend the book as a light historical novel in a good style" – writes a critic about *Joan of Arc* – "although one shall be warned that, in the era of the civilization of pictures, the reader who reaches the book's end shall be indeed called persistent."<sup>40</sup> Decades earlier, when the world of images was less pervading and did not suffice as an excuse for the difficult access to the book, Najder wrote about *Huck Finn*: "For teenagers – I'm saying this on the basis of my own as well as others' experience – *Przygody Hucka* makes actually an interesting reading about the adventures of a brave savage-boy, «spoilt,» however, by the intricacies of the plot unnecessarily slowed down."<sup>41</sup>

## Conclusions

Mark Twain's Polish reception seems to be characterized by a contradiction and paradox. While the majority of his writing has been translated into Polish, some of which quite quickly after the publication of the originals, and *Przygody Tomka Sawyera* has been a stable part of the primary school canon, critical writing on Twain, with an exception of a few academic articles discussing *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, is difficult to find. By contrast, Twain studies appear to be booming in a number of countries outside of the USA, e.g. in Japan (cf. Fishkin, Ishihara 2004) with the activities of The Japan Mark Twain Society.<sup>42</sup> Admittedly, referring to a contradiction and paradox might be a last-resort explanation of such state of affairs. Certainly, more research on Polish reception of Samuel Clemens and his writing is needed to shed more light on the complexities of his resonances in Poland, yet some tentative hypotheses can be outlined.

Enjoying an unquestioned status of a literary classic, as of now Mark Twain seems to function in Poland as an educational product for young readers and an income generating publication for the book industry. In the United States, as Skandera-Trombley points out, writing about Samuel Langhorne Clemens has proved to be a near obligatory rite of passage for a whole legion of eminent Americanists.<sup>43</sup> As demonstrated by scanty scholarly interest in Twain, Polish Americanists tend to have different rites of passage. The major argument explaining this lack of interest or reluctance to discuss Twain lies in the unchanging popular perception of Twain as an author for children and as a humorist. Not without reason one of the series of Twain's more serious writing was explicitly referred to as "Twain for adults."<sup>44</sup> Further, Twain's *oeuvre* has failed to resonate with Polish popular and academic sensitivity and imagination. While for American readers

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<sup>40</sup> S. Strasburger, "Kim była Joanna?" [review of Twain's *Joan of Arc*], *Nowe Książki*, 6 (1996), p. 52.

<sup>41</sup> Najder, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

<sup>42</sup> Since 2002, the Society has published the Japanese numbers of *The Journal of Mark Twain Studies*.

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in J. Semrau (2006), *op. cit.*, pp. 428–429.

<sup>44</sup> Augustyniak, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

“Twain’s work certainly still projects a tally of cogent, vibrant and appealing figurations associated with the popular story of America: dissent, separation, risk-taking, movement, confrontation with the wilderness, resourcefulness, adaptability, tenacity, expediency, practical idealism, rugged individualism”,<sup>45</sup> for Polish readers his writing tends to evoke blurred images of half-forgotten school reading, old-fashioned adventure books for boys and youthful fascination with the myth of the Wild West. Soviet criticism’s fondness for, or rather appropriation of the author as a critic of vices of capitalist America is little known: the Soviet and communist propaganda’s mediating role in the reception of American culture in Poland can be considered a failure as far as Twain is concerned. Likewise, Twain’s critical stance on religion and imperialism is little known in the Polish context, with the exception of KAT’s heavy metal project, and appears to be of little bearing on the popular reception.

Reading reviews of Twain’s work by the Polish literati and interpreting the silence of academics, one is tempted to formulate yet a different tentative and provocative hypothesis. Firstly, for a variety of reasons, one of which may be the popular simplifying reception of Twain, he seems to be taken for granted as an outstanding author, yet, implicitly, he also tends to be considered as a writer lacking literary and cultural sophistication. Commenting on the popularity of Twain’s early works such as *The Innocents Abroad* or *The Gilded Age*, one of the reviewers notes in passing “to tell the truth, the talented Samuel did not have much competition in the United States”<sup>46</sup> while another one characterizes Twain’s early short stories as “balancing on the verge of the macabre and the unrefined taste.”<sup>47</sup> Secondly, cautious not to tarnish Twain’s reputation as a canonical figure of literature, the reviewers in a delicate way let the readers know – or reflect what the readers already know – that for a contemporary reader or a teenager Twain can make a tedious reading. This opinion is shared by Twain’s translator of *The Innocents Abroad* who admits to shortening Twain’s repetitions of style. That such a statement seems to conflict with both the translator’s ethics and Twain’s literary and cultural status is reflected in the fact that this appears in a footnote of the afterword, that is a paratext’s paratext.<sup>48</sup>

As the outlined reception of Mark Twain in Poland demonstrates, in the public domain the writer constitutes a canonical figure of children’s literature, whereas a more serious involvement with his writing has so far been of mostly paratextual nature.

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<sup>45</sup> Semrau (2007), *op. cit.*, p. 315.

<sup>46</sup> Nowacka, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>47</sup> T. Truszkowska, “Poślowie”, [in:] M. Twain, *Tajemniczy przybysz*, trans. T. Truszkowska (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1982), p. 117.

<sup>48</sup> A. Keyha, “Poślowie”, [in:] M. Twain, *Prostaczkowie za granicą*, trans. A. Keyha (Kato-wice: Akapit, 1992), p. 330.

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## Appendix One

### Translations of Twain’s most popular publications in Poland

#### I. *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876)

Polish title: *Przygody Tomka Sawyera*

First translation into Polish: 1901

Translators:

1. Helena Ros (1901)
2. Jan Biliński (1925)
3. Marceli Tarnowski (1933)
4. Kazimierz Piotrowski (1953) – (Iskry 1996 – 19<sup>th</sup> ed.)
5. Agnieszka Kuligowska (1996)
6. Jarosław Sokół (1996)
7. Rafał Dawidowicz (1997)
8. Włodzimierz Grabowski (1998)
9. Zbigniew Batko (2002)
10. Paweł Łopatka (2004)
11. Paweł Beręsewicz (2006)
12. Anna Bańkowska (2008)
13. Marta Kędroń and Barbara Ludwiczak (2009)
14. Maciej Miłkowski (2010)

#### II. *Prince and the Pauper* (1882)

Polish titles: *Książę i żebrak*, *Królewicz i żebrak*

First translation into Polish: 1899

Translators:

1. L. P (1922)
2. Marceli Tarnowski (1924)
3. Maria Kreczowska (1939)
4. Tadeusz Jan Dehnel – (Iskry 1998 – 19<sup>th</sup> ed.)

5. Ireneusz Jasiński (1993)
6. Krzysztof Tropiło (1998)
7. Anna Bańkowska (1998)
8. Danuta Petsch (2000)

### III. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884)

Polish title: *Przygody Hucka*

First translation into Polish: 1898

Translators:

1. Teresa Prażmowska (1898)
2. Marcei Tarnowski (1926?)
3. Krystyna Tarnowska (1955) – (Iskry 1995 – 10<sup>th</sup> ed.)
4. Jolanta Konsztowicz (1997)
5. Zbigniew Batko (2003)
6. Magdalena Machay (2008)

## Appendix Two

### Twain's Polish translators

The list presents an overview of translators who rendered Twain's writing into Polish and is an indication of how many persons were engaged in the translation project and not a complete bibliography. While the majority of translators translated book publications, some of them rendered only a few short stories. Dates are provided in cases where it was possible to identify them on the basis of bibliographical material available.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Zbigniew Batko (1940–2007)                    | 24. Maciej Miłkowski                   |
| 2. Bronisława Bałutowa (1919–2005)               | 25. Antoni Marianowicz (1924–2003)     |
| 3. Anna Bańkowska                                | 26. Antoni I. Mikulski                 |
| 4. Stanisław Barańczak                           | 27. J. M.                              |
| 5. Paweł Beręsewicz                              | 28. Zygmunt Niedźwiecki (1846–1915)    |
| 6. Jan Biliński (1879–1939)                      | 29. Andrzej Nowak                      |
| 7. Marian Dobrosielski                           | 30. J. Nowicki                         |
| 8. Józef Brodzki (1886–1964)                     | 31. L. P.                              |
| 9. Tadeusz Jan Dehnel (1906–1974)                | 32. Kazimierz Piotrowski (1911–1983)   |
| 10. Rafał Dawidowicz                             | 33. Danuta Petsch (1920–2006)          |
| 11. Włodzimierz Grabowski                        | 34. Teresa Prażmowska (1842–1912)      |
| 12. A. Gruszecki                                 | 35. Anna Przedpeńska-Trzeciakowska     |
| 13. Ireneusz Jasiński                            | 36. F. R.                              |
| 14. Andrzej Keyha                                | 37. Helena Ros                         |
| 15. Marta Kędroń                                 | 38. Zofia Siwicka (1894–1982)          |
| 16. Jolanta Konsztowicz                          | 39. Piotr Skurowski                    |
| 17. Maria Kreczowska (Feldmanowa)<br>(1874–1953) | 40. Juliusz Stroynowski (1919–1991)    |
| 18. Agnieszka Kuligowska                         | 41. Barbara Sławomirska                |
| 19. Juliusz Kydryński (1921–1994)                | 42. Antoni Słonimski (1895–1976)       |
| 20. E. Landau                                    | 43. Ireneusz Socha                     |
| 21. Barbara Ludwiczak                            | 44. Antonina Sokolicz (1879–1942)      |
| 22. Paweł Łopatka                                | 45. Jarosław Sokół                     |
| 23. Magdalena Machay                             | 46. Krystyna Tarnowska (1917–1991)     |
|  | 47. Marcei Tarnowski (1899 – ca. 1944) |

48. Krzysztof Tropiło  
49. Tomasz Tesznar  
50. Teresa Truszkowska (1925–1992)
51. Emilia Węśławska (1863–1921)  
52. Ewa Życieńska (1927–2003)

## **„Tworzenie” Marka Twaina w kontekście polskim – refleksje w setną rocznicę śmierci pisarza**

### **Streszczenie**

W roku 2010 przypadła setna rocznica śmierci Marka Twaina, co stwarza doskonałą okazję do refleksji nad odbiorem tego autora w krajach nieanglojęzycznych. W niniejszej pracy omówiono recepcję dzieł Marka Twaina w Polsce. Choć książki tego autora znaleźć można w domach czytelników z różnych warstw społecznych, oraz na liście lektur dla szkół podstawowych, paradoksalnie Twain jako płodny i wszechstronny pisarz oraz krytyk społeczeństwa jest zaskakująco nieobecny w polskim dyskursie popularnym i naukowym. Celem niniejszej pracy jest rzucenie światła na ten paradoks oraz prześledzenie tytułowego „tworzenia Marka Twaina” poprzez przywołanie historii przekładów, polityki publikowania oraz odbioru dzieł Twaina w kontekście polskim. W artykule omówiono najpopularniejsze przekłady dzieł Twaina, interpretację twórczości pisarza z perspektywy radzieckiej w latach pięćdziesiątych ubiegłego stulecia oraz pierwszą, i jedyną, biografię Twaina opracowaną przez polskiego autora. Pokrótkie przedstawiono też tłumaczy i krytyków jego dzieł, których uznać można za „twórców” Twaina w Polsce.

# Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis

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## **THE CLOUD OF UNKNOWING: THE ORIGIN OF ITS IMAGERY IN THE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN SPIRITUAL TRADITION**

### **Summary**

The present work shows the origins of the eponymous metaphor of a cloud in a book called *The Cloud of Unknowing*, a masterpiece written by an anonymous 14<sup>th</sup>-century English mystic. The book is of great religious and literary value – the latter partly due to its unique and elaborate imagery which, nevertheless, was the fruit of a long tradition of negation in Christian mysticism. The present work focuses on the historical framework of the book by following that tradition and tracing that metaphor in spiritual writers before the time of the Author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*.

### **Mysticism and language**

Although there are many kinds of mysticism, all of them seem to share certain characteristics. This section offers a brief description of mystical experience, showing its most basic features, and comments on its expression in language.

Etymologically, the term ‘mysticism’ is derived from the Greek verb *myo* (‘to close, to be silent’). The adjective *mystikos*, in early Christian and Byzantine Greek, was “applied to forms of perception related to the Christian «mystery»; the text of the Eucharistic Prayer, for example, is frequently described as «mystical».”<sup>1</sup> The hidden sense of the Bible, pointing to Jesus, and the hidden sense of the sacraments, pointing to God’s presence, were considered mystical.

Mysticism is basically defined as a doctrine or faith, or a state of religious life, based on intuition, in which a soul attains to a direct experience of the presence of or an intimate union with the *sacrum*. It is present in all religions, even those in which the notion of God does not exist (e.g. in Buddhism it is a way to enlightenment, which is described in negative terms: the attainment of emptiness, *nirvana*).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Gregory of Nyssa. The Life of Moses*, trans., ed. and preface A. J. Malherbe, E. Ferguson (New York: Paulist Press, 1978), pp. xii–xiii.

<sup>2</sup> For a more detailed definition of mysticism see, e.g. H. Waldenfels, *Leksykon religii*, trans. P. Pachciarek (Warszawa: Verbinum, 1997), pp. 244ff (s.v. ‘Medytacja/mistyka’); M. Eliade and I. P. Couliano, *Słownik religii*, trans. A. Kurys (Warszawa: Volumen, 1994), pp. 90–93 (s.v. ‘Życie chrześcijańskie’ and ‘Chrześcijańska tradycja mistyczna’); K. Rahner and H. Vorgrimler, *Mały słownik teologiczny*, trans. T. Mieszkowski and P. Pachciarek (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX), pp. 240–241 (s.v. ‘Mistyka’).

In Christianity, mysticism is *cognitio experimentalis de Deo*, as defined by Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa Theologica*.<sup>3</sup> Mystical experience is possible through intuition, by means of contemplation and thanks to divine revelation. As a free gift of God, it usually is granted to a previously purified and enlightened soul. The kind of practice which leads to this union with God is contemplation, the highest but simplest kind of prayer, devoid of words, thoughts or images. Contemplation, also called the prayer of the heart or the prayer of the quiet, can be acquired (by practice) or infused (freely given by God), the latter kind being the perfection of the former. The way to it leads through a painful experience of what St. John of the Cross called 'two nights.' The first, the 'night of the senses,' is the stage of wanting God but not perceiving him, a sense of complete desolation and inability to pray. It is accompanied or followed by the 'night of the spirit,' in which the soul becomes "aware of its own utter worthlessness and nothingness."<sup>4</sup> What happens after that is full union, or even deeper than that, ecstatic union, which "suspends by its very intensity the bodily as well as the mental activities."<sup>5</sup> The highest state possible for the soul in this life is the 'mystical marriage' – the soul's deification, i.e. total transformation in its Beloved (God). Bierwiazzonek describes these stages of religious experience as "the religious scenario consisting of purification, illumination and identification with God," which may last all life or "may be repeated an indefinite number of times" in a person's life.<sup>6</sup>

Although, according to Thomas Aquinas quoted above, mystical experience has a cognitive value, this kind of cognition is beyond normal human faculties. Hence, language proves totally inadequate to express it, which has been admitted by numerous mystics,<sup>7</sup> e.g. Thomas Merton:

One of the chief problems of mystical theology is to account for a loving, unitive and supernatural love of God that is beyond concepts, and to do so in language that does not in one way or other become completely misleading. The mystical theologian faces the problem of saying what cannot really be said.<sup>8</sup>

Mystical theology is negative in the sense that every positive statement is immediately qualified with: "but that is not it." One cannot grasp the idea of "unknowing" as long as one clings to the notion of God conceived as a definite, that is to say "defined" or "limited" – therefore "finite" – object. Any experience of God as possessing some finite

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Tomasz z Akwinu, *św., Suma teologiczna*, intro. and trans. F. W. Bednarski OP (London: Veritas, 1971), II-II, q. 97, a. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *"The Cloud of Unknowing" and Other Works*, ed. and trans. C. Wolters (London: Penguin Books), p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> B. Bierwiazzonek, *A Cognitive Study of the Concept of LOVE in English* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2002), pp. 100–101.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. e.g. P. Dinzelbacher (ed.), *Leksykon mistyki*, trans. B. Widła (Warszawa: Verbinum, 2002), pp. 130–131.

<sup>8</sup> T. Merton, "Foreword", [in:] W. Johnston, *The Mysticism of 'The Cloud of Unknowing'* (Wheatthampstead: John Clarke Books, 1978), p. viii.

form or idea which we can grasp is an experience not of God but only of something that remotely resembles Him in an analogical way. There is nothing whatever in existence that even remotely resembles God as He is in Himself. And yet the "knowing" of God in "unknowing," far from being unreal or uncertain, possesses the highest reality and certainty of any experience accessible to man. How is this possible? How can it be explained?<sup>9</sup>

What Merton refers to is, in fact, a whole tradition of describing God in mysticism called the negative way or *via negativa*. This is one of the two mystical traditions of expressing the divine reality, the other being the positive tradition (*via positiva*). Both ways are inadequate; the negative one just being less inadequate than the positive one. While mystics in the positive tradition attempt to express the true nature of God in affirmative terms, those who follow *via negativa* try to convey the sense of his otherness, hiddenness and inaccessibility, e.g. by making negations or using metaphors which employ as their source the conceptual domain of darkness.

Every great mystic, as every genius, is like a huge iceberg with only a fraction of its vast bulk protruding from the waters. Below the surface lies the great mass of tradition upon which the whole thing rests.<sup>10</sup>

William Johnston, a renowned scholar in medieval mysticism and a translator of *The Cloud of Unknowing* into Modern English, could not have been more right. Therefore the following sections of the present study are an attempt to trace back one particular, characteristic metaphor in the negative mystical tradition: the metaphor of a cloud as God's hiding place, related to another metaphor common in *via negativa*: one of darkness. It is beyond the scope of this work to look outside the Christian mystical tradition (except a necessary reference to Platonism and Neoplatonism). I will, therefore, begin with the metaphor of the cloud in the Bible, briefly show its presence (and the presence of a related metaphor of darkness) in the early Christian writers and finally arrive at that anonymous figure who, in the fourteenth-century England, made the metaphor of a cloud the key to his life's work on trying to express the inexpressible God.

### **Darkness and a cloud or clouds in the Bible**

The theme of the inaccessibility of God hidden in darkness or in clouds is at least as old as the Bible. It is present both in the Old and the New Testaments.<sup>11</sup> Already the first verses of *Genesis* contain the image of darkness:

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. ix.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. M. Lurker, *Słownik obrazów i symboli biblijnych*, trans. K. Romaniuk (Poznań: Palotinum, 1989), pp. 141–142.

In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep: and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.<sup>12</sup>

*Exodus* contains numerous examples of the image of a teophanic cloud, i.e. one in which God revealed his glory to Moses. Appearing both in the wilderness and on Mount Sinai, and in various forms, a cloud symbolizes the presence of the Lord and his protection extended over the chosen people. It is a medium between God and the world. At the same time, a cloud hides God from people, as no man can ever see him and go on living.

A cloud appears in the wilderness, leading the Israelites out of the land of Egypt:

And the Lord went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light; to go by day and night. He took not away the pillar of the cloud by day, nor the pillar of fire by night, from before the people.<sup>13</sup>

Before Moses received the commandments from God, he remained on Mount Sinai, in a teophanic cloud, for forty days. It must be noted here that it is the theophanies on Mount Sinai that gave rise to the imagery frequently used in *via negativa* since the very beginning of Christianity.

And Moses went up into the mount, and a cloud covered the mount. And the glory of the Lord abode upon mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days: and the seventh day he called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud. And the sight of the glory of the Lord was like a devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel. And Moses went into the midst of the cloud, and gat him up into the mount: and Moses was in the mount forty days and forty nights.<sup>14</sup>

Clouds appear also in the Psalms, e.g.:

Clouds and darkness are round about him: righteousness and judgement are the habitation of his throne.<sup>15</sup>

Bless the Lord, O my soul [...] Who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters: who maketh the clouds his chariot: who walketh upon the wings of the wind.<sup>16</sup>

A divine cloud, signifying the glory of God, is also present in the temple built by Solomon, filling it when the Ark is placed inside:

And it came to pass, when the priests were come out of the holy place, that the cloud filled the house of the Lord, so that the priests could not stand to minister: for the

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<sup>12</sup> *Genesis* 1 : 1–2. All quotations from the Bible come from the Authorized Version.

<sup>13</sup> *Exodus* 13 : 21–22.

<sup>14</sup> *Exodus* 24 : 15–18.

<sup>15</sup> *Psalms* 97 : 2.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

glory of God had filled the house of the Lord. Then spake Solomon, The Lord said that he would dwell in the thick darkness.<sup>17</sup>

In the New Testament, the best-known image of a theophanic cloud is found in Christ's Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, where he is surrounded by the cloud of light.

While he [Peter] yet spake, behold, a bright cloud overshadowed them: and behold a voice out of the cloud, which said, This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.<sup>18</sup>

Having promised the sending of the Holy Spirit to his disciples, Jesus was "taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight."<sup>19</sup>

In most of the above examples, a cloud or clouds stand for God's glory, protection and presence (though it is a hidden presence). This biblical image will be taken up by early Christian writers, mostly interested in the theme of Moses, whose story will become the symbol of the contemplative way to the hidden, unknown God; and Moses himself will be seen as the figure of a contemplative. This motif will be used by all of the greatest mystical writers who were the predecessors and masters of the Author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, to be finally elaborated by him in the fourteenth-century England.

Biblical clouds have two characteristics: they are white or dark. White, or light, clouds appear in Christ's teophany on Mount Tabor or in the coming of Christ at the Last Judgement. It is also a white cloud that leads the Israelites through the desert during the day. The whiteness of these clouds stands for God's glory. In contrast, the cloud on Mount Sinai is dark, symbolizing God's transcendence and inaccessibility. It is this aspect that is taken up by mystics, including the Author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, because God's hiddenness, and the darkness of human faculties, is the most important condition of the early stage of mystical experience (before the soul can finally be emerged in God's light). Yet, as will be shown in the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, paradoxically, divine darkness is light at the same time.

### Darkness and a cloud in early Christian spiritual writers

As it is beyond the scope of the paper to list all of those early Christian spiritual writers who wrote about the biblical divine cloud or clouds and about darkness, I will only mention the most important ones, i.e. those for whom these images were significant or who developed them in some way.

For the purposes of the present study, the most significant are those spiritual writers who took up the theme of God hidden in a cloud, and, additionally,

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<sup>17</sup> 1 Kings 8 : 10–12.

<sup>18</sup> Matthew 17 : 5.

<sup>19</sup> *The Acts of the Apostles* 1 : 9.

those who used the metaphor of darkness. For Origen, in his exegesis of Christ's Transfiguration, the cloud refers to the Holy Spirit, the 'mystical shadow' of God, who is the main source of knowledge.<sup>20</sup> Gregory of Nyssa wrote the best-known interpretation of the story of Moses, emphasizing the 'cloud' and 'darkness' aspect. The cloud on Mount Sinai is also mentioned by Gregory of Nazianzen. In the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Maxim the Confessor wrote that Moses, who entered the darkness of the cloud which was hiding the Tabernacle during his prayer, stands for someone who – rejecting the world of ideas and images, and with purified imagination – can attain to the true knowledge of God.<sup>21</sup>

Of these, and many others, who employed the image of the cloud, Gregory of Nyssa is the most important. He is said to have "passed beyond the intellectualism of Origen and the intellectual categories of any Platonic mystical thought and, using the language of the Bible, which speaks of man responding to God with his heart, develops a mysticism that knows God beyond knowledge, that feels the presence of God in the darkness of unknowing."<sup>22</sup> As it is stated in the "Preface" to his *Life of Moses*, "Gregory of Nyssa's spiritual writings have no other central theme than his notion of 'spiritual senses' distinct from all other forms of created perception, and which make God accessible to man."<sup>23</sup> Using the story of Moses as a model of a mystic's ascent to God, Gregory of Nyssa describes how the mystic meets God in the cloud, i.e. "without the help of created vision, since God is totally invisible and incomprehensible to the created eye, and inaccessible to the created mind."<sup>24</sup> For Gregory, the cloud on Mount Sinai is "the inner sanctuary of the divine mystical doctrine."<sup>25</sup> About Moses in the cloud on Mount Sinai he also says:

He teaches, I think, by the things that he did that the one who is going to associate intimately with God must go beyond all that is visible and (lifting up his own mind, as to a mountaintop, to the invisible and incomprehensible) believe that the divine is there where the understanding does not reach.<sup>26</sup>

In an answer to the question "What does it mean that Moses entered the darkness and then saw God in it?" Gregory writes:

For leaving behind everything that is observed, not only what sense comprehends but also what the intelligence thinks it sees, it [the mind] keeps penetrating deeper until by the intelligence's yearning for understanding it gains access to the invisible and the incomprehensible, and there it sees God. This is the true knowledge of what is sought;

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<sup>20</sup> Cf. I. Trzcińska, *Światło i obłok. Z badań nad bizantyńską ikonografią Przemienienia* (Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy NOMOS, 1998), p. 106.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>22</sup> R. Woods, *Mysticism and Prophecy: The Dominican Tradition* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd., 1998), pp. 51–52.

<sup>23</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *op. cit.*, p. xiii.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, §46.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

this is the seeing that consists in not seeing, because that which is sought transcends all knowledge, being separated on all sides by incomprehensibility as by kind of darkness. Wherefore John the sublime, who penetrated into the luminous darkness, says, No one has ever seen God, thus asserting that knowledge of the divine essence is unattainable [...].<sup>27</sup>

And the notion of 'luminous darkness,' mentioned here, was to be best elaborated about two centuries later by someone from whom the Dionysian tradition in mysticism took its name, whereas the image of a cloud as presented by Gregory of Nyssa was employed by Richard of St. Victor. As these two figures were to become the only two known direct influences on the Author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, they require full presentation.

## Luminous darkness in Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite

### His identity and writings

Although we do not even know his real name, what he wrote formed one of the two major influences on the Author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, anonymous just like him; not to mention the fact that the writings of this so-called Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite were a breakthrough in the history of Christian mystical thought.

The authority which this mysterious figure, probably a Syrian monk from the turn of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, enjoyed in the Middle Ages came from a false identification of the name 'Dionysius', which he used, with the following two figures. He was either taken for Dionysius, a member of the Areopagus Council in Athens, converted by St. Paul, or for the patron saint of France and an apostle to the Gauls who, "after he was beheaded in Paris in 272, got up and carried his head the six miles to the town where he would be buried, whence its name, St. Denis."<sup>28</sup> Common belief in such an authorship of his works lasted until the Renaissance, when it was first questioned by Erasmus of Rotterdam, to be ultimately disproved by German scholars in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

His writings, four major treatises: *The Divine Names*, *The Mystical Theology*, *The Celestial Hierarchy* and *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, as well as several letters, were deeply rooted in the late Neoplatonism, especially in the works of Proklos. The Neoplatonic knowledge became an inspiration for Pseudo-Dionysius, who developed it in the Christian spirit.<sup>29</sup> He was also influenced by Christian Platonism and Neoplatonism in the person of Gregory of Nyssa.

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, §163.

<sup>28</sup> D. Barnes, "Introduction", [in:] Richard of St. Victor, *Richard of St. Victor: The Twelve Patriarchs, The Mystical Ark, Book Three of the Trinity*, trans. and intr. G. A. Zinn (New York/Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1990), p. 12.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. T. Stępień, „Przedmowa”, [in:] Pseudo-Dionizy Areopagita, *Pseudo-Dionizy Areopagita: Pisma Teologiczne: Imiona boskie, Teologia mistyczna, Listy*, trans. M. Dzielska (Kra-ków: Znak, 1997), pp. 15–17; M. Dzielska, „Świetlista ciemność”, [in:] *Życie duchowe*, 6 (1999), pp. 36–37.

According to Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, the various names given to unknown God lead us close to the knowledge of him, yet no name can ever grasp his substance. Since no name can do it, the soul must enter the state of complete ignorance, which Dionysius described as darkness filled with light. In other words, the soul must transcend all knowledge. The only way to speak about God is then by negation, which Dionysius presented in *The Mystical Theology*, where he formulated *via negativa* in its extreme form.

The way of a mystic to God has three stages: purification, illumination (which happens beyond the powers of the mind and which opens the flower of the mind) and finally union, accompanied by deification (*theosis*), in which the soul loses even the consciousness of its own separate being. This mystical union with God is the aim of the mystical theology of Pseudo-Dionysius.

As has already been said, Pseudo-Dionysius exerted a crucial influence on later Christian mysticism. Credited for “linking kataphatic and apophatic elements in a theological dialectic in which terms used to designate God,”<sup>30</sup> he gave his name to the whole negative tradition within Christian spirituality. *The Mystical Theology* became the main source of inspiration in medieval mysticism: numerous medieval writers either translated or commented on Dionysius. In the late 14<sup>th</sup> century a translation of *The Mystical Theology* into English appeared under the title *Deonise Hid Diuinite (Dionise Hid Divinite)*, thus making it more accessible. It was most probably made by the Author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*.

### ***Mystical Theology: the darkness of unknowing***

Words referring to the sense of vision (and denying its validity) appear in almost every sentence of *The Mystical Theology*. The key terms are ‘darkness’ (further elaborated as ‘sightless,’ ‘invisible,’ ‘imperceptible’) and ‘light’ (and the verb ‘illuminate’), also paradoxically joined in a single expression ‘darkness beyond light’ or ‘dark beyond all light.’<sup>31</sup> This is all meant to point out the absolute incomprehensibility of God. God abides in darkness which symbolizes unknowing, his inaccessibility to the human intellect or any other natural faculty of man. At the same time, a mystic, when already devoid of self-awareness and of the power of his mind, becomes enlightened in this darkness of unknowing. Thus in the state of the mystical union darkness is light and light is darkness, as exemplified by the following quotations:

There the simple, absolved, and  
unchanged mysteries of theology  
lie hidden in the darkness beyond light  
of the hidden mystical silence,

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<sup>30</sup> Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>31</sup> All quotations of single words, phrases or longer passages from *The Mystical Theology* come from: Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: The Divine Names and Mystical Theology*, trans. J. D. Jones (Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1980), [in:] *Medieval Philosophical Texts in Translation*, 21, ed. J. H. Robb.

there in the greatest darkness,  
 that beyond all that is most evident  
 exceedingly illuminates the sightless intellects.  
 There, in the wholly imperceptible and invisible,  
 that beyond all that is most evident  
 fills to overflowing the sightless intellects  
 with the glories beyond all beauty.<sup>32</sup>

[...] you will be purely raised up  
 to the rays of the divine darkness  
 beyond being.<sup>33</sup>

Into the dark beyond light  
 we pray to come,  
 through not seeing and not knowing, to see and to know  
 that beyond sight and knowledge [...]  
 we do this that we may see  
 the darkness beyond being  
 which is hidden by all the light in beings.<sup>34</sup>

*The Mystical Theology* expresses the *via negativa* of contemplation in its extreme form. God cannot be named in any possible way; he can be best approached by negating, i.e. by stating what he is not rather than what he is. Pseudo-Dionysius established a special way of speaking about God: every affirmative statement (such as: God is light) must be followed by its denial (e.g. God is darkness), and these two are joined by the complementary formula (God is radiant darkness, darkness filled with light). This is possible because, in reference to God, affirmations and denials are not opposed – God is beyond them.

Beyond affirmation and negation, human intellect becomes useless. Knowing God requires a faculty higher than that because “the highest form of knowing God that is possible for man is unknowing,”<sup>35</sup> as it was for Moses on Mount Sinai. About Moses’ access to God Pseudo-Dionysius says:

He does not see God  
 – for God is unseen –  
 but the place where God is.<sup>36</sup>

In meeting God, Moses had to lose himself and remain in the darkness of unknowing:

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<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 215–216.

<sup>35</sup> Stępień, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>36</sup> Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

And then Moses  
 abandons those who see and what is seen  
 and enters into the really mystical  
 darkness of unknowing;  
 in this he shuts out every knowing apprehension  
 and comes to be in the wholly  
 imperceptible and invisible,  
 be-ing entirely of that beyond all –  
 of nothing, neither himself nor another,  
 united most excellently  
 by the completely unknowing inactivity  
 of every knowledge, and  
 knowing beyond intellect  
 by knowing nothing.<sup>37</sup>

And this particular phrase ‘darkness of unknowing’ will be taken up and serve as the source for the metaphor of ‘the cloud of unknowing’ in, first, Richard of St. Victor and after him, the Author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*.

## The cloud of unknowing and the cloud of forgetting in Richard of St. Victor

### His life and writings

As was shown above, the image of a cloud, or clouds, was employed in spiritual texts in order to describe God’s inaccessibility to man and man’s way to God. Richard of St. Victor’s significance for the history of the metaphor of a cloud in mysticism lies in the fact that he was the first to use this image in a new way: he wrote about exactly two clouds on man’s way to God. This is why, apart from Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, Richard of St. Victor exerted crucial influence on the Author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*.

Although Richard is considered a major spiritual writer of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, almost nothing is known about his life. Born either in Scotland or Ireland, he came to the then famous Abbey of St. Victor near Paris in the 1150s. The Abbey, founded under the Rule of St. Augustine, had already been famous for one great religious teacher, Hugh of St. Victor, to whom Richard became heir as his most renowned disciple, and further developed the so-called Victorine tradition in mystical teaching. Hugh wrote an influential commentary on *The Celestial Hierarchies* of Pseudo-Dionysius, who in this way was to become the main inspiration for Richard. In 1162 Richard became prior of the Abbey – his task was to direct and teach novices. Hence his numerous writings, among which are: *The Twelve Patriarchs*, also known under the title *Benjamin Minor, or the Preparation of the Soul for Contemplation*, and the book which complemented it, namely *The Mystical Ark*, also known as *Benjamin Major, or of the Grace of Contemplation*.

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<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

***The Mystical Ark or Benjamin Major: two clouds***

The description of the highest, ecstatic kind of contemplation, elaborated in *The Mystical Ark*, is based on the biblical image of Moses climbing the mountain and remaining on the summit in a cloud, as well as on the Dionysian theme of unknowing, characteristic for ecstasy, which introduces the soul into darkness. It is here that Richard uses the image of two clouds: the cloud of unknowing (*nubes ignorantiae*) and the cloud of forgetting (*nubes oblivionis*), the latter doubled by the image of a veil:

In order that Moses might be able to see the ark and both cherubim from a divine showing, he ascended the mountain and entered into a cloud. [...] What does it mean to approach a mountain except to rise up to a high heart according to a prophetic statement? But then a cloud covers a mountain of this sort when the memory of everything exterior is forgotten by the mind. Moses remains on this mountain for six days; on the seventh day from the middle of the cloud he is called to a conversation with the Lord.<sup>38</sup>

Moses enters into the middle of the cloud when the human mind, having been engrossed by the boundlessness of divine light, is put into a state of sleep with supreme forgetfulness of self. So you can marvel, and you ought justly to marvel, how there the cloud harmonizes with the fire, and the fire with the cloud: the cloud of ignorance with the fire of the illuminated understanding; ignorance and forgetting of things known and experienced with the showing and understanding of things previously unknown and unexperienced up to that point. For at one and the same time human understanding is illuminated with respect to divine things and darkened with respect to human things.<sup>39</sup>

About two states of the soul, the common one (in which we “gaze at the visible things”) and the ecstatic one (in which we “contemplate invisible divine things”), Richard writes:

But a dense veil of forgetting separates and shuts off these states from each other [...] For when we are carried away either above or within ourselves by ecstasy of mind in contemplation of divine things, we immediately forget all exterior things – nay not only those which are outside us but also those which are in us. And again: When we return to ourselves from that state of sublimity, we are completely unable to recall to our memory, with that truth and clarity we earlier observed, those things which we earlier saw above ourselves. And although we may retain in memory something from that experience and see it through a veil, as it were, and as though in the middle of the cloud, we lack the ability to comprehend or call to mind either the manner of seeing or the quality of the vision. [...] Certainly you see that the human mind – whether it goes into that innermost place of hidden secrets or whether it goes out from there to exterior things – you see, I say, that each of these has a veil of forgetting.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Richard of St. Victor, *Richard of St. Victor: The Twelve Patriarchs, The Mystical Ark, Book Three of the Trinity*, trans. and intr. G. A. Zinn (New York/Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1990), pp. 302–303.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 303.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 306.

Speaking of forgetting Richard uses a double image: of a veil, compared to that of a cloud. 'Veil' might have been the choice made by Richard's translator into Modern English because reliable scholars<sup>41</sup> mention Richard as the first to use the term 'cloud of forgetting' (*nubes oblivionis*) to refer to a mystical state of forgetting the things of the world, which conditions the state of unknowing. Anyway, both metaphors of the cloud and of the veil of forgetting involve the same image schema structuring their source domain, namely **blockage**. They are both based on the idea of blockage to vision, which can be caused by a cloud (hiding e.g. the sun from our view) as well as a veil (e.g. hiding a person's face so that we cannot see it).

## *The Cloud of Unknowing*

### The Author's identity and his writings

The 14<sup>th</sup> century in England has left us seven anonymous mystical treatises, all of which were written in the same dialect of North-East Midlands: *De Cloude of Vnknowyng (The Cloud of Unknowing)*, *De Book of Priue Counseling (The Book of Privy Counselling)*, *Deonise Hid Diuinite (Dionise Hid Divinite)*, *A Tretyse of þe Stodye of Wysdome þat Men Clepen Benjamin (The Treatise of the Study of Wisdom that Men Call Benjamin)*, *A Pistle of Preier (The Epistle of Prayer)*, *A Pistle of Discrecioun of Stirings of þe Soule (The Epistle of Discretion in the Stirrings of the Soul)* and *A Tretis of Discrecyon of Spirites (The Treatise of Discerning of Spirits)*. Establishing their common authorship was a difficult task based on thorough linguistic and textual analysis:

Only on the basis of a linguistic analysis has it been assumed that all of them had one common author. Just from the blessing he gave at the end of three of his treatises, it has been concluded that he was a priest, and therefore a man, not a woman. This is all we know about the mysterious spiritual writer who did not even leave his name anywhere, whether false (like his master Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite) or true. There have been numerous speculations as to his identity: "It has been suggested that he was a secular priest, a cloistered monk, a Carthusian, not a Carthusian, a hermit, a recluse."<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Unfortunately, the Latin original of *Benjamin Major* has been inaccessible to me, but with respect to the metaphor of the cloud, and not veil, of forgetting, I rely on such scholars as Prof. Phyllis Hodgson (see her introduction to *The Cloud of Unknowing* and *The Book of Privy Counselling*, ed., trans. and intr. Ph. Hodgson [London: Oxford University Press for The Early English Text Society, 1944], p. lxii) and W. Giertych OP (see his „Wstęp” to *Obłok niewiedzy*, trans. W. Unolt [Poznań: W Drodze, 2001], p. 17). Giertych writes (translation into English is mine – A.G.): „It was Richard who first wrote about *nubes ignorantiae*, a cloud of unknowing which separates man from God, and *nubes oblivionis*, a cloud of forgetting which covers the forgiven sins.”

<sup>42</sup> Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxiii; A. Gicala, *Expressing the Inexpressible in Mystical Experience. Conceptual Metaphor and Blending in Translations of “The Cloud of Unknowing”* (Łask: Leksem, 2006), p. 41 (for a detailed analysis of the influences on the English Author see Wolters 1978: 14–17; Hodgson, *op. cit.*, pp. lvii–lxxvii).

His only legacy is his work, from which we further assume that he must have been a contemplative himself, for he approaches his subject in a very personal way, but also a well-educated theologian, for his work reveals his knowledge not only of Pseudo-Dionysius and the Victorines, but also of St. Augustine, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, St. Thomas Aquinas, Albert the Great, Guigo II, St. Gregory of Nyssa and St. Gregory, the Pope of Rome. The problem with how to refer to him has found more than one solution: "It is therefore a difficult and awkward task just to refer to him – scholars call him the Author of 'The Cloud of Unknowing,' the English Author, the English writer, or simply the Englishman."<sup>43</sup>

Two of the works are certainly not his own: *Deonise Hid Diuinite* is his close and quite accurate translation of Pseudo-Dionysius' *The Mystical Theology* (the first translation of Pseudo-Dionysius into the vernacular). The second is a free translation, or a paraphrase, of Richard of St. Victor's *Benjamin Minor*, rendered in English under the same title. The third, *The Treatise of Discerning of Spirits*, is in one third a translation of St. Bernard of Clairvaux' *Sermones de Diversis*, whereas the rest of it is the Author's own elaboration of it.

It is significant that the English Author chose to translate just these two spiritual writers, Pseudo-Dionysius and Richard, so profound and influential in the formulation of the *via negativa* of contemplation. The Author also follows this way: the way of negation in referring to God. Hence the title of his best-known work, *The Cloud of Unknowing*, as well as its imagery – namely, the image of two clouds – used there in a very consistent, coherent way.

The remaining four treatises are the Author's own original works, each having the form of a letter to his young disciple and addressed "Goostly frende in God." However, they are not original in the sense that their ideas are not the Author's own invention: he used Pseudo-Dionysius as his theological background and from Richard of St. Victor he took his psychology and imagery, not to mention other influences. The originality of these writings lies in the development of the thought and imagery of his predecessors, which the English Author made more complex and poetic.

Each of the seven little books written by the Englishman describes a different aspect of the mystical way to God. It is said that *The Cloud* described what was later called by St. John of the Cross 'the night of the senses.' Here, in a very vivid and often humorous language, the Author tells a young disciple, who is already advanced in contemplation, what difficulties he is going to meet in 'this work,' how the devil will try to hinder him, and how his consciousness – the consciousness of his sins and even of his own being – will be a hindrance. The Author warns him against false symptoms of mystical experience, against the exaggerated, artificial behaviour of those who would like to be seen as mystics, and against taking literally the metaphors used in *The Cloud* and other spiritual texts. He even suggests to his young disciple some little 'tricks,' as he calls them, which are techniques meant to free a contemplative from the hindrances by apparent surrender to them, and

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

to bring him closer to God by cheating on God, i.e. by paradoxical hiding away from him.

Most importantly, the Author teaches the way of contemplation by explaining its mechanism as the existence, and the use, of two clouds: the cloud of forgetting and the cloud of unknowing. The first one should cover all thoughts of the created world that the mystic might have, including the thoughts of his sins and of himself:

& fonde for to felle alle wetyng & felyng of ouzt vnder God, & treed alle doun ful fer vnder þe cloude of forzetyng.<sup>44</sup>

Try to suppress all knowledge and feeling of anything less than God, and trample it down deep under the cloud of forgetting.<sup>45</sup>

The other cloud is the metaphor of the lack of knowledge and the impotence of human reason when approaching God:

[...] for *zif* euer schalt þou fele him or see him, as it may be here, it behouep alweis in þis cloude & in þis derknes.<sup>46</sup>

For if you are to feel him or to see him in this life, it must always be in this cloud, in this darkness.<sup>47</sup>

The clouds are the Author's version of the Dionysian darkness, which hides God from the eyes of human intellect and an elaboration of the Biblical cloud in which Moses met God – the inspiration which the Author got both directly from Pseudo-Dionysius and the Bible, and from these sources also via the writings of Richard of St. Victor, especially his *Benjamin Major*. About the cloud of unknowing Johnston, a well-known *Cloud* translator and scholar, writes:

The English author goes to some trouble to explain that the cloud he speaks of is a mystical grace in which the faculties are impeded and the soul rests silently in God. [...] He means a psychological condition in which the mind is dark from a 'lack of knowing': on the one hand it has abandoned all knowledge of creatures, burying them beneath the cloud of forgetting, and on the other it cannot know God with clear and distinct knowledge. [...] It is then like that cloud of St. John of the Cross who, speaking of the distress of the impeded faculties, says that 'a thick and heavy cloud is upon the soul, keeping it in affliction, and, as it were, far away from God.'<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> *The Cloud of Unknowing* (1944), p. 82.

<sup>45</sup> "*The Cloud of Unknowing*" and *Other Works*, ed. and trans. C. Wolters (London: Penguin Books, 1978), p. 110.

<sup>46</sup> *The Cloud of Unknowing* (1944), p. 17.

<sup>47</sup> *The Cloud of Unknowing* (1978), p. 62.

<sup>48</sup> *Dark Night* II, XVI, 1. Johnston, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–53.

### His inspiration

All that the Author wrote is so permeated with the thought and imagery of his spiritual masters, Pseudo-Dionysius and Richard of St. Victor, that their influence ought to be pointed out in detail.

### The influence of Pseudo-Dionysius on the Author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*

“The whole of the teaching on prayer in *The Cloud* and *Privy Counsel* is an exposition of the Dionysian doctrine that: «þe moste goodly knowyng of God is þat, þe whiche is knowyn bi vnknowyng.»<sup>49</sup> as is stated by Hodgson,<sup>50</sup> who in her “Introduction” to *The Cloud of Unknowing* investigated into this influence extensively. The above statement is the only direct quotation from Pseudo-Dionysius (namely, from *The Divine Names*, chapter vii<sup>51</sup>), but throughout the Author’s writings there are numerous references to his thought, acknowledged and unacknowledged.

The state of ignorance, called ‘darkness,’ is the main theme of both *The Mystical Theology* and *The Cloud of Unknowing*. The Author uses this term in the same sense as Pseudo-Dionysius, and interchangeably, or besides his own term ‘cloud.’ Obviously, the Author’s model of contemplation is based on the biblical story of Moses climbing Mount Sinai as described by Pseudo-Dionysius, who concentrated in it on the aspect of darkness: God’s invisibility and the contemplative’s blindness (impotence of knowledge).

Darkness is also mentioned in Chapter I of the English translation:

[...] and enteren wiþ affeccion into derknes, where verely he is, as þe Scripture schewþ, þe wiche is abouen al.<sup>52</sup>

[...] and enter into the darkness with love; for in truth it is here, as the Bible makes clear, that he dwells who is above all.<sup>53</sup>

In þis tyme it was þat Moyses in syngulertee of affeccion was departid from þees beforeseyde chosen preestes, & entrid by hymself þe derknes of vnknowyng [...]<sup>54</sup>

It is now that Moses with his especial love is separated from the priests already mentioned, and enters by himself into the darkness of unknowing [...]<sup>55</sup>

<sup>49</sup> The Middle English quotation comes from Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. 125 (*The Cloud of Unknowing*, Chapter 70). In modern English, the quotation is: „the most godlike knowledge of God is that which is known by unknowing” (Wolters 1978: 145).

<sup>50</sup> *The Cloud of Unknowing* (1944), p. lx.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Pseudo-Dionizy Areopagita, *op. cit.*, p. 128 (Chapter VII.3.): „Istnieje jednak najbardziej boska wiedza o Bogu, która wypływa z niewiedzy [...]”.

<sup>52</sup> *The Cloud of Unknowing* (1944), p. 4.

<sup>53</sup> *The Cloud of Unknowing* (1978), p. 211. Here *The Mystical Theology* says: „[...] and enter into divine darkness/where really is – as the writings say –/that beyond all” (Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *op. cit.*, p. 213).

<sup>54</sup> *The Cloud of Unknowing* (1944), p. 5.

<sup>55</sup> *The Cloud of Unknowing* (1978), pp. 211–212. *The Mystical Theology* says: „And then Moses/abandons those who see and what is seen/and enters into the really mystical/darkness of unknowing [...]” (Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *op. cit.*, p. 214).

### The influence of Richard of St. Victor on the Author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*

The Author of *The Cloud of Unknowing* owes a lot to Richard. Not only did he borrow even quite long passages from *Benjamin Major*, but he also translated almost the whole of *Benjamin Minor* and, most importantly, it is from Richard that he took the basic image of the clouds (which, of course, he developed in his unique way).

To quote Hodgson, “the «cloud of unknowing» is adapted from the Dionysian conception of the «darkness of unknowing»,<sup>56</sup> especially that “Richard of St. Victor’s cloud is also paradoxically luminous.”<sup>57</sup> Most passages quoted from *Benjamin Major* above contain the image of the cloud of unknowing on the one hand, and the image of the cloud, or veil, of forgetting on the other. Although the image of a cloud or clouds had been widely used before Richard’s time (as has been already shown in the present study) and it had been meant, though not only, in the sense of the Dionysian ‘darkness,’ Richard of St. Victor was the first to use precisely two clouds in the following way: the function of the cloud of unknowing was to stand between man and God and immerse the mystic in a state of the lack of vision while the function of the cloud of forgetting was to suspend the awareness of all creation so that the mystic can forget both the created world and himself and turn wholly to God. The clouds have the same function in Richard’s work as they later do in *The Cloud of Unknowing* (the very title of the English Author’s treatise signals the origin of the image).

### Conclusion

*The Cloud of Unknowing* is the only treatise written by the English Author in which the image of the two clouds appears. Out of all of his treatises, this one has become the most popular, most widely read and quoted. Its imagery seems to be the most appealing to the imagination of its readers, and perhaps that is why the man who wrote all of the seven treatises has been called the Author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, and not e.g. the Author of *Privy Counselling* (though this is his most mature work).

The image of the two clouds is the most complex and best elaborated out of all images which the Author uses throughout his works. The two clouds refer not only to the theological side of the mystical ‘work’ but also to its psychological aspect. It is believed that St. John of the Cross must have read the writings of the English Author. St. John, so much better-known than the Author and so much more precise and literary in his descriptions of mystical experience, also made use of *two* kinds of mystical states, just naming them ‘nights’ rather than ‘clouds.’ The fact that the English Author has been named “a St. John of the Cross two centuries before his

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<sup>56</sup> *The Cloud of Unknowing* (1944), p. lxii.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* (footnote). The darkness of unknowing is described by Pseudo-Dionysius as full of light.

time" (Johnston 1978: 11) proves that he was psychologically very accurate in his 'cloud' model of contemplation.

To conclude the present study, let the English Author speak for himself in perhaps the most poetic passage from *The Cloud of Unknowing*:

Lette not þe fore, bot trauayle þer-in tyl þou fele lyst. For at þe first tyme when þou dost it, þou fyndest bot a derknes, & as it were a cloude of vnknowyng, þou wost neuer what, sauyn þat þou felist in þi wille a nakid entent vnto God. Þis derknes & þis cloude is, how-so-euer þou dost, bitwix þee & þi God, & letteþ þee þat þou maist not see him cleerly by lizt of vnderstanding in þi reson, ne fele him in swetnes of loue in þin affeccion.<sup>58</sup>

Do not give up then, but work away at it till you have this longing. When you first begin, you find only darkness, and as it were a cloud of unknowing. You don't know what this means except that in your will you feel a simple steadfast intention reaching out towards God. Do what you will, this darkness and this cloud remain between you and God, and stop you both from seeing him in the clear light of rational understanding, and from experiencing his loving sweetness in your affection.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> *The Cloud of Unknowing* (1944), pp. 16–17.

<sup>59</sup> *The Cloud of Unknowing* (1978), p. 61.

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## **Obłok niewiedzy: źródła zastosowanego obrazowania w judeochrześcijańskiej tradycji duchowej**

### **Streszczenie**

Niniejsza praca ukazuje źródła tytułowej metafory „obłoku” w anonimowym arcydziele XIV-wiecznej mistyki angielskiej, zatytułowanym *Obłok niewiedzy*. Dzieło to posiada ogromną wartość religijną, lecz również literacką – po części ze względu na swą niepowtarzalną, rozbudowaną metaforykę, która jednakowoż wyrasta z długiej tradycji. Z tego to powodu w artykule główny nacisk położony został na tło historyczne dzieła, prześledzono tradycję negacji w mistycyzmie chrześcijańskim, a w szczególności jeden konkretny obraz stosowany przez autorów tekstów duchowych, poprzedników autora *Obłoku niewiedzy*.

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## THE HOPES OF REGENERATION IN JOHN DRYDEN'S EARLY RESTORATION POEMS

### Summary

Cromwell's death and the ineffective rule of his son Richard led to the inevitable decision made by the English government – Charles II was to be restored to secure social stability and royal continuity. When in January 1660 the Restoration of the Stuarts became the fact, Dryden decided to celebrate the King's return writing a ceremonial panegyric '*Astrea Redux*', *A Poem On the Happy Restoration and Return Of His Sacred Majesty Charles the Second*. The poem was supposed to be a welcoming oratory written to greet a hereditary monarch holding a divine mandate to bring peace to his country in chaos. Hopkins suggests that Dryden's change was not a sign of opportunism but a prudent and conscious decision which suited to the new circumstances. Brown thinks that with time "the earlier accusations of political opportunism and self-interested aesthetic pragmatism have given way to an emphasis on Dryden's divide consciousness [...]."<sup>1</sup> Dryden's political shift from republicanism to monarchy shows that it was not the poet's idea to take advantages of the new political situation but to support and strengthen strong authority delegated by God. Moreover, Charles's return rekindled great hopes of political renewal and social regeneration, which Dryden had always cherished so much. The paper discusses Dryden's Restoration poems *Astrea Redux* and *To His Sacred Majesty* in the context of the poet's belief in the regenerating attributions of authority.

Cromwell's death and the ineffective rule of his son Richard led to the inevitable decision made by the English government – Charles II was to be restored to secure social stability and royal continuity. When in January 1660 the Restoration of the Stuarts became the fact, Dryden decided to celebrate the King's return writing a ceremonial panegyric *Astrea Redux*, *A Poem On the Happy Restoration and Return Of His Sacred Majesty Charles the Second*. The poem was supposed to be a welcoming oratory written to greet a hereditary monarch holding a divine mandate to bring peace to his country in chaos. Dryden's enemies remembered his elegy on the death of Cromwell and received *Astrea Redux* with scorn. The poet was subjected to spiteful remarks and accusations of being a turn-coat. Nevertheless, Dryden's early critics and biographers notice that since it was a time of significant political changes, the poet, who observed the crucial political event of his times, had

<sup>1</sup> L. Brown, "The Ideology of Restoration Poetic Form: John Dryden", *PMLA*, 97 (1982), p. 395.

to change himself significantly as well. Walter Scott believes that Dryden's *Heroic Stanzas* was quickly forgotten after the Restoration and it was the poet's right and duty to see a new light in politics. Hopkins, referring to Saintsbury's opinion, stresses another aspect of the problem. He says that *Heroic Stanzas* was necessary for Dryden to build and develop his political consciousness and that his eulogy on Cromwell was sincere:

[...] The Cromwell poem was a trial of strength and from it Dryden proceeded to something better. Perhaps, as George Saintsbury suggests, he was genuinely glad to see Charles on the throne, despite the sincerity of his mourning for Cromwell (for it is certainly sincere).<sup>2</sup>

Hopkins concludes claiming that there was nothing unusual in Dryden's political shift as "this was a reasonable attitude in a professional writer, as Dryden shortly became. «The King is dead – Long live the King» was a convenient slogan, especially if the dead king were only a Lord Protector."<sup>3</sup> The critic suggests that Dryden's change was not a sign of opportunism but a prudent and conscious decision which suited to the new circumstances. Brown thinks that with time "the earlier accusations of political opportunism and self-interested aesthetic pragmatism have given way to an emphasis on Dryden's divide consciousness [...]."<sup>4</sup> Bredvold adds his opinion justifying Dryden's move in relation to Samuel Johnson's famous remark:

That Dryden, in Johnson's phrase "changed with the nation" is evident enough. But the change offers no more difficulty than the account of any modern patriotic English historian who, after doing justice to the greatness of Cromwell, proceeds to describe the jubilant welcome to Charles in 1660 [...].<sup>5</sup>

All of the above opinions concerning Dryden's political shift from republicanism to monarchy show that it was not the poet's idea to take advantages of the new political situation but to support and strengthen strong authority delegated by God. Moreover, Charles's return rekindled great hopes of political renewal and social regeneration, which Dryden had always cherished so much. Besides, when later Dryden became a Poet Laureate and wrote his *Absalom and Achitophel* and *The Medall* – the poems on the Exclusion Crisis which promoted Stuart succession – he proved to follow the same policy: the historical continuity and prosperity of the nation can be only achieved when it is ruled by hereditary, God-anointed authority.

The Restoration of Charles II spurred great hopes of change and new order among English society. His reign was expected to bring relief to the nation tired

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<sup>2</sup> K. Hopkins, *The Poets Laureate* (Bath: The Pitman Press, 1954), p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

<sup>5</sup> L. I. Bredvold, *The Intellectual Milieu of John Dryden* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1934), p. 133.

with chaos and anarchy. Winn recalls and paraphrases an entry from Samuel Pepys's *Diary* referring to the Restoration of 1660:

[...] As rumps of beef roasted over fires in the streets, the jubilant crowds celebrated their hope that the King would restore order. [...] After twenty years of surprising, even unprecedented events, the nation had come round to a desire for the old order.<sup>6</sup>

Dryden's *Astrea Redux* depicts the social mood of hope and faith in regeneration and rebirth after a long period of instability. It is best seen in the final part of the poem (lines 283–323) where the poet's original intention to evoke a sense of renewal is highlighted:

How shall I speak of that triumphant Day  
When you renew'd the expiring Pomp of  
May!<sup>7</sup>

The lines reveal some symbolism through which the seasonal changes are associated with the change in the nation. The reference to May, a month which marks a new beginning and natural blossom, "forces the reader to think of process and change."<sup>8</sup> A few lines further Dryden strengthens the image of Charles II as a harbinger of renewal:

That Star, that at your Birth shone out so  
bright,  
It stain'd the duller Suns Meridan light,  
Did once again its potent Fires renew,  
Guiding our Eyes to find and worship you.<sup>9</sup>

Here Dryden suggests that Charles's birth was providential as it was accompanied by a "Star that shone out so bright." For Dryden, both the King's birth and his return to England signify the hopes of regeneration and change, so much needed in England. Garrison comments on the above passage: "In *Astrea Redux* [...] Dryden, developing the parallel by allusion to the king's birth star, celebrates the restoration of the prince as a new birth for the nation."<sup>10</sup> What is more, the renewal that the King represents, in the poet's eyes, should be a subject of worship of all the English people and that suggests Dryden's belief in the power of a strong leader.

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<sup>6</sup> J. A. Winn, *John Dryden and His World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 105.

<sup>7</sup> J. Dryden, "Astrea Redux", [in:] *The Poems of John Dryden Edited with an Introduction and Textual Notes by John Sargeant* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), ll. 284–286.

<sup>8</sup> J. Blair, "Dryden's Ceremonial Hero", *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900*, 9 (1969), p. 382.

<sup>9</sup> Dryden, "Astrea Redux", *op cit.*, ll. 287–291.

<sup>10</sup> J. D. Garrison, *Dryden and the Tradition of Panegyric* (London: University of California Press, 1975), p. 183.

The poet strengthens the image of the King as a peacemaker and a supporter of civil order by juxtaposing the present with the past. Blair says that to employ “the theme of the return of order, [...] recent history is compared to the chaotic periods.”<sup>11</sup> Charles II is seen as figure of historical significance who “will bind up the wounds of hateful Civil War through foreign conquest.”<sup>12</sup>

Some lazy Ages lost in sleep and ease  
 No action leave to busie Chronicles;  
 Such whose supine felicity but makes  
 In story Chasmes, in Epoche's mistakes;  
 O're whom Time gently shakes his wings of Down  
 Till with his silent sickle they are mown:  
 Such is not Charles his too too active age,  
 Which govern'd by the wild distemper'd rage  
 Of some black Star infecting all the Skies,  
 Made him at his own cost like Adam wise.<sup>13</sup>

The above passage shows the disorder that the monarch finds upon his return to England. Haley notices that the greatest hope that the people of England set on Charles is to overcome the chaos by means of justice. The titular myth is the return of the goddess of justice Astrea. Dryden puts the blame for Charles's suffering on those who represent the past “wild distemper'd rage” and “some lazy ages lost in sleep and ease.” The chaotic past is symbolically illustrated as a “black Star infecting all the Skies.” McFadden, however, suggests that the past and the present in Dryden's political poetry complement one another. In the case of the above passage, it is the reference to Adam that informs the reader that Charles learned a lesson of wisdom from the past actions and made his way from innocence to experience. McFadden claims that the image “suggests Charles's awareness of hard reality by its reference to Adam and his tasting the fruit of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, at the same time as it acknowledges the lost innocence of the King.”<sup>14</sup> In this sense, the people expect the monarch to be wiser than the former rulers. Haley concludes his analysis of the above passage saying that “Dryden's monarch brings peace to England by refraining from action in this “too too active age.”<sup>15</sup> The poet and his countrymen, tired with years of chaos, hope that the Restoration will stand for order, stability and peace and that the new era will be less “active” than the previous one.

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<sup>11</sup> Blair, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

<sup>12</sup> G. McFadden, *Dryden the Public Writer 1660–1685* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 27.

<sup>13</sup> Dryden, “Astrea Redux”, *op. cit.*, ll. 105–114.

<sup>14</sup> McFadden, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>15</sup> D. B. Haley, *Dryden and the Problem of Freedom: the Republican Aftermath 1649–1680* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 83.

In *Astrea Redux*, Dryden also evokes the sense of rebirth of old values by referring to the times before the Civil War. The poet provides the panegyric with an epigraph which is a passage from Virgil's *Pastoral V*, in his own translation

The last great age, foretold by sacred rhymes,  
Renews its finish'd course; Saturnian times  
Roll round again.<sup>16</sup>

McFadden claims that Dryden's "primary sense of greatness of the «Last Age» was, as suited his own dominant commitment, literary. It was the age before the Civil War ruined arts and manners, the age of Jonson and Donne and above all Shakespeare" (McFadden, 55).<sup>17</sup> Dryden believes that the Restoration of Charles II does not only mean a return of the old political order and stability but it also stands for regeneration of past arts that the poet himself loved so much. By alluding to the past before the Revolution, Dryden generates a feeling of a better life that is supposed to be regained when a Stuart successor is on the throne again. By recalling Virgil's words Dryden generates a feeling of a better life that is supposed to be regained when a Stuart successor is on the throne again. Winn notices that "Dryden, like many of his countrymen, appears to have believed, at least for a moment, that the Restoration could miraculously negate or exorcise the events of the previous twenty years."<sup>18</sup> Winn suggests that Dryden's personal hope connected with the Restoration is to remove his old sins, namely his siding with the republicans, and to employ the sense of oblivion and reformation:

But, since reform'd by what we did amiss,  
We by our sufferings learn to prize our bliss.<sup>19</sup>

Dryden's standpoint is that since everybody ("we") "did" something "amiss" it is time to be "reform'd" and regenerated. Winn also notices that in *Astrea Redux*, there develops a close relation between the poet and his hero: "Like the poet who would celebrate him as a hero, then, Charles has sinned and suffered; *Astrea Redux* offers the hope that both men, and the entire nation, will be «reform'd by what [they] did amiss.»"<sup>20</sup> This special kind of bond between the poet and the King that the panegyric depicts lies in their common past. Winn enumerates the similarities between them that build up the relationship: "both are men, both suffer under Adam's curse, both have reason to regret particular actions of the previous

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<sup>16</sup> Dryden, "Astrea Redux", *op. cit.*, ll. 1–3.

<sup>17</sup> McFadden, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>18</sup> Winn, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

<sup>19</sup> Dryden, "Astrea Redux", *op. cit.*, ll. 209–210.

<sup>20</sup> Winn, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

decade.”<sup>21</sup> That is why Dryden’s hope uttered in *Astrea Redux* is not only historical regeneration but also redemption of all Englishmen’s past sins and mistakes.

Dryden achieves the image of regeneration and redemption by contrasting the past with the present alluding to biblical figures and motifs as well as mythological characters. For example, to emphasize the scale of chaos in the previous system, he refers to Jove (Jupiter), the Roman King of Gods:

Thus, when the bold Typhœus scaled the sky,  
And forced great Jove from his own heaven to fly,  
(What king, what crown, from treason’s reach is free,  
If Jove and Heaven can violated be?)<sup>22</sup>

Dryden notices that the past sins of the Englishmen were so great that they forced Jove to fly from heaven. The poet asks a question whether it is possible for any king to be free from treason if “Heaven can violated be.” By such a metaphor Dryden understands the violation of royal succession which is tantamount to the violation of heavenly rights. For Dryden, the return of the King means the return to order assured by the reign of a God-appointed royal successor who would resettle the old Heaven-King arrangement.

The poet proceeds with biblical allusions in his panegyric suggesting that the suffering of the King (both Charles I and his son) had a public dimension which could be perceived in terms of Christ’s suffering. Dryden uses the figures of both the son and the father to suggest certain aspects of Christ’s sacrifice:

The rabble now such freedom did enjoy,  
As winds at sea, that use it to destroy:  
Blind as the Cyclops, and as wild as he,  
They owned a lawless savage liberty,  
Like that our painted ancestors so prized,  
Ere empire’s arts their breast had civilised.  
How great were then our Charles his woes, who thus  
Was forced to suffer for himself and us!<sup>23</sup>

In the above passage, Dryden claims that the people of England, sarcastically called “the rabble,” enjoyed false freedom under the Commonwealth. The poet compares them (avoiding the pronoun “we,” he excludes himself from “the rabble”) with one-eyed Cyclops whose perception was dimmed and blurred and who “owned a lawless savage liberty.” Now, this “lawless liberty” which “our painted ancestors so prized” is going to end thanks to the redemptive suffering of the King. In this respect, Charles’s coming to England is seen as Christ’s resurrection which brings peace, moral regeneration and above all redemption. Garrison shares this

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Dryden, “*Astrea Redux*”, *op. cit.*, ll. 37–40.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 43–50.

idea: "the combination of seasonal, solar and Biblical metaphors suggests that the Restoration is like the resurrection."<sup>24</sup> Blair adds that the allusions to Adam or Christ "suggest that the hero is closely allied to a culture and bears in some way its past guilt and hardships."<sup>25</sup>

The sense of renewal and the hopes of regeneration that Dryden so strongly reiterated in his *Astrea Redux* by means of contrasting the past with the present are also employed in the poet's later writings. When in April 1661 Charles was officially crowned the King of England, Dryden wrote his next celebrating panegyric *To His Sacred Majesty, A Panegyric On His Coronation*. Although the poem was written to celebrate a different occasion, Dryden uses similar imagery as in *Astrea Redux*, juxtaposing the past with the present and stressing Charles's merits in re-gaining social order:

In that wild Deluge where the world was  
drown'd,  
When life and sin one common Tombe had  
found,  
The first small prospect of a rising hill  
With various notes of Joy the Ark did fill:  
Yet when that flood in its own depths was  
drown'd,  
It left behind it false and slippery ground;  
And the more solemn pomp was still deferr'd,  
Till new-born Nature in fresh looks appear'd.  
Thus (Royall Sir,) to see you landed here,  
Was cause enough of triumph for a year:<sup>26</sup>

In the above passage Dryden applies the biblical flood to illustrate the "drown'd" past against the background of the "new-born" present. Blair says that the flood is the metaphor "by which contemporary history is understood and judged."<sup>27</sup> The "Deluge" is associated with the sinful past age, in which the Ark is the only hope. The passage shows that for Dryden the Restoration of Stuarts was a symbol of new beginning, a "new-born Nature" which "left behind its false and slippery ground." Garrison believes that in *To His Sacred Majesty* "by quietly restoring the people to their proper place in heaven, Dryden expresses the nation's renewed obedience to the King."<sup>28</sup> This confirms the poet's belief in the King's re-generating powers which he stated so strongly in his *Astrea Redux*.

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<sup>24</sup> Garrison, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

<sup>25</sup> Blair, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

<sup>26</sup> J. Dryden, "To His Sacred Majesty, A Panegyric On His Coronation", [in:] *The Poems of John Dryden Edited with an Introduction and Textual Notes by John Sargeant* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), ll. 1-13.

<sup>27</sup> Blair, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

<sup>28</sup> Garrison, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

The symbolical flood or deluge is a characteristic metaphor in Dryden's early poetry. The image of natural disaster symbolizes the anger of gods who punish people for their sins of disobedience. The King is then seen as a savior who holds a divine mandate to protect his subjects. In *Astrea Redux* the King is compared to Moses who would take his people through the Red Sea:

Thus, when the Almighty would to Moses give  
A sight of all he could behold and live;<sup>29</sup>

In *To His Sacred Majesty*, Dryden adds a solar imagery:

Till your kind beams by their continu'd stay  
Had warm'd the ground and call'd the  
Damps away<sup>30</sup>

Here, Charles's "warming" powers are supposed to "call the damps away" and in this way regain the old order.

Dryden's Restoration poems *Astrea Redux* and *To His Sacred Majesty* prove the poet's belief in the regenerating attributes of authority. By Restoration Dryden understands the return of order, stability and historical continuity. The poet's sudden political shift was often used against Dryden by his enemies. However, the fact that he set the people's hopes upon the newly restored King only proved his political awareness and historical open-mindedness. Dryden manages to evoke the sense of the nation's rebirth by juxtaposing the past chaotic age with the present spirit of hope. The poet believes that a strong hereditary authority secures the nation's well-being and redeems its past sins. The transition from past to present helps to build the image of a better life in the society that the Restoration is to bring about. Dryden plays with time perspective to evoke a feeling of hope and betterment. The past is used to explain and shape the present. Dryden's hopes of renewal and redemption are clearly amplified by means of numerous solar and biblical allusions which make it possible to perceive the Restoration in terms of resurrection. This suggests that as it was in the case of Cromwell, Dryden again reveals his belief that a God-anointed master is always needed and appreciated no matter which political faction he represents. It is God's will to appoint kings and leaders and the poet's duty is to always support them.

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## **Nadzieje na odrodzenie w wierszach Johna Drydena z okresu wczesnej Restauracji**

**Streszczenie**

Śmierć Cromwella oraz nieudolne rządy jego syna Ryszarda doprowadziły nieuchronnie do podjęcia przez angielski Parlament decyzji o przywróceniu Karola II Stuarta na tron, w celu zapewnienia stabilności społecznej i kontynuacji monarchii. Gdy w styczniu 1660 r. Restauracja Stuartów stała się faktem, Dryden postanowił uczcić powrót Króla uroczystym panegirycznym zatytułowanym „*Astrea Redux*”, *A Poem On the Happy Restoration and Return Of His Sacred Majesty Charles the Second*. Wiersz ten miał być przemową powitalną ku chwale dziedzicznego monarchy, który dzierżył boski mandat by krajowi pogrążonemu w chaosie przywrócić pokój. Hopkins sugeruje, że przemiana Drydena nie była oznaką oportunistów, lecz rozważną i świadomą decyzją, odpowiedzią w nowych okolicznościach. Brown uważa, że z czasem „uprzednie oskarżenia o polityczny oportunizm i płynący z egoistycznych pobudek pragmatyzm estetyczny ustąpiły miejsca podkreślanemu podwójnej świadomości Drydena [...]”. Jego polityczne przejście od republikanizmu do monarchii wskazuje, że poeta nie myślał o wykorzystaniu nowej sytuacji politycznej, ale o wsparciu i wzmocnieniu silnej władzy z boskiego nadania. Ponadto, powrót Karola wzbudził ogromne nadzieje na odnowę polityczną i uzdrowienie społeczne, które Dryden od zawsze wysoko cenił. W niniejszym artykule omówiono poematy Restauracyjne Drydena, zatytułowane *Astrea Redux* oraz *To His Sacred Majesty*, w kontekście silnego przekonania poety o uzdrawiającej mocy autorytetu władzy.

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## HISTORY AND THE ESSENCING OF THE WORLD

### Summary

The article looks at the phenomenon of history from a typically phenomenological perspective. This means that history is seen as much more than a way in which we have learnt to represent the past from the point of view of the present. According to the perspective that is adopted here history appears in point of fact as a type of thinking that allows us to re-evaluate the world of life. In other words, the past does not exist as a reservoir of occurrences. Instead, it is determined by the way in which we approach our future orientedness, i.e. interpretations of the past depend on the perspective from which the past is evaluated. For thinkers like Hegel, on the other hand, history in itself was a way in which the Spirit revealed itself to the world. Moreover, the Hegelian point of view works with the assumption that reality is rational in itself and that rationality is not only a human attribute but also the ontological condition that frames being.

### Introduction

In his essay *History* R. W. Emerson reminds us of the famous words of Napoleon who once said that “what is history but a fable agreed upon.”<sup>1</sup> From a phenomenological perspective history can be said to refer to a certain coordination of cultural practices that are responsible for making things appear under a stylized (historical) aspect of being, i.e. in accordance with a given historical *Weltanschauung*. On a more practical note, however, history is to be seen as a configuration of certain social practices which in themselves are reducible to the phenomenological idea of language, artifacts, bodily involvement as well as human interests and concerns all of which we have come to understand as the foundation of a historical paradigm. From the perspective of the Western intellectual tradition we can differentiate between three metamorphoses of being that constituted the world’s historicity. The incarnation of these ontological styles can be found, for example, in ancient Greece (enveloped in myth and the cult of rationality), the Middle Ages (dependent on morality and Christian creationism) and the Modern World (determined

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<sup>1</sup> R. W. Emerson, “History”, [in:] *The Portable Emerson*, eds. C. Bode and M. Cowley (New York: Penguin Books, 1981), p. 119.

by technology).<sup>2</sup> In other words, what this division suggests is that history does not only have an ontic dimension but that it can also be understood in a broader ontological sense. Thus human being-in-the-world is shaped by existential paradigms that determine the way in which the world appears as ready for historical interpretation. This, of course, means that our understanding is always historical in the sense that it is always silhouetted against a historical background that is responsible for the unconcealment of the world.

Therefore, we would like to commit ourselves here to something that we can very loosely call the hermeneutical phenomenology of history. In other words, what we are primarily interested in is not history as such but the kind of thinking that makes history possible. Setting the stage for what is to follow we refer to the poetry by Whitman whose understanding of history possesses a phenomenological quality about itself. In other words, poetry is a universalized history of man and, therefore, it is superior to the work of the historian. That is why Whitman writes that

You who celebrate bygones,  
Who have explored the outward, the surfaces of the races, the life  
that has exhibited itself,  
Who have treated of man as the creature of politics, aggregates,  
rulers and priests,  
I, habitant of the Alleghanies, treating of him as he is in himself  
in his own rights,  
Pressing the pulse of the life that has seldom exhibited itself,  
(the great pride of man in himself)  
Chanter of Personality, outlining what is yet to be,  
I project the history of the future.<sup>3</sup>

The poem may serve here as an overall context that encapsulates the scope of the whole essay. Subsequently, the poem hints at the idea that the onto-theological tradition understands history as a reservoir of fossilized past occurrences ordered on the timeline of chronology and existing in a typically causal relation to the present. On this view, history is really a form of dialogism between the present and the past; *idem per idem*, the past is a phenomenon that we understand through the perspective of the present. However, if the past is to be regarded as a fixed and static condition, the fixedness of the pastness of the past can only be presupposed on the basis of a static present and that, as we know, is far from fixedness. The present is what we experience through the subjectivization of experience and, therefore, if we were to assume that the present is a phenomenon that is static, we would also have to presuppose that subjectivity is fixed and stable like the

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<sup>2</sup> M. Heidegger, "Letter on Humanism", [in:] *Martin Heidegger: Basic Writings*, ed. D. F. Krell (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1993), p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> Walt Whitman, "To a Historian", [in:] *Leaves of Grass* (New York: M. Friedman Publishing Group, Inc. 2001), p. 3.

Cartesian tradition maintains, i.e. the Cartesians see subjectivity in terms of the detached *solus ipse*. Therefore, in a somewhat Copernican fashion we are obliged to move the present in order to stop the past. However, relating the question of a historical identity to subjectivity is very problematic, since taking into consideration the latest advances in psychology and philosophy it is very difficult to say if subjectivity is a phenomenon that appears to be detached from reality (understood as *res extensa*). In other words, instead of standing in opposition to reality subjectivity can be regarded as its temporary blossom, i.e. the historic πάντα ῥεῖ – aspect of nature whose (putting it poetically) “[...] early leaf’s a flower;/But only so an hour.”<sup>4</sup>

In other words, we should substitute the cognitive understanding of subjectivity for an existential one, which means that the subject is to be seen not as an *a priori* condition of existence but an existent that is formed through existential and historical paradigms of habituation. What all this is leading us towards is a transvaluation of man’s historical being. In this light man is not historical by existing outside and against the world; on the contrary, he is historical because existence is historical, which means that existence always emerges within the contours of a certain historical paradigm.

### History as hermeneutics of the future

Yet, as it was mentioned above, when speaking of history we do not want to understand it as nothing more than the study of the fixed past from the perspective of the fixed present. Rather, history should be thought to be more about the future than about the past. The futuristic understanding of history is brought about by the fact that we are future-oriented beings. In other words, human beings are always comporting themselves practically by projecting themselves forward within the framework of their existential milieu. Therefore, we always have some anticipated goals, purposes and objectives that need to be realized on the pragmatic level and our future projectedness in point of fact determines our understanding of the past. This means that we should not think the past to exist in a causal relation to the present, i.e. as though the present was nothing more than a temporary blossom of the past. Rather, the situation is quite the reverse. Man’s existential (historical) comportments cast a certain light on the past and they determine what we think of the past and how we come to evaluate, understand or perceive it for that matter. In other words, different orientations to the future reveal different orientations to the past and that is why we understand history in the futural sense, since the future brings life to the past according to the *Zeitgeist* that is specific to it.

Nevertheless, we should take account of man’s future-orientedness in a more specific sense. What is it about us that makes us such future-oriented beings (*kinesis heneka tou*)? The answer appears to be reducible to the idea of finitude and mortality. Finitude is what Hoy, following Heidegger, understood as a non-relational

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<sup>4</sup> R. Frost, “Nothing Gold Can Stay”, [in:] *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*, eds. N. Baym et al., Vol. II, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994), p. 1105.

condition;<sup>5</sup> however, what exactly is finitude according to this line of thinking? Surely, we cannot think of it as the final stage of existence. Therefore, on a more practical note finitude can be regarded as the most primordial quality that resides in the bosom of nature. If we have, however, earlier desubjectified experience by pointing to the relativism of subjectivity, we should accordingly also desubjectify the idea of finitude. This will be possible if we are ready to accept that we are not really the subjects of our experience. Thus instead of us as subjects what exists is the world as a historical context for the mattering of existence, which means that “we are more not than we are,” since we happen to be manipulated by forces beyond our control. In other words, human existence lies far beyond the horizon of the subjective aptitude. In this way finitude is not the cessation of being but only one of its structures. The situation is reminiscent of the one that we can find, for example, in J. Donne’s famous *Meditation XVII*, where the poet states that death really does not exist, since all that it entails is the translation of one chapter of the book into another language; the translator here, of course, being finitude that in these circumstances is the catalyst of historical essencing of the world:

[...] all mankind is of one author, and is one volume; when one man dies, one chapter is not torn out of the book, but translated into a better language; and every chapter must be so translated; God employs several translators; some pieces are translated by age, some by sickness, some by war, some by justice, but God’s hand is in every translation, and his hand shall bind up all scattered leaves again for that library where every book shall lie open to one another.<sup>6</sup>

Subsequently, what needs to be articulated is that finitude is the most neutral or objective quality of being in the sense that it affects everything and everyone and, therefore, it is the ontological background of all experience. In other words, it is only because we are finite entities that we are obliged to put some kind of a meaningful construction on being. This construction is the effect of the attitude that we adopt to our own finitude. The inauthentic thing to do is to flee from it and hide ourselves behind the veil of conformism reducing all experience and reality to the subjective perspective that in itself is the reflection of the historical paradigm that is making it possible. *Mutatis Mutandis*, this is what we can call the a-historical attitude, since it does not question the historical tradition but it blindly accepts it for what it is. In order to be truly historical beings we must face finitude, regarding it as nothing more than a structure of being that obliges us to take some kind of a stand on who and what we are. To take such a stance we must first of all be able to identify with the historical tradition that we belong to. However, our identification with the tradition should not take on a mimetic form, i.e. we should not blindly and passively imitate the tradition (this is the a-historical stance). Instead, we should

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<sup>5</sup> D. C Hoy, “Death”, [in:] *A Companion to Phenomenology and Existentialism*, eds. H. L. Dreyfus and M. Wrathall (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), p. 282.

<sup>6</sup> J. Donne, “Meditation XVII: For Whom the Bell Tolls”, [in:] *Literature: Reading Fiction, Poetry, Drama, and the Essay*, ed. R. DiYanni (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1990), p. 1587.

retrieve it and repeat it in ourselves as individuals as Emerson, for example, urges us to do. In other words, we should let the historical world of the past flow through the medium of our personality:

There is no age or state of society or mode of action in history to which there is not somewhat corresponding in his [man's] life. Every thing tends in a wonderful manner to abbreviate itself and yield its own virtue to him [man]. He should see that he can live all history in his own person.<sup>7</sup>

Metaphorically speaking the historical tradition can be compared to the symbolical function of sun from Plato's cave allegory. In other words, just as in the light of the sun the world comes to disclose itself, i.e. it assumes shape and definiteness, so in the light of the historical tradition do we come to interpret the world and man's being-in-the-world. Nevertheless, the historical tradition is not fixed and assigned to a fore-structured past but determined by the way in which we drive ourselves into the future, for, as we have mentioned earlier, we are futural beings who live with the intuition that existence is a phenomenon that is always moving forward. Bearing that in mind we refer to the words of G. Grant who points to the interconnectedness of being-in-the-world and our understanding of history:

History is used for many purposes in our language with shades of differing meaning. There is one division of its use, however, which is more important than any other and which is often a cause of ambiguity. On the one hand, the word is used to denote an activity that some men pursue – the study of the past. It is also used to denote a certain kind of reality – human existing – the whole of which, whether in the past, present or future, we call 'history,' and which is distinguished from other kinds of existing. The ambiguity caused by this central division of usage can be seen when we compare the words 'history' and 'biology.' In our educational institutions we study 'life,' not in departments of life, but in departments of biology or in departments of the life sciences. On the other hand, we study history in departments of history, thus using the same word both for the study and what is studied.<sup>8</sup>

It follows from the above that to pursue what we may call historical thematization we should de-subjectivize our thinking and instead focus not on the being of man as an individual like Emerson urges us to do but rather focus on the being of a generation of people and the historical landscape that they happen to exist in. Thus historicity is not a quality that characterizes the being of the individual subject but the collective life of man that is expressible through a person's belongingness to a certain historical essencing of the world. For example, according to the thinkers of the Enlightenment people were generally considered to be equal and they were believed to share similar qualities, whereas in the Romantic tradition that we find exemplified in the writings of Herder each nation is believed to have its own ontological calling, i.e. its own destiny that being asks it to pursue. It is this

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<sup>7</sup> Emerson, "History", p. 118.

<sup>8</sup> G. Grant, *Time as History*, ed. W. Christian (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), p. 8.

kind of thinking that will eventually lead Hegel to notoriously claim that the state is the march of God, which we can understand to mean that each nation has its own eschatological mission, and moreover this leads to the problematic assumption that man is not equal, since what characterizes his being is the destiny of the historical period of the peoples that he is born into. If this is the case, then what we are obliged to change is the conventional substantive understanding of being. In other words, being has a verbal character. It manifests itself in the disclosure of the paradigmatic existential possibilities to a historical group of people and the way in which those people come to terms with the historical destiny that they are anticipated by. Thus if we compare being to a process of ontological disclosure, then this puts us in a position to assess the existential modes that human existence has lent itself to. Moreover, this means that there is no universal and necessary way of being but that human existence is by definition always historical. Such an understanding of existence turns history into hermeneutics, since there is no objective assemblage of facts; instead all that we are left with is existential modes that reveal themselves in various cultural paradigms.

On account of the fact that we are essentially historical beings we always approach existence from within a certain historical period and we see the so-called past within the epistemological framework of the particular historical era that we belong to. This is in fact what J. Derrida observes when he claims that “[i]t is [...] history (as epoch: epoch not of history but as history) which is closed at the same time as the form of being of the world that is called knowledge. The concept of history is therefore the concept of philosophy and of the *episteme*.”<sup>9</sup> In other words, on account of the fact that being has a strictly historical character our understanding of it is only and always partial, as we understand being in the context of the original disclosure, which in the light of the western intellectual tradition is to be referred to ancient Greece, whose cult of rationality (and *polis* based society) determined the evolution of western civilization. Thus since we have fundamentally come to understand ourselves as rationally historical beings it means that we have, at the same time, closed ourselves to other historical possibilities for the understanding of being, i.e. we can only choose a certain historical direction for the being of civilization not all at once.

In understanding ourselves as fundamentally rational beings we have to arrive at the quality that can be said to make the fundamental difference between a rational and an irrational (thus historical and a-historical) mode of being. The latter is characterized by a passive acceptance of existence, whereas the former by an active questioning of being that underscores human contingency. In point of fact the questioning of being is the first historical act that we as a civilization have committed ourselves to. Thus to be a truly historical entity is to be an existent that does not so much accept being for what it is but rather to be a being that questions its existence and the historical background that is making that very

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<sup>9</sup> J. Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. G. Ch. Spivak (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. 286.

existence possible. In light of the above we can refer to the views of Foucault, who thinking about the sources of history comes to comment on its status in a somewhat Nietzschean way:

What is the source of history? It comes from the plebs. To whom is it addressed? To the plebs. And its discourse strongly resembles the demagogue's refrain: "No one is greater than you and anyone who presumes to get the better of view – you who are good – is evil." The historian, who functions as his double, can be heard to (the) echo "No past is greater than your present, and, through my meticulous education, I will rid you of your infatuations and transform the grandeur of history into pettiness, evil, and misfortune." The historian's ancestry goes back to Socrates.<sup>10</sup>

The questioning that turns us into essentially historical entities is what we, for example, find in art. The purpose of art is not to represent reality but to question it from within a historical context and thus bring the work of art into life in the spirit of a given historical period. In other words, art questions the conformist, bland interpretations of existence and opens up a basis for the reorganization of what phenomenology calls *Lebenswelt* – the world of life. For this reason we have to de-subjectify our thinking about the artist's work, i.e. it is not the artist that calls a work into being, but rather, he/she is only a medium through which the historical voice of being keeps essencing, subsequently, making itself audible to a historical era. Thus the meaning of a work of art does not emerge from within the artist but from the historical peoples who preserve the work in their historical interpretation. This additionally means that for there to be history there must be a questioning of the style of life specific to the organization to the world, for otherwise entities do not appear as mattering but as pre-thematic (and therefore not cognitively experienced) objects of everyday use.

### The emergence of the world as rational history

Availing ourselves of Hegelian theory we come to see that reality has a fundamentally historical character. Thus it is not only the artists who hold the key to the unconcealment of the world in artistic creation; our everyday perception and understanding is also said to unconceal the historical reality that in Hegelian terms emanates out the Spirit (*Geist*). To see how this happens we must, however, take a step back and refer to a postulate found in the thinking of Kant whose work really alarmed idealists like J. G. Fichte. The postulate involves the existence of *Ding and Sich* (things-in-themselves), which Kant believed to exist, yet be outside the scope of our experience. Fichte, however, found this to be a contradiction, since how can we know things-in-themselves if they supposedly exist outside of the historical, or what Kant calls the phenomenal dimension. To say that they are noumenal and, therefore, a-historical and that they are the causes of historical, phenomenal perceptions is self-contradictory, since causation is a process that governs the

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<sup>10</sup> M. Foucault, "Truth and Method", [in:] *The Foucault Reader*, ed. P. Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), p. 91.

phenomenal realm and does not apply to noumenality; therefore, things-in-themselves cannot be the causes of our perceptions and understanding. Secondly, even to simply state that things-in-themselves exist is to already fall into the Kantian categories, which were said to apply after all only to the phenomenal world of historical being. With reference to the above Hegel observes that for Kant “the categories have their source in the ego, and the ego consequently supplies the characteristics of universality and necessity.”<sup>11</sup> In other words, on the Kantian view the categories supposedly resided in the individual mind of the subject; moreover, they were believed to be the intrinsic ways in which the mind was said to schematize the world. Therefore, the categories allowed us to classify reality according to their *a priori*, a-historical content.

The notion of the categories is exactly what allows us to move from the terrain of Kantian critical and, simultaneously, a-historical philosophy to Hegel’s historical idealism. In other words, for Hegel the categories were not a human attribute, which made us the rational beings that we are. Rationality from the Hegelian perspective is not so much a quality of the human mind but the innermost structure of reality. Reality, therefore, is thought. To understand this kind of an assumption we must follow Hegel in finding a new place for the categories. Thus Hegel extracts the categories from the human mind and places them in the cosmic mind of the Spirit. In this way reality comes to be understood as a rational historical process, since it is the effect of the categories that exist in the Spirit from which all things derive.

From the perspective that we are advocating here reality is not dissociated from human nature. Man’s role in these circumstances is simply to learn to incorporate himself into a reality which in itself is already rational. Thus man becomes historical by embedding himself in the rational structure of reality. This incorporation happens through relations that we form with reality, relations that allow us to adapt ourselves to the ever changing historical paradigms of the world. In turn these relations are based on the regularities that we discover in reality and which science understands as laws of nature, which more than characterizing nature itself describe man’s historical thinking about the world and culture at large.

Bearing in mind what was mentioned above it is important to note that reality in Hegel’s understanding was ontologically historical, since it was said to derive from the Spirit, which was not noumenal and thus separated from our historical existence, as we find in Kant, but rational and, therefore, historical. Nevertheless, the emanation of the Spirit *in concreto* crystallizes in the historical being of the individual:

All actions, including world-historical actions, culminate with individuals as subjects giving actuality to the substantial. They are the living instruments of what is in substance the deed of the world mind and they are therefore directly at one with that deed though it is concealed from them and is not their aim and object. For the deeds of the world-mind, therefore, they receive no honour or thanks either from their con-

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<sup>11</sup> G. W. F. Hegel, “Toward a Concrete Metaphysics”, [in:] *Hegel: The Essential Writings* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), p. 149.

temporaries or from public opinion in later ages. All that is vouchsafed to them by such opinion is undying fame in respect of the subjective form of their acts.<sup>12</sup>

The movement of rational reality happens through a historical unconcealment of being that takes place through dialectics, which moves according to deductive reasoning, i.e. from general to general and from general to particular. More specifically, Hegel believed that the dialectic process consists of three stages of unconcealment: the thesis, antithesis and synthesis which subsequently is the next thesis. At the same time, the structure of the dialectic process creates the possibility of movement making allowances for the historical unconcealment of the Spirit.

To highlight the unconcealing process we can refer to the dialectic triad of being, nothing and becoming. Ever since the time of Aristotle it was believed that one cannot deduce from a given category anything but an exemplar of the category itself. In other words, as Stumpf observes, from category A one can deduce only A elements; thus there is no way that A will yield or lead to B, since B is a separate ontological category.<sup>13</sup> Yet, this is exactly what Hegel does. Since deduction works from the more to the less general, he starts with the notion of being, which is the most abstract idea that the human mind is capable of envisaging (just as space is the most abstract thing). In other words, all rationality and logic begin from thethetic aspect of being. Therefore, we are to move from the thesis (assertion) to the antithesis (negation), which means that from the idea of being we must deduce its opposite. The nothing? This is surely a paradox, yet this is exactly what Hegel maintains. Being in its purest sense is a completely featureless and formless entity, since if it possessed a given structure it would no longer be being but a particular existent. The paradox of the being-nothing relation is also observed by Cioran, who in *History and Utopia* speaks of plentitude (being) and the void (nothing):

Let it be said that we substitute one ghost for another, that the fables of the golden age are well worth the eternal present we dream of, and that the original ego basis of our hopes evokes the void and ultimately reduces itself to it [...]. Yet a void affords plentitude, a fulfilling void – does it not contain more reality than all history possesses from beginning to end?<sup>14</sup>

If we follow this thinking and, therefore, assume that being in its pure sense is formless, then it is really “nothing,” since to be being it must be a “no” thing. Therefore, the nothing that is so deduced is the antithesis. However, when we finally realize what unites being and nothingness, we then reach the synthesis – becoming – which unifies both the positive and negative aspect of the dialectic process that in itself is the mouthpiece of the happening of the world as history.

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<sup>12</sup> G. W. F. Hegel, “Objective Spirit”, [in:] *Hegel: The Essential Writings*, p. 309.

<sup>13</sup> S. E. Stumpf, *Philosophy: History and Problems* (New York: McGraw Hill, Inc., 1989), p. 331.

<sup>14</sup> E. Cioran, *History and Utopia*, trans. R. Howard (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 118.

All this may sound like philosophical fiction, yet it can be directly transferred onto the plain of human existence. Generally speaking it is reducible to the assumption that the nothing is what man emerges from, whereas being is what is associated with the nature of God. In other words, God is both everything and nothing. The contradiction, however, is not a mistake but a necessary strife that gives birth to the idea of becoming. In itself becoming can be said to refer to the historical, phenomenal being, which reduces life to nothing more than a caesura between two different points of historical determination: being and nothingness.

## Conclusion

All things considered all human experience is historical in the sense that there is always a certain perspective that the world (or Spirit in Hegel) is perceived from. The de-subjectification of the human experience allows us to look at history and the question of human identity in more creative terms. In other words, identity is not so much the beginning of who or what we are but rather in itself it is a historical construction that we as individuals are born into. Moreover, there is no need for us to think that the human experience is removed from the world but rather it happens in the world that from the Hegelian perspective appears to be rational through and through. In other words, reality as Hegel maintained is rational, which subsequently means that it must be historical in the sense that the Spirit is always lending itself to specific historical determinations. Moreover, the triadic movement of being that in Hegel is linked with the idea of being, nothing, becoming can be compared to the triadic conception of history as the essencing of the past in a given present on the basis of man's projectedness into the future. This perspective, therefore, obliges us to see history as the dynamic unconcealment of a certain happening and understanding of life that happens to stand in relief of a given historical era. Nevertheless, history is not historiography, i.e. the collection of fossilized facts, but it appears to stand closer to the idea of hermeneutics in which case the world and man's being in that world have nothing essential about themselves; instead, they appear to be nothing more than interpretations of existence.

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## Historia a wystaczenie się świata

### Streszczenie

Autor niniejszej pracy przygląda się zjawisku historii z typowo fenomenologicznej perspektywy. Oznacza to, że historię postrzega się jako coś więcej niż tylko sposób, w jaki nauczyliśmy się przedstawiać przeszłość z punktu widzenia terażniejszości. Zgodnie z przyjętym w artykule podejściem, historia w istocie jawi się jako rodzaj myślenia, który pozwala na powtórny ocenę świata życia. Innymi słowy, przeszłość nie istnieje jako zbiór wydarzeń, lecz jest determinowana naszym podejściem do własnego zorientowania na przyszłość: czyli, interpretacje przeszłości zależą od perspektywy, z jakiej przeszłość jest oceniana. Z kolei dla myślicieli takich jak Hegel, historia sama w sobie jest sposobem, w jaki Duch ujawnił się światu. Ponadto pogląd heglowski opiera się na założeniu, iż rzeczywistość jest racjonalna sama w sobie, i że ta racjonalność nie jest jedynie cechą ludzką, lecz warunkiem ontologicznym, który tworzy byt.

# Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis

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## CHARLES KINGSLEY'S *WESTWARD HO!* AS THE PROTESTANT FOUNDATION MYTH

### Summary

The historical novel was one of the most widely read genres in popular Victorian literature; however, Victorian writers who set their novels in the past did so not only because of the adventure potential and the colourful setting, but they also addressed particular issues and challenges of their own age.

Among the Victorian historical novels, those set in the Elizabethan age turn out to be especially interesting. The Reformation can be counted among the most important events in the history of Britain and it is certainly one of the key episodes in the narrative of English history, where “the deliverance from Popery” was England’s founding myth. For some Victorians the 16<sup>th</sup> century proved to be a particularly fascinating mirror – Victorians, just like Elizabethans, had a female monarch, they continued to expand the empire whose foundations were laid down in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and many of them were intensely worried about the growth of Catholicism in Great Britain which, in their opinion, could be as dangerous for the British state in the 19<sup>th</sup> as in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Charles Kingsley’s rollicking historical novel *Westward Ho!* (1855) manages to bring all these strands together: its main characters go on expeditions to the New World, fight the devious Spanish abroad and even more devious Catholic schemers at home, all the time remaining the paragons of Protestant English manhood. However, the novel’s real polemic aim is directed against Victorian society – it attempts to present Britain’s Elizabethan/Protestant roots and encourage Victorians to return to the values of their forefathers.

Charles Kingsley is remembered today, if he is remembered at all, as the man who unwittingly became an inspiration for John Henry Newman to write his *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (1864–1865), widely considered to be one of the major contributions to the genre of spiritual autobiography. He also comes up in the specialist Victorianist discussions as a children’s writer (chiefly known as the author of *The Water-Babies* [1863]), and as a representative of “Christian Socialism,” also called “muscular Christianity,” a movement within the Church of England committed to social work and improvement of the well-being of the working-class, propagating, among others, education, hygiene and sports. In the former capacity Kingsley was the author of several so-called “condition-of-England” novels, drawing the attention to such social ills as the degradation of the agricultural labourers (*Yeast* [1849]) and the exploitation of workers in the clothing industry (*Alton Locke* [1850]). In his lifetime, however, Kingsley was a widely known and respected figure, who was involved in most of the public debates of his day, thanks to his

commitment to Darwin's theories, social concern and popularity of his writings. The novel to be discussed in this paper, *Westward Ho!* (1855), enjoyed such a popularity that a group of savvy investors who were at the time developing a seaside resort near Bideford in Devon, where Kingsley's novel is set, decided to call it *Westward Ho!*, thus creating the only place in Great Britain with an exclamation mark in its name. This shows what a best-seller the novel was: by 1897 it had been reprinted thirty-eight times<sup>1</sup> and it greatly strengthened the then only thirteen-year-old publishing house of Macmillan,<sup>2</sup> even though many sophisticated readers snubbed the novel (Crabb Robinson noted down: "His national history wearies me, and nautical language bores me,"<sup>3</sup> George Eliot found Kingsley's intrusively moralizing narrator tiresome: "We don't want a man with a wand, going about the gallery and haranguing us"<sup>4</sup>).

*Westward Ho!* is a swashbuckling adventure story set in the Elizabethan times, but Kingsley's choice of this era for his setting is not accidental. It should come as no surprise that when an author such as Kingsley, deeply committed to social reform both in his novels and his articles, chooses to write a historical novel, he does so because he has some political and social agenda connected with his contemporaries. The highly idealized depiction of the Elizabethan ancestors is used at various points in the novel either as the prefiguration of the Victorian achievements or as the standard of behaviour of which the 19<sup>th</sup> century fell lamentably short, as Kingsley repeatedly points out.

Kingsley's novel seems to have been to a significant degree responsible for creating the image of the Elizabethan age in the minds of many readers of the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; an achievement even more remarkable, taking into account that Kingsley seems to be one of the first Victorians to express such an unlimited admiration for the Elizabethan era. Many people, following Macaulay's influential Whig narrative, looked at the Glorious Revolution as the event which gave birth to modern Britain; Victorian medievalism, rooted in Walter Scott's writings with their idealized vision of the Middle Ages, was equally strong. The Elizabethan age up to that point seemed to have fallen between the cracks: it lacked the narrative which could portray it to Victorian readers in an enticing manner, since it could be described neither in terms of medieval romance nor as the birthplace of contemporary British democracy. Elizabeth herself, again owing partly to the influence of Walter Scott and his *Kenilworth* (1821) did not enjoy a particularly good reputation: she was too far removed from the Victorian ideal of the good wife and mother, the domestic "angel in the house," as embodied by Queen Victoria herself.

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<sup>1</sup> C. J. W.-L. Wee, "Christian Manliness and National Identity: The Problematic Construction of a Racially 'Pure' Nation", [in:] *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age*, ed. D. E. Hall, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 66-90.

<sup>2</sup> R. Chapman, *The Sense of the Past in Victorian Literature* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted after Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> G. Eliot, *Essays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), p. 123.

Instead, while the authors of popular histories conceded her political acumen, they also portrayed her as a cold and manipulative coquette who could not come to terms with her own ageing (as the popularity of such pictures as Augustus Egg's *Queen Elizabeth Discovers She Is No Longer Young* bears witness), vain, duplicitous and jealous (the qualities she evinced most notoriously in her dealings with Mary Stuart), both feminine in her vices and yet unwomanly because of her tight grip on the political power.<sup>5</sup>

With Kingsley's novel the tide apparently turned, although it remains open to discussion whether *Westward Ho!* was the direct cause of this change in popular perception or whether Kingsley's novel was just the result of a bigger shift in social attitudes. An argument for the latter could be the fact that the direct inspiration for Kingsley was an essay by James Froude, a Victorian historian and Kingsley's brother-in-law, titled "England's Forgotten Worthies" and published in *The Westminster Review* in July 1852<sup>6</sup> (incidentally, it was also Froude who in an indirect way inspired *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* twelve years later, since a throwaway remark in Kingsley's review of the new volume of Froude's *History of England* would spark off the whole debate with Newman which eventually led him to writing his autobiography). Froude's text concentrates around the exploits of 16<sup>th</sup> century. English seafarers, who were just then becoming known to the wider reading public thanks to the efforts of the Hakluyt Society which published modern scholarly editions of the accounts of travels written by the early explorers. Kingsley saw in the figures described by Froude a prefiguration of the contemporary sailors and soldiers and they inspired him to write a novel portraying them as the foundation-layers for the greatness of the 19<sup>th</sup> century British Empire. Accordingly, *Westward Ho!* is dedicated to Rajah Sir James Brooke and George Augustus Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand, "linking a man of the cloth and an adventurer,"<sup>7</sup> extolling them as the embodiments of "English virtue, at once manful and godly, practical and enthusiastic, prudent and self-sacrificing."<sup>8</sup>

The dedication is not the only moment in the novel where Kingsley compares the Elizabethan age with the Victorian one, and the comparison in most cases is not as favourable as in the case of Brooke and Selwyn. The narrator on numerous occasions expresses his dissatisfaction with his "free" and "liberal" times, contrasting unfavourably the victory over Armada with the disasters brought by

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<sup>5</sup> N. J. Watson, "Gloriana Victoria: Victoria and the Cultural Memory of Elizabeth I", [in:] *Remaking Queen Victoria*, eds. M. Homans and A. Munich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 82.

<sup>6</sup> L. Ormond, "'The Spacious Times of Great Elizabeth': The Victorian Vision of the Elizabethans", *Victorian Poetry*, 25 (1987), p. 37; R. Chapman, *The Sense of the Past in Victorian Literature* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), p. 86.

<sup>7</sup> D. Rosen, "The Volcano and the Cathedral: Muscular Christianity and the Origins of Primal Manliness", [in:] *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age*, ed. D. E. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 26.

<sup>8</sup> C. Kingsley, *Westward Ho!* (London: Macmillan, 1880), p. v.

the Crimean War, pointing out: “we ought rather [...] inquire whether we have not something to learn from those old Tudor times, as to how to choose officials, how to train a people, and how to defend a country.”<sup>9</sup> But it is not only Elizabeth herself as the paragon of the good ruler; Elizabethans themselves are presented as “well-fed people, with fewer luxuries than we, but more abundant necessities;” and the Elizabethan age as the age of “immense animal good spirits.”<sup>10</sup> The main hero of *Westward Ho!*, Amyas Leigh, is the personification of all these features: a jolly giant, brave soldier and sailor, not given much to intellectual speculation, but full of virtue and godliness. In his simple childlike piety he proves to be a much better Christian than his devious Catholic cousin Eustace, whom he tries to protect as long as possible, despite Eustace's treacherous dealings with the Jesuits. And, despite his numerous journeys and adventures, Amyas remains, as Kingsley insistently tells us, “as pure as the day he was born, having been trained as many a brave young man was then, to look upon profligacy not as a proof of manhood, but as [...] a cowardly and effeminate sin.”<sup>11</sup>

The imperial ideology is the link between Elizabethans and Victorians. Amyas Leigh, who sailed around the world with Drake, fought with Spaniards in Ireland and in the Spanish Main and ended the long list of his achievements by fighting the Spanish Armada, is the spiritual ancestor of the dedicatees of the novel. The imperial enterprise is for Kingsley also ethical enterprise and, as one of his characters claims, fighting Spaniards to rob their gold is a good thing since Spaniards themselves murdered innocent Indians for that gold; the English do the best they can to avenge poor Indians: they cannot give the gold back since its rightful owners are already dead but they can avenge them by killing their oppressors. As can be seen, Kingsley's ethical horizon can accommodate a significant amount of bloodshed: it is worth remembering that *Westward Ho!* was published already after Brooke, the white Rajah of Sarawak in Borneo, had undergone investigation by a royal commission because of the charges of abusing his power.<sup>12</sup> Kingsley defended Brooke against, as he put it, “sentimental coward cant.” His idea of “manly virtue” meant that one did not shrink from acting on “the broad sense of right”<sup>13</sup> – “right” meaning what was right for the British Empire and Protestantism. This approach is encapsulated in the following commentary on the massacre of capitulated Spanish soldiers:

It was done. Right or wrong, it was done. The shrieks and curses had died away, and the Fort del Oro was a red shambles, which the soldiers were trying to cover from the

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 461.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>12</sup> S. Walker, “‘Backwards and backwards ever’: Charles Kingsley's Racial-Historical Allegory and the Liberal Anglican Revisioning of Britain”, *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 62 (2007), pp. 347–348.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted after Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

sight of heaven and earth, by dragging the bodies into the ditch, and covering them with the ruins of the rampart; while the Irish, who had beheld from the woods that awful warning, fled trembling into the deepest recesses of the forest. It was done; and it never needed to be done again. The hint was severe, but it was sufficient. Many years passed before a Spaniard set foot again in Ireland.<sup>14</sup>

Even more striking is the following passage describing the imaginary shout of joy heard all over the world after the defeat of the Armada:

And now, from England and the Netherlands, from Germany and Geneva [...] from all of Europe, from all of mankind, I had almost said, in which lay the seed of future virtue and greatness, of the destinies of the new-discovered world, and the triumphs of the coming age of science, arose a shout of holy joy, such as the world had not heard for many a weary and bloody century; a shout which was the prophetic birth-paeon of North America, Australia, New Zealand, the Pacific Islands, of free commerce and free colonization over the whole earth.<sup>15</sup>

The expression “free colonization” may sound to us oxymoronic, but of course it is not such from Kingsley’s point of view: his brand of colonization is “free” because it is implemented by the British Protestants, as opposed to Spanish Catholic tyrants. When he is forced to admit the unsavoury facts about British colonization, he lays them at the feet of the Stuarts and the corruption introduced by them. Mrs Hawkins, the wife of John Hawkins, feels remorse because of her husband’s pioneering role in slave trade and cannot enjoy her comfortable lifestyle funded by the exploitation of fellow human beings; the narrative suggests that the fact that she outlived both her husband and her son could be perceived as God’s punishment. However, Kingsley does everything in his power to fudge the issue of the responsibility of his Elizabethan heroes: it was only in the times of the Stuarts when “her husband’s [Hawkins’s] youthful sin became a national institution and a national curse for generations yet unborn.”<sup>16</sup> Elizabeth herself is presented as disapproving of slave trade: when Hawkins lost his ships in the battle of San Juan de Ulúa, “the Queen, God save her tender heart! was so sharp with him for pity of the poor wretches, but it has not mended him.”<sup>17</sup>

The previous quote is also very characteristic when it comes to portraying Elizabeth in *Westward Ho!* She is mentioned on numerous occasions, usually in reverent terms; Frank Leigh, Amyas’s delicate and refined courtier brother even goes as far as saying:

Had I my will, there should be in every realm not a salique, but an anti-salique law: whereby no kings, but only queens should rule mankind. Then would weakness and

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<sup>14</sup> Kingsley, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 499–500.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 230.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228.

not power be to man the symbol of divinity; love, and not cunning, would be the arbiter of every cause; and chivalry, not fear, the spring of all obedience.<sup>18</sup>

Even if the outburst above could be ascribed to Frank's poetic temper (he is described as somewhat given to using euphuistic vocabulary), the narrator seems to share this view by presenting Elizabeth as the living symbol of God's special providence over England in the days of the Armada invasion: "[...] She who was the guiding spirit of that devoted land, and the especial mark of the invaders' fury; and who, by some Divine inspiration (as men then not unwisely held), devised herself the daring stroke which was to anticipate the coming blow."<sup>19</sup>

However, while Elizabeth is worshipped by all the positive characters of the book (and when Eustace Leigh, the mean Catholic cousin of Amyas and Frank puts in doubt her virginity, it is meant as a clear signal to the readers of Eustace's de-based nature) we never see her as one of characters in the novel. Other heroes of the novel talk about her, appear at her court, invoke her, but the readers invariably receive only second-hand descriptions of these encounters, or the excerpts from 16<sup>th</sup>-century chroniclers with which Kingsley liked to intersperse his story.<sup>20</sup> This significant absence while being ever present could be explained by Kingsley's unwillingness to portray the aged queen; while in a later essay he ingeniously defended both her use of cosmetics and those who still worshipped her as in the days of her youth,<sup>21</sup> he apparently could not bring himself to depict the queen whom Frank Leigh calls "supremely lovely, and only worthy of admiration"<sup>22</sup> without making Frank seem to be a hypocrite or a fool. For that reason he chose to focus on the queen's "public body," making her the representation of the whole country; the chivalrous of men who serve her and defend her honour serve at the same time England.

England needs defending because it is a Protestant country; since *Westward Ho!* is constructed around fighting Spaniards, the conflict with Catholicism is one of the most prominent features of the novel. Kingsley is capable of admitting that Catholics could be loyal subjects and he emphasizes the loyalty and courage of Lord Howard, the Catholic admiral of the Queen's navy. He even goes as far as conceding that Eustace Leigh might have been a good lad had he not been brought up by the Jesuits. But the Jesuit education ruined him and his last act in the novel is betraying his cousin Frank and his beloved Rose, allowing them to be tortured and

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 271.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 490. The 19<sup>th</sup> century edition which is used for reference here capitalizes "She" in the middle of the sentence the way personal pronouns are capitalized in religious writings when referring to God; the capitalization also appears in the first edition of the book, and although it is lost sometimes in later editions, unquestionably it was intentional on Kingsley's part.

<sup>20</sup> M. Dobson and N. J. Watson, *England's Elizabeth: An Afterlife in Fame and Fantasy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 188.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165.

<sup>22</sup> Kingsley, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

executed by the Spanish Inquisition. Then he disappears from the novel, sent off with Kingsley's contemptuous words: "[t]his book is a history of men, – of men's virtues and sins, victories and defeats; and Eustace is a man no longer: he is become a thing, a tool, a Jesuit."<sup>23</sup> The history of the religious conflict in Elizabethan England is described by Kingsley, according to the long-standing tradition of religious polemic, by focusing on the martyrs from his own party and dismissing the martyrs from the other side. The execution of Anne Askew is described in detail; the horror of it casts a shadow of melancholy even over Amyas's mother, who, although too young to have seen it, heard about it from her own mother, who was Askew's disciple. On the other hand, Edmund Campion, who is introduced in the novel as one of Jesuits scheming together with Eustace Leigh, disappears without a trace and the readers learn about his fate only later in a remark made by another historical Jesuit, Father Parsons about his "martyred brother Campian."<sup>24</sup> Kingsley claims that Catholics were persecuted only when "fired with the glory of martyrdom, they bullied the long-suffering of Elizabeth and her council into giving them their deserts"<sup>25</sup> and, as Margaret Maison wrote ironically, "we are invited to believe that [...] the Penal Laws were never intended to be effective, with the «English martyrs» just skulking around in hiding places for the fun of it."<sup>26</sup>

As in previous examples, the purpose of Kingsley's fervent Protestantism is to settle some scores with his contemporaries. England of the 1850s was the country in which the position of the Church of England was, in the eyes of many, being undermined on all sides. The Oxford Movement encouraged the return of many pre-Reformation elements, both in terms of liturgy and theology. It was perceived by Broad Church clergymen, such as Kingsley, as the Catholic "fifth column" within the Anglican Church, and their fears were more than confirmed when a number of Tractarians or people from their social circle converted to Roman Catholicism; in the words of Walter Arnstein, "a trickle in the minds of many Englishmen [became] a flood."<sup>27</sup> The conversion of Newman, Kingsley's future adversary, was the most high-profile one but certainly not the only one. Roman Catholicism, from Kingsley's point of view, was about to achieve in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the subtle force of propaganda what it was not able to achieve in the 16<sup>th</sup> century through the Spanish force of Armada – the mass conversion of the English. The establishment of the Catholic diocesan administration in England in 1851, dubbed by the newspapers "the Papal aggression," confirmed these fears. The reasons why Kingsley chose to portray the terrors of the Spanish Inquisition are clearly connected with the mood of the 1850s: he wanted to remind the English, who were clearly in danger of becoming seduced by the finery of the Catholic liturgy, of the real face of Popery. The danger

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 348.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>26</sup> M. Maison, *The Victorian Vision* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961), pp. 173–174.

<sup>27</sup> W. L. Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic in Mid-Victorian England: Mr. Newdegate and the Nuns* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1982), pp. 40–41.

of such a seduction is personified in the fate of Rose Salterne, the beloved of both Amyas and Frank Leigh, who is seduced by a Spanish nobleman, Don Guzman de Soto, elopes with him to South America where she lives for some time comfortably enough as his wife, but inevitably, through the machinations of Eustace, she ends up tortured and burnt at stake as the victim of the Inquisition.

Kingsley's hatred of Roman Catholicism is all the more striking because it seems to contain a strong sexual component. Eustace Leigh and many other Catholics, in particular Catholic clergymen who appear in the novel are described as effeminate, cowardly and weak while the English are masculine, robust and brave. The preoccupation with manliness was not only a particular idiosyncrasy of Kingsley, although it has been suggested that it was a symptom of his anxiety about his own sexuality.<sup>28</sup> The nagging fear that religion would become the sole province of women haunted many of Kingsley's fellow Christian Socialists; Thomas Hughes's popular book about the life of Jesus was titled *The Manliness of Christ* (1879) and its chapters had titles such as "The Holy Land A.D. 10 – The Battlefield of the Great Captain."<sup>29</sup> In *Westward Ho!* John Brimblecombe, an Anglican parson accompanying Frank and Amyas on their journey, shows unmanly cowardice and is soundly told off by Amyas:

No wonder that young men, as the parsons complain so loudly, will not listen to the Gospel, while it is preached to them by men on whom they cannot but look down; a set of soft-handed fellows who cannot dig, and are ashamed to beg; and, as my brother has it, must needs be parsons before they are men.<sup>30</sup>

This taunting is clearly meant to be directed not only at John Brimblecombe, who accordingly changes his behaviour and becomes a courageous man, but also at Kingsley's contemporaries, falling under the baneful influence of the Tractarian movement, for instance by voluntarily choosing celibacy, or, as Frank Leigh put it, vowing "not to be men."<sup>31</sup> Kingsley clearly hoped, by presenting to his readers Amyas Leigh as the paragon of Christian unblemished virility, to stave off the danger of the growing emasculation of the Victorian church.

The picture of the Elizabethan age in *Westward Ho!* is clearly intended as a mirror for the Victorian age. The 16<sup>th</sup>-century sailors and adventurers prefigure the Victorian empire builders, but on the whole Kingsley's comparison between the Elizabethans and the Victorians works more to the advantage of the Elizabethans. The idealized depiction of the Elizabethan sailors as truly masculine champions of Protestantism is clearly meant to contrast unfavourably with the liberal and effete

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<sup>28</sup> M. Wheeler, *The Old Enemies: Catholic and Protestant in Nineteenth-Century British Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 68.

<sup>29</sup> If the anachronistic comparison could be excused, Hughes' approach unwittingly parallels the approach of the anonymous Old English author of *The Dream of the Rood*.

<sup>30</sup> Kingsley, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

Victorian Anglicans, increasingly catholicized from within by the Tractarians. The Elizabethan Age became for Kingsley truly the Golden Age in the sense this expression was used by the ancients: the age of simplicity and honesty, before people became depraved by luxuries of modern life and the Merry England was blighted by the blurring of boundaries between Protestant right and Catholic wrong.

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## **Westward Ho! Charlesa Kingsleya jako protestancki mit założycielski**

### Streszczenie

W literaturze popularnej okresu wiktoriańskiego powieść historyczna była gatunkiem najchętniej czytany. Jednak autorzy wiktoriańscy osadzali akcję swych powieści w przeszłości nie tylko ze względu na przygodowy potencjał i barwne tło, lecz również aby odnieść się do konkretnych problemów i wyzwań swoich czasów. Wśród wiktoriańskich powieści historycznych te osadzone w epoce elżbietańskiej okazują się szczególnie interesujące. Reformację uznać można za jeden z najistotniejszych punktów w historii brytyjskiej i z całą pewnością za jeden z kluczowych rozdziałów w historii Anglii, w której „wybawienie od papieżstwa” stało się angielskim mitem założycielskim. Dla niektórych przedstawicieli epoki wiktoriańskiej szesnasty wiek okazał się szczególnie fascynującym zwierciadłem: tak

jak i przedstawiciele epoki elżbietańskiej, żyli pod panowaniem królowej, kontynuowali rozbudowę imperium, którego podwaliny położono w wieku szesnastym, a wielu z nich poważnie przejmowało się rozwojem katolicyzmu w Wielkiej Brytanii, który, jak sądzili, mógł w dziewiętnastym wieku stanowić takie samo zagrożenie dla państwa jak w wieku szesnastym. Lekka powieść historyczna Charlesa Kingsleya p.t. *Westward Ho!* (1855) skutecznie łączy wszystkie te wątki: główni bohaterowie wyruszają do Nowego Świata, walczą z przebiegłymi Hiszpanami za granicą i z jeszcze bardziej podstępными katolickimi spiskowcami w kraju, cały czas pozostając wzorem protestanckiej, angielskiej męskości. Jednakże prawdziwą polemikę prowadzi autor ze społeczeństwem wiktoriańskim: powieść ma za zadanie ukazać elżbietańskie i protestanckie korzenie Wielkiej Brytanii i zachęcić ludzi epoki wiktoriańskiej do powrotu do wartości wyznawanych przez ich przodków.

# Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis

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## **MEASURE FOR MEASURE OR: ON THE INFLUENCE OF PHILIP LARKIN ON WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE**

### **Summary**

As Slavoj Žižek claims, Shakespeare's *Richard II* clearly shows that the Bard was well familiar with the work of the French philosopher, Jacques Lacan. In my paper I will try to demonstrate that he was also well acquainted with the poetry of Philip Larkin, which is best seen in one of Shakespeare's 'problem plays' *Measure for Measure*, where he not only returns to the familiar themes of the brevity and wretchedness of this life and the uncertainty of the life to come, but also wrestles with other issues frequently found in Larkin's poetry, such as self-knowledge and self-deception, sex and death, appearance vs. reality and a few others. As I hope to show in my paper, Act III in particular reads like a dramatised version of Larkin's last great poem *Aubade*, and is teeming with images and problems which the Bard "lifted" from the work of Philip Larkin. Such deliberately anachronistic reading of the play should prove that great writers, both past and present, return to grapple with the same problems time and again, which in turn proves that "self-interpreting animals" that we are, we cannot help probing the questions which matter to us most.

In the opening chapters of David Lodge's campus novel *Small World*, when asked about the subject of his M.A. thesis, the main protagonist Persse McGarrigle, flippantly says that it examined the influence of T. S. Eliot on William Shakespeare. A declaration like that may seem willfully amusing at best, or downright absurd at worst, however, the idea that some works of literature may retroactively influence other works written centuries before is more than just another of Lodge's jibes at the overcerebral, and excessively abstract, world of academia in general and the sprawling universe of literary theory in particular. In fact, it finds a kind of validation in the works of Eliot himself, who famously said that when an important new work appears, something happens to all the other works in the canon:

The existing monuments form an ideal order among themselves, which is modified by the introduction of the new (the really new) work of art among them. The existing order is complete before the new work arrives; for order to persist after the supervision of novelty, the *whole* existing order must be, if ever so slightly, altered.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> T. S. Eliot, *Selected Prose*, ed. F. Kermode (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975), p. 38.

Eliot understands literature as an ever dynamic, infinitely malleable organic whole, which is evolving and gaining complexity at all times, and should not be reduced to a collection of classical books and masterpieces which – as Mark Twain once remarked with his usual wit – “everybody wants to have read, but no one wants to read.”<sup>2</sup> Eliot’s insistence on the inherent dynamism of literature opens up the possibility of looking at tradition as a textual ocean of numerous, if not infinite, crosscurrents which defy the boundaries of space and chronology. Even more substantial theoretical underpinnings for this approach can be found in William Kurtz Wimsatt’s famous essay *Intentional Fallacy*. While the essay itself sets out to dispel the unfortunate myth that the meaning of a given text can be established by appealing to the intention of its author, one of its footnotes makes the following, highly controversial, claim: “And the history of words *after* a poem is written may contribute meanings which if relevant to the original pattern should not be ruled out by a scruple about intention.”<sup>3</sup> Wimsatt speaks primarily about philological changes which have taken place since the text came to be written, but it is important that this footnote, which validates the possibility of anachronistic reading, endorses the seemingly outrageous idea of retroactive influence of later works of literature on earlier ones. It must be admitted that while Wimsatt’s assertion concerns primarily the process of semantic accretion, dilution or replacement of old meanings by new ones, it is exactly in the field of philology that his claim must seem most shocking. In his opinion, even subsequent philological changes may be brought to bear on the text in the act of interpretation. While an approach like this may produce hilariously provocative and deliciously sacrilegious readings of canonical texts, which some happy-go-lucky deconstructionist might welcome, it is difficult to see any real hermeneutic value in such undertakings. Is our understanding of Yeats’s *Lopus Lazuli* somehow enriched if we reread the poem with the current meaning of the adjective “gay” in mind?<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, if we take those claims beyond the narrow limits of philological studies and understand literature not as a linear process of accumulation of literary works arranged along the axis of time, but an organic collection of hermeneutical events happening simultaneously, then it seems perfectly legitimate to speak about the influence of Eliot on Shakespeare. The act of writing, whether dramatic, lyrical or essayistic, opens up a certain field of discursivity which becomes independent of its author, who in the very process of writing reduces himself to the Foucaultian agency of an author-function. Consequently, we can conceive of such fields of discursivity as a vast and ever-growing universe of independent,

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<sup>2</sup> In: R. A. Krieger, *Civilization’s Quotations: Life’s Ideal* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2002), p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> W. K. Wimsatt, “The Intentional Fallacy”, [in:] *The Critical Tradition: Classic Texts and Contemporary Trends*, eds. D. H. Richter and M. C. Beardsley (Boston: Bedford, 1998), p. 756.

<sup>4</sup> W. B. Yeats, *Collected Poems*, ed. R. J. Finneran (New York: Scribner, 1996), p. 294. “Of poets that are always gay” (l. 3), “They know that Hamlet and Lear are gay” (l. 16), “All things fall and are built again,/And those that build them again are gay” (ll. 35–36).

self-sufficient entities, whose mutual relevance transcends the tyranny of chronology. As a result, a certain reciprocity may arise between them, the nature of which may be either proleptic or retroactive. While the very notion of such retroactive influence sounds like a phenomenon lifted out of the baffling world of quantum mechanics, upon closer and unprejudiced scrutiny, it becomes a provokingly unorthodox, if rather academic, hermeneutical exercise. According to Gregory Nagy, even the foundational texts of European literature came into being in a similar fashion:

The mechanism that produces a figure such as Homer [...] takes place through a process of recomposition and “retrojection.” In an oral culture, each time the “same” poem or song is recited or sung, the performance is necessarily different from any other performance. Each performer of the song is also in some sense its co-author, developing and changing the song in his or her own ways. [...] the “originating” poet-author (Homer in this case) is actually produced retrospectively, as a back-formation, through the performers’ own differentiation of themselves from the imagined originator of the song.<sup>5</sup>

One could also look at the problem in more Bloomian terms as the tension between the precursor text and the belated text, in which our reception of each is modified by the other. In other words, we can never read Claudio’s speech from *Measure for Measure* in quite the same way after reading Larkin’s *Aubade*. It does not matter at all whether Larkin had this speech in mind when he set pen to paper, or whether its echoes were reverberating in his subconsciousness during its composition. What does matter is that *Aubade* excites the possibility of a new reading of Shakespeare’s play.<sup>6</sup>

Having briefly laid out a theoretical framework for the subsequent analysis, let us now turn to the play and the poem. *Measure for Measure* is usually described as one of Shakespeare’s “problem plays.” While the dramatic trajectory of tragedy normally runs from happiness and order to misery and chaos, which is perhaps best epitomised in the famous interjection of Othello: “Excellent wretch! Perdition catch my soul/But I do love thee! And when I love thee not/chaos is come again,”<sup>7</sup> comedy often begins with disarray, or a threat thereof, only to restore harmony and happiness in the last act. However, in the case of *Measure for Measure*, even its happy ending, one of the most obvious and, from the generic point of view, indispensable elements of comedy, is disturbingly ambiguous. Why is Angelo, who in many ways is the villain of the piece, allowed to go scot-free? What is Isabella’s response to the Duke’s proposal of marriage? What was his hidden agenda in “leaving” the city of Vienna and passing the buck of responsibility to the “precise

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<sup>5</sup> A. Bennett, *The Author* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> One should also remember Jan Kott’s provocatively anachronistic readings of Shakespeare’s plays interpreted “through” the work of Samuel Beckett. Our response to the plays of both is modified as a result.

<sup>7</sup> W. Shakespeare, *Othello*, ed. S. Orgel (London: Penguin Classics, 2001), III, 3, ll. 90–92.

Angelo”? These are only a handful of questions which have continued to haunt and baffle readers of the play. Like another of Shakespeare’s problem plays, *The Merchant of Venice*, it is one of those comedies which leave a bitter aftertaste; we feel that the balance has not been restored, and injustice, cruelty and hypocrisy have not been sufficiently stigmatized and punished. In fact, in many respects both plays are only slightly less unsettling than some tragedies, but unlike the latter, they do not have the advantage of offering the reader the possibility of experiencing *catharsis*. “There is probably no other play by Shakespeare which has so much perplexed critics as *Measure for Measure*, nor one which has aroused such violent, eccentric, and mutually opposed responses,” writes Ernest Schanzer in his book on the problem plays of Shakespeare.<sup>8</sup>

Let us briefly look at the story leading up to Claudio’s impassioned speech on the horrors of hell, which will be compared with Larkin’s famous poem *Aubade*. The play is set in the city of Vienna, which has been for a long time wallowing in debauchery and moral corruption. When the Duke decides to leave Vienna under the pretext of attending to some urgent business abroad, he appoints the young and ruthlessly virtuous Angelo as his deputy. Angelo at once rolls up his sleeves and sets about the task of rooting out corruption and dissipation from Vienna, thus restoring the rule of law and chastity. When his minions catch Claudio, a young nobleman who is guilty of pre-marital sex, the consequences of which are all too visible in the rotundity of his wife-to-be, he decides to make an example of him and to frighten others into the life of virtue – Claudio is to die. In the last attempt to save her brother’s life, Claudio’s sister Isabella, a virtuous novice, visits the stern Angelo and begs him to spare Claudio. When Angelo lays eyes on the beautiful Isabella, the steely exterior of his Puritanism turns out to be less impenetrable than he thought. Angelo makes an outrageous offer: he will let Claudio free if the attractive novice agrees to slake his suddenly awakened lust. The shocked Isabella rejects the offer and chooses virginity over her brother’s life. She proudly, though rather chillingly, exclaims that: “Better it were a brother died at once,/Than that a sister, by redeeming him, Should die for ever” and “Then, Isabel, live chaste, and, brother, die: More than our brother is our chastity.”<sup>9</sup> When she is allowed to visit him in prison, she has the difficult task of breaking the news of his impending execution. Claudio at first wholeheartedly endorses her decision, but when he thinks about the horror of death, he has second thoughts and tries to persuade her to sacrifice her virtue, so that he can live. Isabella is duly shocked once again, this time by her brother’s petty selfishness. Consequently, Claudio finds himself in a situation where he is facing something the sheer horror of which is so overpowering

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<sup>8</sup> E. Schanzer, *The Problem Plays of Shakespeare: A Study of Julius Caesar, Measure for Measure, Antony and Cleopatra* (New York: Schocken Books, 1965), p. 71.

<sup>9</sup> W. Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, ed. B. Gibbons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), II, 4, ll. 184–185.

that the mind “blanks at the glare.”<sup>10</sup> Where can one hope to find some comfort? First, there is religion. Even before Isbaella’s arrival, the now-disguised-as-a-friar Duke visits the terrified Claudio and tries to assuage his fears by presenting several arguments why he should “be absolute for death.” His speech is long but it will bear quoting in full for despite its length, it is a concise catalogue of various stratagems people may use in order to mitigate the horror which prepossesses the mind contemplating its ultimate dissolution:

Reason thus with life:  
 If I do lose thee, I do lose a thing  
 That none but fools would keep: a breath thou art,  
 Servile to all the skyey influences,  
 That dost this habitation, where thou keep’st,  
 Hourly afflict: merely, thou art death’s fool;  
 For him thou labour’st by thy flight to shun  
 And yet runn’st toward him still. Thou art not noble;  
 For all the accommodations that thou bear’st  
 Are nursed by baseness. Thou’rt by no means valiant;  
 For thou dost fear the soft and tender fork  
 Of a poor worm. Thy best of rest is sleep,  
 And that thou oft provokest; yet grossly fear’st  
 Thy death, which is no more. Thou art not thyself;  
 For thou exist’st on many a thousand grains  
 That issue out of dust. Happy thou art not;  
 For what thou hast not, still thou strivest to get,  
 And what thou hast, forget’st. Thou art not certain;  
 For thy complexion shifts to strange effects,  
 After the moon. If thou art rich, thou’rt poor;  
 For, like an ass whose back with ingots bows,  
 Thou bear’s thy heavy riches but a journey,  
 And death unloads thee. Friend hast thou none;  
 For thine own bowels, which do call thee sire,  
 The mere effusion of thy proper loins,  
 Do curse the gout, serpigo, and the rheum,  
 For ending thee no sooner. Thou hast nor youth nor age,  
 But, as it were, an after-dinner’s sleep,  
 Dreaming on both; for all thy blessed youth  
 Becomes as aged, and doth beg the alms  
 Of palsied eld; and when thou art old and rich,  
 Thou hast neither heat, affection, limb, nor beauty,  
 To make thy riches pleasant. What’s yet in this  
 That bears the name of life? Yet in this life  
 Lie hid more thousand deaths: yet death we fear,  
 That makes these odds all even.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> P. Larkin, “Aubade”, [in:] *Collected Poems*, ed. A. Twaite (London: Faber and Faber, 1990), l. 11.

<sup>11</sup> Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, *op. cit.*, III, 1, ll. 5–41.

It is an amazing speech not only on account of what it contains, but also because of what it chooses to leave out. It is somewhat surprising that Claudio does not find the friar's arguments strange. After all, the Duke is disguised as a religious but the consolations which he administers are not at all religious in nature. Rather than urge Claudio to think about the glory of heaven, or at least the hope for an afterlife, the friar chooses to concentrate on the misery of earthly existence, and the very idea of immortality is conspicuously absent from his speech. Life itself is portrayed not as a divine gift, but a wearisome illusion, a protracted anguish from which man is liberated in death. This melancholy catalogue of woe and wretchedness is oddly non-Christian, instead it reminds one of the philosophical admonition to willingly let go of what one cannot keep, or even of Buddhist serenity in the face of adversity which comes from stilling one's passions. While the fear of death itself cannot be eradicated from human nature, from the Christian perspective it is more than sufficiently counterbalanced by the promise of heavenly bliss. The speech is not unlike Hamlet's soliloquy, but the Viennese Duke does not share the Danish Prince's uncertainty, which "makes calamity of so long life." Nowhere in the play is Larkin's influence on Shakespeare more tangible than in this passage since one of Larkin's most-widely quoted adages has it that: "Life is first boredom, then fear."<sup>12</sup> In *Aubade* the speaker makes it abundantly clear that it is by no means the love of life which makes death so terrifying:

Not in remorse  
 – The good not done, the love not given, time  
 Torn off unused – nor wretchedly because  
 An only life can take so long to climb  
 Clear of its wrong beginnings, and may never.<sup>13</sup>

According to Larkin, life is a miserable affair, but this fact does nothing to make the prospect of dying any less terrifying. The seemingly reassured Claudio replies: "I humbly thank you./To sue to live, I find I seek to die;/And, seeking death, find life: let it come on"<sup>14</sup> but the curtness of his reply betrays a resignation which is hardly Christian and comes across as an act of strained stoicism in the face of the inevitable. Moreover, the morbid sexuality of his claim that he will "encounter darkness as a bride" and "hug it in [his] arms"<sup>15</sup> cloak only too thinly a mind which is almost unhinged by the horrendous goings-on. We must make allowances for the fact that the Duke is merely playing a role, so he can speak with an assurance of one who knows that in the end all shall be well, but the viewer cannot help wondering

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<sup>12</sup> P. Larkin, "Dockery and Son", [in:] *Collected Poems*, ed. A. Twaite (London: Faber and Faber, 1990), l. 45.

<sup>13</sup> Larkin, "Aubade", *op. cit.*, ll. 11–15.

<sup>14</sup> Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, *op. cit.*, III, 1, ll. 40–42.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 79 and 82.

whether hinting at a possibility of salvation, or even disclosing his plans to the disconsolate prisoner, would have ruined his plan.

One striking similarity between the modern poet and the Elizabethan playwright is that both Claudio and Larkin's lyrical *alter ego* speak about death in a highly sensory language, even though in the case of *Aubade* one might speak about a rather gruesome sensuality *à rebours* since the essence of being dead, and its most terrifying aspect, lies in the complete deprivation of sensory data. To be more exact, it is not the state of sensory deprivation itself, which cannot in any way register on the senses, but the anticipation thereof which the speaker finds so horrifying. Thus the ontologically oxymoronic state of being dead is described as: "soundless dark,"<sup>16</sup> "total emptiness for ever,"<sup>17</sup> "not to be here,/Not to be anywhere,"<sup>18</sup> „no sight, no sound,/No touch or taste or smell, nothing to think with,/Nothing to love or link with."<sup>19</sup> What terrifies the speaker in *Aubade* is not the fear of the unknown, but the inevitability of dying. There is no uncertainty as to what happens after death since the answers once provided by faith are no longer convincing; for Claudio, by contrast, it is the very fact of the impossibility of arriving at any certain knowledge about man's posthumous condition that fills him with horror. Consequently, his mind is blundering about some imaginary shadowland, leaping from one terrifying vision to another:

Ay, but to die, and go we know not where;  
To lie in cold obstruction and to rot;  
This sensible warm motion to become  
A kneaded clod; and the delighted spirit  
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside  
In thrilling region of thick-ribbed ice;  
To be imprison'd in the viewless winds,  
And blown with restless violence round about  
The pendent world; or to be worse than worst  
Of those that lawless and incertain thought  
Imagine howling: 'tis too horrible!  
The weariest and most loathed worldly life  
That age, ache, penury and imprisonment  
Can lay on nature is a paradise  
To what we fear of death.<sup>20</sup>

These lines are not only strikingly modern, but also constitute what is probably the most Larkinesque passage in Shakespeare's entire *oeuvre*. The most terrifying aspect of death lies in the fact that what is alive, sentient and conscious

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<sup>16</sup> Larkin, "Aubade", *op. cit.*, l. 2.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 16.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 18-19.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 27-29.

<sup>20</sup> Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, *op. cit.*, III, 3, ll. 114-127.

today will soon be reduced to the condition of a “kneaded clod,” and will become a thing, an object. What makes this speech particularly unsettling is that another possibility, a distinctly post-Christian one, is hinted at: perhaps death is the end, and the final reality is that of putrescence and bodily decomposition. Next, having rejected the possibility of total emptiness and ultimate dissolution, Claudio’s desperate mind is trying to clutch at some more tangible images. The first is a traditional Christian picture of the nether regions, which are described as a land of fire and brimstone filled with the agony and wailing of the damned. The subsequent images echo back to Dante’s *Comedia*, where the punishment meted out to the sinners corresponds to the nature of their transgression. Since Claudio’s sin is sexual license and fornication, he imagines himself being blown about by some ferocious, biting wind, and so is the speaker himself as he is veering from one image to another. Moreover, Shakespeare is drawing on Dante in yet another way, since like the Italian poet, he has sinners suffer not by immersing them in a cauldron of boiling lead, but by imprisoning them in “thick-ribbed ice.”

As we have seen before, Claudio pays lip service to the vapidly philosophical deliberations of the Duke, but it is clear that he does not find them persuasive and when a chance appears to cling on to his life, he immediately grabs it with both hands. In an ineffectual effort to console the grief-stricken Claudio, Isabella, who at this point in the play finds herself impaled on the horns of a terrible dilemma, trumps up the Epicurean card of having to resign oneself to death since it is chiefly the anticipation of what is anyway ineluctable that fills us with dread:

The sense of death is most in apprehension;  
And the poor beetle, that we tread upon,  
In corporal sufferance finds a pang as great  
As when a giant dies.<sup>21</sup>

Like the Duke in his excessively rational cogitations on the nature of life and mortality, this nun-to-be makes no reference to the hope of afterlife and resurrection; instead her arguments strike one as more philosophical than religious. Neither the Duke’s nor Isabella’s consolations can cut any ice with the man who is waiting to be executed. When, however, in a misguided attempt to soften the blow, she tells her brother that “Lord Angelo, having affairs to heaven,/Intends you for his swift ambassador,”<sup>22</sup> her forced good cheer and disingenuous optimism are almost montypythesque. At this point we could easily imagine a stage direction: “enter Philip Larkin” since the glib consolations trotted out by Isabella and the Duke are in fact the same arguments which Larkin rejects in his poem. He has no time for a long debate with the bland palliatives offered by religion and dismisses them curtly as a “trick;” according to him, religion is “That vast moth-eaten brocade/Created to pretend we never die.”<sup>23</sup> In other words, religion is a man-made

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 1, ll. 75–78.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 3, ll. 1280–1281.

<sup>23</sup> Larkin, “Aubade”, *op. cit.*, ll. 23–24.

psychological prop, whose only end is to make life bearable by keeping up the pretense of immortality. He also makes short work of the ancient wisdom of Epicurus, which rears its foolish head in Isabella's lines since "Death is no different whined at than withstood"<sup>24</sup> and the dubious heroism of stoical resignation simply means "not scaring others."<sup>25</sup>

As we have seen, both Claudio and the speaker in Larkin's poem reject the illusory consolations offered by religion or philosophy. Hence the dramatic energy of Claudio's speech and the despondent staccato of Larkin's dirge. Both are charged with emotion, even though Larkin's poem is more of a stiff-upper-lip kind, an even voice communicating calmly his horror of death. But the horror is unmistakably there, and sometimes it pierces the deceptively calm exterior of the speaker: "In furnace-fear, when we are caught without/People or drink."<sup>26</sup> Unlike Claudio, Larkin's *persona* is looking both ahead at the soundless darkness of death and this life with its bleakness and boredom. In the play Claudio is focused solely on the great beyond and its reputed horrors, while the Duke speaks about the weariness of this life. Thus, Larkin's self-involved *Todesfuge* is being sung by two voices.

It could be expected that since they have seen through the specious consolations of religions and philosophies, both Claudio and Larkin's lyrical *alter ego* in *Aubade* must be resigned to the fact of their (and everybody else's) inescapable finitude and mortality. At the same time, the question appears whether it is at all possible to forget that we are in fact all sentenced as incessant meditation on mortality is bound to drive even the most resilient minds to distraction.

Drawing on the Pascalian notion of *divertissements*, Larkin says that the fear of death catches us off guard when "we are caught without people or drink."<sup>27</sup> Consequently, apart from the company of others, the only analgesic ready to hand is a glass of wine, or a tankard of beer. However brutal it may sound, according to Larkin, it is not the volumes of Plato but a few pints of lager which can temporarily allay our fears; it is booze, not the Bible, which can take our minds off the thought of mortality. What follows is that another very Larkinesque character in *Measure for Measure* – and another proof that the Bard knew his Larkin very well – is the prisoner Barnardine, who appears only for a brief moment. Since Barnardine is serving out his sentence in a solitary cell, he does not have much company and cannot rely on creature comfort but he makes frequent use of the other method of keeping the thought of death at arm's length. Indeed, what saves him not so much from a lugubriously Larkinesque meditation on mortality, but from a very real hanging is the fact that on the morning when he is to be executed, he is hopelessly hung over and simply refuses to die on that day. He will not stand up and leave the cell, which puts a spanner in the Duke's complicated machinery of theatrical deceit:

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 40.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 38.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 36–37.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

BARNARDINE

Friar, not I. I have been drinking hard all night,  
and I will have more time to prepare me, or they  
shall beat out my brains with billets: I will not  
consent to die this day, that's certain.

DUKE VINCENTIO

O, sir, you must: and therefore I beseech you  
Look forward on the journey you shall go.

BARNARDINE

I swear I will not die to-day for any man's persuasion.

DUKE VINCENTIO

But hear you.

BARNARDINE

Not a word: if you have any thing to say to me,  
come to my ward; for thence will not I to-day.<sup>28</sup>

In conclusion it must be said that while one may speak jokingly about Larkin's influence on Shakespeare this essay has tried to demonstrate that great writers throughout the ages tap the same sources, and return to the same themes and motifs. Such "retroactive influences" as that of Larkin on Shakespeare serve to prove the universality of literature. When Larkin so vividly describes the horror gnawing away at his lyrical *alter ego*, which description in turn reminds one of Claudio's agony, it becomes clear that – a true poet that he is – he is writing with the sense of "not only of the pastness of the past, but of its presence."<sup>29</sup>

Secondly, for the reader who confronts Larkin's pessimism first, his subsequent encounter with Shakespeare's play will inevitably be modified by the experience. Thus, in the individual response to a given text, the otherwise rigid contours of chronology become blurred or disappear altogether. We might say that in the actuality of the speaker's subjective response to the texts, they become liberated from the tyranny of chronology and enter into a discourse with one another which transcends spatial or temporal limitations.

Finally, bearing in mind that the play is set in Vienna, contains rather graphic descriptions of sexual license and one of its main themes is the problem of the main character's suddenly awakened libido coming to the surface and taking over his whole personality, one begins to suspect that Shakespeare was well familiar not only with the work of Philip Larkin, but also Sigmund Freud. But that is a topic for another paper.

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<sup>28</sup> Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, *op. cit.*, IV, 3, ll. 48–57.

<sup>29</sup> T. S. Eliot, *Tradition and the Individual Talent. The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism* (London: Methuen, 1920), pp. 47–59.

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## **Miarka za miarkę, albo jaki wpływ miał Filip Larkin na Williama Szekspira**

### Streszczenie

Jak twierdzi Slavoj Žižek, szekspirowski *Ryszard II* wyraźnie ukazuje, iż Bard dobrze znał prace francuskiego filozofa Jacquesa Lacana. W niniejszej pracy postaram się wykazać, że nie była mu obca również poezja Filipa Larkina, co najpełniej widoczne jest w jednej z szekspirowskich „sztuk problemowych” *Miarka za miarkę*. Szekspir nie tylko powraca w niej do znanych tematów nietrwałości i mizerności życia doczesnego oraz niepewności życia przyszłego, ale również zmagają się z innymi problemami obecnymi często w poezji Larkina, to jest z tematami samoświadomości i samookłamywania, seksu i śmierci, pozorów i rzeczywistości, itp. W tekście niniejszym mam nadzieję wykazać, że w szczególności Akt III sztuki przypomina udramatyzowaną wersję ostatniego wielkiego wiersza Larkina *Alba*, i że pełno w nim obrazów i problematyki podjętych przez Barda wprost z tekstu Larkina. Takie celowo anachroniczne odczytanie sztuki powinno wykazać, że wielcy autorzy, tak klasyczni jak i współcześni, mogą mieć nadzieję na osiągnięcie w swych tekstach jedynie tego, iż zmagają się będą wciąż z tymi samymi pytaniami, bez szans jednak by kiedykolwiek uzyskać na nie jednoznaczną, ostateczną odpowiedź.

# Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis

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## NATURALISTIC EFFACEMENT: THE GROTESQUE IN STEPHEN CRANE'S *THE MONSTER*

### Summary

Disfigured, exaggerated, and animal-like characters can be considered a staple in American literary naturalism. From Frank Norris's slow-witted, bullish McTeague to the tortured victim of mob justice in Theodore Dreiser's *Nigger Jim*, or the starved protagonist of Jack London's *Love of Life*, US narratives written near the turn of the century often exploit extreme bodily characteristics in constructing, typically, dramas of misfortune. This feature is consistent with naturalism's tendency to examine "man's past or present animality," in Donald Pizer's phrase, in order to expose deterministic patterns – social and natural.

In literary naturalism, the impulse to transgress norms may not be limited to descriptions of human bodies, but I argue that it is precisely through these descriptions that the grotesque may become a vehicle for a comprehensive principle of representation. In this paper, I wish to suggest some possible functions of the grotesque in naturalistic fiction by examining Stephen Crane's novella *The Monster* (1898). The title character, a black man whose face is "burned away" in a fire, creates profound unease in the fictitious town of Whilomville by his very existence and thus exposes some of the community's own, moral deformations. My focus falls on how the emergence of the grotesque – here conceivable as both effacement and defacement – ultimately contributes to the naturalistic spirit of the text.

The grotesque is a mode of representation that has been theorized in a wide variety of ways in the last two centuries. In this article, I would like to touch upon some of those theories in order to reveal how one piece of fiction that proves particularly pertinent in this context, Stephen Crane's novella *The Monster* (1898), exploits depictions of grotesqueries to construct its own specific version of naturalistic representation. Crane, writing in the 1890's, is often labeled as perhaps the foremost member of the group of writers we know as American naturalists who, like their European precursors and counterparts, placed a lot of emphasis on the grim and bleak side of reality – on the impersonal, overwhelming, and utterly indifferent forces of society and nature, and in general on the limited extent to which human subjects can determine their own fate in an increasingly uncontrollable, post-Darwinian world.

In addition to the rather obvious fact that both naturalistic poetics and grotesque descriptions tend to examine the human and the natural in relation to

each other, one can find further significant features that the two have in common. Donald Pizer, author of several seminal studies of American naturalism, has explained how naturalistic novels typically exploit two essential contradictions, both formal and thematic, in their representation of experience. Firstly, while naturalistic texts normally foreground low, commonplace, and unsophisticated subject matter, characters still exemplify “the extraordinary and excessive in human nature.”<sup>1</sup> The second contradiction concerns the simultaneous existence of a determinist, in itself pessimistic, focus and a reaffirmation of “the validity of human enterprise,” the individual’s continuous significance despite the overwhelming forces mentioned above.<sup>2</sup> As any analysis will show, such contradictions and ambiguities, fusions of ostensible opposites, are also defining features of the grotesque – to the extent that Harpham’s book on the topic<sup>3</sup> aptly stresses “strategies of contradiction” in its very title, and Philip Thomson defines the grotesque as “the unresolved clash of incompatibles in work and response.”<sup>4</sup>

Further analysis of literary naturalism’s representative premises and principles, or any explication of the stark contrasts among different writers designated as naturalists, is beyond the scope of this paper (as Pizer’s observations alone imply, the usual emphasis on determinism in descriptions of naturalism requires significant qualification). However, it is immediately worth noting that even a cursory reading of some key texts reveals the importance of grotesque imagery in this literary paradigm: disfigured, exaggerated, and animal-like characters are something like a staple in American literary naturalism. From Frank Norris’s slow-witted, bullish McTeague to the tortured victim of mob justice in Theodore Dreiser’s *Nigger Jim*, or the starved protagonist of Jack London’s *Love of Life*, US narratives written near the turn of the century often exploit extreme bodily characteristics in constructing, typically, dramas of misfortune. This feature is consistent with naturalism’s tendency to examine the animality in humanity in order to reveal deterministic patterns – social and natural.

I have already hinted at certain significant divisions in theories of the grotesque. Understood in the simplest of manners, these divisions boil down to a binary between an emphasis on the comic and the liberating carnivalesque, associated with Mikhail Bakhtin’s<sup>5</sup> ideas, and a foregrounding of the terrible, stemming from

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<sup>1</sup> D. Pizer, “Late Nineteenth-Century American Naturalism”, [in:] *Realism and Naturalism in Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1966). Rpt in F. Norris, *McTeague: Authoritative Text, Contexts, Criticism*, ed. D. Pizer. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Norton, 1997), p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 308.

<sup>3</sup> G. G. Harpham, *On the Grotesque: Strategies of Contradiction in Art and Literature* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982).

<sup>4</sup> P. Thomson, *The Grotesque* (London: Methuen, 1972), p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. H. Iswolsky (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1968).

a Romanticist aesthetic and advocated by Wolfgang Kayser,<sup>6</sup> above all. Both Kayser and Bakhtin aimed at attaching wide philosophical relevance to the grotesque, but while the former saw this “comprehensive structural principle of works of art” primarily as expressive of demonic horror,<sup>7</sup> the latter introduced it as the comic mode through which a kind of democratic creativity could be regenerated in medieval, anti-hierarchical folk culture.

Perhaps the most common set of definitions for the grotesque is *functional*: it relates to the idea of specific experiential effects or emotional responses. As Harpham has put it, “easily the most crucial and measurable aspect is the effect of the grotesque on the reader, listener, or spectator.”<sup>8</sup> This relative ease does not imply that the emotions or other psychological consequences spurred in its reception are simple or of some standard variety; on the contrary, as mentioned they are typically combinations of several contradictory elements. According to Harpham, the grotesque is always, on some level, associated with three responses which include astonishment and laughter. The third element can be either horror or disgust.<sup>9</sup> I think we can reasonably take all these as components that contribute to the phenomenon, but to reduce the grotesque to *merely* its effects, to something external to it, also immediately seems wrong.

In consequence, we also need a definition that somehow describes the grotesque body – for it normally is a body, one reminiscent of both human and animal corporeality, that can be designated as grotesque – in order to gain better access to the phenomenon. This definition does not have to be properly formal but at least *structural* in one way or another. Noël Carroll has provided such a characterization in a concise form: “something is an instance of the grotesque only if it is a being that violates our standing or common biological and ontological concepts and norms.”<sup>10</sup> The word *being* here denotes the phenomenon’s markedly bodily character. There are, of course, many alternative strategies toward achieving such violations, including the combining of incongruous categories (human and non-human, for example) and the conspicuous staging of excess, disproportion, or formlessness. Transgression of norm seems to have become a characteristic of the grotesque that is widely recognized as fundamental. There is no shortage of other workable descriptions, and a fairly extensive list of other defining features could be mentioned, but in the final analysis the grotesque as a type of image belongs to the class of phenomena that cannot be exhaustively described or fully contained

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<sup>6</sup> W. Kayser, *The Grottesque in Art and Literature*, trans. U. Weisstein (New York: Columbia UP, 1981).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>8</sup> G. Harpham, “The Grottesque: First Principles”, *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 34 (1976), p. 462.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 463.

<sup>10</sup> N. Carroll, “The Grottesque Today: Preliminary Notes toward a Taxonomy”, [in:] *Modern Art and the Grottesque*, ed. F. S. Connelly (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), p. 297.

within these attempted descriptions. There always remains an element of subjective intuition and emotive response.

In literary naturalism, the impulse to transgress norms may not be limited to descriptions of human bodies, but I argue that it is precisely through these descriptions that the grotesque may become a vehicle for a comprehensive principle of representation. Crane's *The Monster* also directly addresses this thematic of the anomalous body. The title character, a black man whose face is "burned away" in a fire, creates profound unease in the fictitious town of Whilomville by his very existence and thus exposes some of the community's own, moral deformations. The grotesque body thus becomes the catalyst for communal monstrosity; it becomes an entity that despite its inherent private character spreads its influence far beyond any conceivable natural limits. Importantly, Carroll is not the only theorist who posits the body at the centre of the poetics and politics of the grotesque. In fact, we could provocatively argue that the defining characteristics of this mode of representation are always somehow dependent or reminiscent of the human body, even when the being in question is some indefinable monstrosity.

The title of *The Monster* refers to a young man called Henry Johnson, who works for Dr. Trescott as a stableman and is a friend of the doctor's small son Jimmie. One night the house of the Trescott family suffers a terrible fire, and Henry heroically rescues Jimmie from the flames, only to be severely injured himself in the doctor's burning laboratory, where a corrosive chemical destroys his complexion. The fact that Henry miraculously survives the fire, after having been reported dead, and lives on with a gruesomely disfigured countenance, spreads a blend of awe, horror, disgust, and amusement among other members of the Whilomville community. This complex combination of emotional reactions exemplifies all the key responses that, according to Carroll, characterize the reception of the grotesque image.

In scenes subsequent to the accident, plenty of emphasis is placed, through repetition, on the fact that Henry "now had no face."<sup>11</sup> He has become "a thing" instead of a man;<sup>12</sup> all kinds of unfounded rumors about him start immediately after the fire.<sup>13</sup> Because Dr. Trescott continues to maintain and protect Henry even when the community goads itself into a judgmental frenzy, the town also turns against the Trescott family. This is the main narrative of *The Monster* from a properly human perspective: it is a story of the cowardice and moral corruption of a community faced with a sort of ultimate Other within itself. And the grotesque is a method for constructing that ultimate Other. The idea of losing face travels quickly between the concrete and the metaphorical – Henry's disfigurement and the Trescotts' social quarantine at the end of the story. Judge Hagenthorpe, perhaps the town's most articulate voice, communicates the Whilomville viewpoint to Dr. Trescott as follows:

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<sup>11</sup> S. Crane, *Great Short Works of Stephen Crane* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 211.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209.

As near as I can understand, he [Henry Johnson] will hereafter be a monster, a perfect monster, and probably with an affected brain. [...] He will be your creation, you understand. He is purely your creation. Nature has very evidently given him up. He is dead. You are restoring him to life. You are making him, and he will be a monster, and with no mind.<sup>14</sup>

The rather immediate assumption of *mental* disfigurement to accompany the physical deformity is consistently represented in the story. An unnatural form, disturbingly, is mirrored in the psychology of the grotesque character – for it is true that Henry also becomes insane. With its theme of unnatural “creation,” the passage makes a noticeable allusion to Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein*. Anthony Mellors and Fiona Robertson have briefly examined parallels between the two texts, pointing out the evident distinction that Shelley provides her monster with faculties of judgment and an intelligent voice, whereas Henry Johnson, post-accident, remains a caricature without agency.<sup>15</sup> The reference to Shelley’s novel and the medical education of Victor Frankenstein is consolidated by a setting that speaks for unspecified endeavors in the natural sciences: Henry is defaced in the laboratory where Dr. Trescott regularly “devot[ed] himself to experiments which came in the way of his study and interest;”<sup>16</sup> for more specifics on the *Frankenstein* subtext, see Young.<sup>17</sup>

From the experiential point of view, the lack of a face implies a set of radical questions, one of which is posed by a character called Reifsnyder, whose utterance is merely one in a series of repetitions of the key phrase: “I wonder how it feels to be without any face?”<sup>18</sup> This is the approximate level of detail that the reader learns about Henry Johnson’s appearance. The faceless also seems to be indescribable, unclassifiable, unrepresentable through a conventional linguistic medium. As Mitchell explains, “the confusion derives as well from the broken process of prosopopeia, of *not* being able to confer the face and voice of selfhood on a species of animate facelessness.”<sup>19</sup> From the perspective of the grotesque, this makes immediate sense, for the face is a key part of the human body, the one that carries most of the direct expression of humanity, and therefore a faceless person becomes an interstitial figure of sorts, a being not readily admissible into the class of fully human figures. Facelessness seems to represent a significant step towards headlessness – in other words, towards impossibility, monstrosity, or even the supernatural.

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 213.

<sup>15</sup> A. Mellors and F. Robertson, “Introduction”, [in:] S. Crane, *The Red Badge of Courage and Other Stories*, eds. A. Mellors and F. Robertson (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998), pp. xxxi–xxxii.

<sup>16</sup> Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

<sup>17</sup> E. Young, *Black Frankenstein: The Making of an American Metaphor* (New York: New York UP, 2008).

<sup>18</sup> Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

<sup>19</sup> L. C. Mitchell, “Face, Race, and Disfiguration in Stephen Crane’s “The Monster””, *Critical Inquiry*, 17 (1990), p. 189 (his emphasis).

The first meaning of the verb *to efface* in the Merriam-Webster dictionary is “to eliminate or make indistinct by or as if by wearing away a surface.” That definition alone suggests one of the strategies of the grotesque already mentioned: that of formlessness. Furthermore, the act of “wearing away” a surface constitutes a questioning of one of the most elemental of bodily binaries: inside/outside. The obvious lack embodied in Henry may in fact be rather figured as an excess; the principal question may be not what has been wiped out, or effaced, but what can be seen instead, what has been exposed excessively. Disgust, a typical reaction to the grotesque, is an appropriate response to the collapse of the inside/outside binary as far as the human body is concerned. In this sense, the body’s exposed inner parts or matter expelled from the body become part of the same category, representing the inside. As we know, both easily trigger reactions of disgust in the average person. Disgust is an almost exaggerated component in Crane’s construction of his faceless human monster: a representative case is the character who “says he couldn’t eat anything for two days” after witnessing Henry Johnson’s disfigured visage.<sup>20</sup>

The men in the barbershop resort to an odd, sung couplet to express their sentiments: “He has no face in the front of his head,/In the place where his face ought to grow.”<sup>21</sup> This rhyme reveals the impression of the unnatural that characterizes the town’s reaction to the disfigured man. That emphasis is further accentuated by “the magic of [Henry’s] unwinking eye.”<sup>22</sup> A normal eye would at least have to blink occasionally. Crane has made use of the symbolic functions of faces elsewhere, too, notably in his story *The Upturned Face*, in which a dead man’s face seems to persist in its living humanity even when it is being buried.<sup>23</sup> *The Monster* puts forward the same image of an upturned face repeatedly: for example, “the upturned face of a girl” is mentioned early on;<sup>24</sup> most scenes are filled with mentions of characters’ faces being either concealed or revealed, turned up or down.<sup>25</sup> This evidently serves to establish the centrality of the face as a concentration of human significance. The most important example, of course, occurs in the fire scene, where the chemical destroys Henry’s face:

Suddenly the glass splintered, and a ruby-red snakelike thing poured its thick length out upon the top of the old desk. It coiled and hesitated, and then began to swim a languorous way down the mahogany slant. At the angle it waved its sizzling molten head to and fro over the closed eyes of the man beneath it. Then, in a moment, with mystic

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<sup>20</sup> Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 212–213.

<sup>23</sup> For in-depth analysis of this image in Crane, see M. Fried, *Realism, Writing, Disfiguration: On Thomas Eakins and Stephen Crane* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 91 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

impulse, it moved again, and the red snake flowed directly down into Johnson's up-turned face.<sup>26</sup>

This is the moment of grotesque creation, during which the indescribable creature is born. It is not electricity, as in the case of Victor Frankenstein's design, but the setting of a scientific laboratory seems of great importance. In effect, we could read this is an example of the tools of science gaining destructive power against humanity. Scientific progress in general, not only Darwin's ideas, was of course a major contextual force in the whole paradigm of literary naturalism. By turning into a monster, Henry Johnson becomes an example of completely unnatural, man-made mutation (in a scene that, strangely, could be seen to anticipate the chemically induced births of some thoroughly excessive and exceptional beings in twentieth-century popular culture, in the category of comic-book superheroes).

Until now, I have barely mentioned that Henry Johnson is black. The taunting rhyme that the children repeat in the story before the accident – “Nigger, nigger, never die/Black face and shiny eye”<sup>27</sup> – makes clear that monstrosity and excess are in this text also inextricably connected to skin color. The reader is practically invited to take this rhyme as an account of Henry's existence *after* the fire. In a few words, the rhyme explains Henry's miraculous survival and the unnatural unblinking eye – and both merely by the color of the man's skin. The narrator's voice also depicts the title character, even before the fire, through certain racial epithets: there are references to the mythical African-American past, voices from “the swamps,” consistent racialized descriptions of behavior based on popular images of the minstrel. One of these is Henry's clownish conduct both before and after the defacement: the rather silly repetitiveness of his speech and the improbable role of a dandy that he has created for himself in the community. In an early scene, the narrator compares a group of black people including Henry with monkeys. But probably the most prominent minstrel characteristic is his unnatural laugh, which is “like a rattle of pebbles,”<sup>28</sup> elsewhere just “a hollow laugh.”<sup>29</sup> The grotesque character himself is here the direct origin of one of the defining components of the grotesque, laughter. This seems to be the demonic, Kayserian laughter associated with the terrible grotesque; as old Alek Williams exclaims, “[f]olks go round sayin' he ain't Hennery Johnson at all. They say he's er devil!”<sup>30</sup>

Blackness itself becomes a kind of effacement in the narrative. As Mitchell points out, from the very beginning inhabitants of Whilomville “construct Henry through assumptions of a black man's nonidentity, read off the dark page of his face. [...] [The narrator makes] explicit the process inscribed by the plot's obliteration

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 205–206.

<sup>27</sup> Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 219.

of Henry's face."<sup>31</sup> In an early scene set at the barbershop, Reifsnnyder insists to the last that the fancily dressed man walking past cannot be Henry Johnson. This impulse towards denying the black man's true individuality turns into one of the story's prime strategies of effacement.

In what other ways does the grotesque – here conceivable as both effacement and defacement – ultimately contribute to the naturalistic spirit of the text? I would say that the most comprehensive answer lies in Crane's representation of the community. He depicts the small town as a near-perfect machine of social cruelty and circulates grotesque imagery throughout, not just in descriptions of the monster himself. The town's inhabitants behave in animal-like ways, sometimes crawling on all fours. Whilomville seems to be gripped by a kind of collective animality, indicative of a collapse of human sophistication and normative morality. A few examples will suffice here. Henry's object of affection in the beginning, Miss Bella Farragut, "gallop[s] like a horse"<sup>32</sup> and later "crawl[s] on her hands and knees" and "grovels."<sup>33</sup> In the fire scene, the community itself becomes threatening and unpredictable, "a dark wave that was whirling as if it had been a broken dam. [...] Across the cropped grass the avenue represented [...] a kind of black torrent."<sup>34</sup> The town is a "jungle;"<sup>35</sup> Mr. Winter, one of Dr. Trescott's most vehement critics, "bark[s] in fiery rage" and "yelp[s] [...] like a little dog;"<sup>36</sup> the children "crowed like roosters and bleated like lambs."<sup>37</sup> One of the bloodthirsty female characters speaks in the final scenes "as if her lips were scissors"<sup>38</sup> – a classic, grotesque image of fusion between person and mechanical apparatus. All this is pointing towards a conception of the town of Whilomville as a collective organism marked by inherent contradictions and grotesque deformations, a place where Dr. Trescott's uncompromising attitude is countered by mindless mob mentalities, animal instinct, and a fear of abnormal or transgressive corporeality.

The typically naturalistic point in the animalistic imagery stems from the undermining of the human beings' privileged position in the world, especially in comparison to other animals. Humanity, in naturalistic poetics, is subject to practically all the same indignities and flaws as other living creatures, plus its own moral failures. This *moral* dimension of the deformations in the Whilomville community as a whole is perhaps the most important message delivered by the text. However, morality cannot be unequivocally labeled grotesque unless we take a sizable leap into the realm of metaphorical expression. Carroll stresses that violations of moral

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<sup>31</sup> Mitchell, *op. cit.*, pp. 187–188.

<sup>32</sup> Crane, *op. cit.*, pp. 196–197.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 235.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 234.

principles have to be excluded from the defining features of the grotesque for the implicit reason that such expansion of the concept onto new levels would impede analytical precision.<sup>39</sup> Harpham, writing in 1976, makes a similar point but suggests very different, more historical grounds for it: for him the mad world itself has granted the grotesque “an ever larger share in objective reality.”<sup>40</sup> One could interpret this to mean that reality around us is capable of exhausting the expressive potential of the concept by concrete, bodily objects alone.

In conclusion, a final, more philosophical word about the nature of the grotesque is in order. Whatever the precise quality of the etymological connection with grottoes, caves, and crypts, the general association with the underground, with darkness and buried things, still seems to offer a tempting perspective on the concept. Moreover, the importance of point of view and subjective experience is worth emphasizing whenever we discuss this mode, for if the grotesque is defined through the idea of transgression, existing norms must first be established. Thus grotesqueness, too, can be said to be, to a large extent, in the eye of the beholder. This view is also largely supported by a number of the phenomenon’s most prominent theorists, including Harpham (1982). If we adopt the image of subterranean spatiality in our attempt to understand and contain the grotesque, it is the people who unearth a grotto who have the subjective power to name whatever they find grotesque. Even if the act of bringing the wall art of Emperor Nero’s *Domus aurea* to daylight, in the fifteenth century, enabled the establishment of the grotesque style in art (and the word itself), to the extent that we want to respect the shared root with *grotto* we might still lament the entry of sunlight into those chambers and its direct consequence, the reduced grotesqueness of the figures on the walls. Literary naturalism is a paradigm that tends to expose its grotesqueries to open scrutiny while showing them in their immediate, “natural” environment. Ultimately readers are given the chance to make their own decisions on whether their notion of the grotesque refers to such conspicuous distortions, things that remain hidden from public view, or perhaps things that should be kept hidden.

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<sup>39</sup> Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

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## Naturalistyczne wypaczenie: groteskowość w noweli *The Monster (Potwór)* Stephena Crane'a

### Streszczenie

Zniekształcone, przesadzone, czy zezwierzęcone postaci uznać można za podstawowy element naturalizmu w literaturze amerykańskiej. Począwszy od stworzonego przez Franka Norrisa tępego, zawziętego McTeague'a, po umęczoną ofiarę sprawiedliwości tłumu w opowiadaniu *Czarnuch* Jeff Theodore'a Dreisera, czy zagłodzonego bohatera *Miłości życia* Londona, amerykańska literatura przełomu wieków często sięga po skrajne obrazy zniekształconego ciała, zazwyczaj, by w ten sposób budować dramat nieszczęść ludzkich. Cecha ta zgodna jest z naturalistyczną tendencją zgłębiania „minionej lub wciąż obecnej zwierzęcej natury człowieka”, jak to ujmuje Donald Pizer, w celu ujawnienia społecznych i naturalnych wzorców deterministycznych.

W naturalizmie literackim impuls, by przekraczać normy może nie ograniczać się do opisów ludzkiego ciała, twierdzą jednak, że to właśnie poprzez owe opisy groteskowość może stać się nośnikiem ogólnej zasady obrazowania. W niniejszej pracy chcę zaproponować różne możliwe funkcje groteski w literaturze naturalistycznej na przykładzie analizy noweli Stephena Crane'a *Potwór* (1898). Tytułowy bohater, czarny mężczyzna, którego twarz „spaliła się” w pożarze, już samą swą obecnością wzbudza ogromny niepokój w fikcyjnym miasteczku Whilomville, w ten sposób obnażając niektóre z moralnych deformacji obywateli miasta. W pracy główny nacisk położono na to, w jaki sposób groteskowość – w tym przypadku rozumiana jednocześnie jako wypaczenie i deformacja – ostatecznie nadaje tekstowi cech charakterystycznych dla naturalistycznego ducha.

# Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis

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## NEW WOMAN SUBVERSION AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY: ELLA HEPWORTH DIXON

### Summary

New women writers of the *fin-de-siècle* broke loose from conventional Victorian narrative forms, structures and topics in many ways, thus opening a road to modernism. However, it was no easy task for them to deal with matters that were unacceptable from the pen of a lady, for which reason they adopted certain strategies that allowed them to express their opinions and desires without committing themselves. One of these tactics was never to write about their lives openly – which is why there are very few biographies and autobiographies of them – and consign instead personal facts and experiences to their fiction, thus overturning traditional forms of dealing with reality. By ascribing their own aspirations and ideas to their fictional heroines, strong-willed, clever and independent young girls who were not afraid to confront the prejudices of their epoch, they were deliberately challenging the existing limitations of women's lives. This was the case of Ella Hepworth Dixon, a woman who in actual life had to give up her dream of becoming an artist and conform to the demands of society, but who was capable of surmounting the established mores of her day through the irony of her stories.

In the past few decades, the literary output of New Women writing at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, that had been so far seriously neglected by criticism, began to receive the attention it undoubtedly merited. However, in this new line of scholarly interest, we come upon great gaps of information with respect to the lives of the authors for there are very few biographies on them and even less autobiographies, the facts appearing in re-editions of their works having their sources in their personal correspondence, publishers' archives and probate courts. A random check in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* of some of the better known New Women writers of the 1890s comes up with five autobiographies: Matilda Betham-Edwards's, Elizabeth Lynn Linton's, Mrs. Oliphant's, Netta Syrett's and Evelyn Sharp's. By contrast, there are frequent critical commentaries regarding the autobiographical component in New Women novels and short stories. The following examples will illustrate this point.

We know mostly about Ada Levenson today because she was a devoted friend of Oscar Wilde, who called her The Sphinx, but in her time her satirical short stories contributed successfully to the woman's cause. She is said to have been a very shy person who only felt at ease in small circles where she never failed to practice her

wit, an ability that she poured into her ironic sketches for *Punch Magazine* as well as into her fiction. Levenson was upper-middle-class, had an unhappy marriage accompanied by financial troubles, and soon separated from her husband, personal conditions that are often the core of her narratives. In her stories *Suggestion* (1895) and *The Quest of Sorrow* (1896), for instance, both published in the famous literary journal *The Yellow Book*, marriage and emotions are treated flippantly by sharp first-person narrators, “decadent” young men who toy with the feelings of friends and relatives, fully disregarding the consequences that their actions might bring about. Levenson exposes indirectly the egotism and fickleness of high society males in their pursuit of fun and of advantageous and mercenary marriages, and the innocence or complicity of women in letting themselves be taken in. She avoids rebuking the male straightaway by focusing her stories from the standpoint of a man, thus fending off any possible animadversion from her public. This is a characteristic of much New Woman fiction of the 1890’s. Mona Caird, Ella Hepworth Dixon, Mathilda Betham-Edwards, Ella D’Arcy and Victoria Cross are some of the writers who use men narrators in their fiction.

Mona Caird’s personal life is also little known. She is the woman who called marriage a “vexatious failure.”<sup>1</sup> She was a married woman, although, very unorthodoxly, she lived in London most of her life and visited her husband in the North from time to time. In her numerous essays and articles as well as in her fiction, we find her point of view regarding married women’s legal rights. By means of a heroine whose artistic career as a composer is truncated by marriage, Caird’s novel *The Daughters of Danaus* (1889) denounces the pressures and deceiving strategies that Victorian society exercised on promising young women to tie them down to convention, while in her story *The Yellow Drawing-Room* (1892), with a male first-person narrator, she openly protests against woman’s traditionally assigned domestic sphere through the protagonist’s own words and actions: Vanora rejects her suitor’s offer of a “golden prison,” as she terms it, because she will suffocate in it. Caird’s own ambitions are reflected in her works, since she had set herself on becoming a painter, but events turned her instead into a journalist and writer, a profession that she took advantage of for her campaigning in favour of women’s suffrage. Critics claim that “Victorian times were not ready for the works of Mona Caird,” who is now considered a first wave feminist writer.<sup>2</sup>

Many other women writers also reflected their personal circumstances in their works, but apparently never attempted writing about themselves. Rosa Mulholland (Lady Gilbert) inserted her political views on Ireland in her ghost story *The Haunted Organist of Hurly-Burly*, where ghosts and haunted never come to terms, and George Egerton wrote about women who suffered while waiting for their lovers to set them free, much as she herself had experienced. Sarah Grand used the medical knowledge she had acquired from her husband to denounce the

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<sup>1</sup> M. Caird, “Marriage”, *Westminster Review*, 1888.

<sup>2</sup> A. Heilmann, *New Woman Strategies: Sarah Grand, Olive Schreiner, Mona Caird* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 67.

dangers of syphilis in her novel *The Heavenly Twins* and Olive Schreiner, who was against vivisection, described very crude and dramatic scenes of cruelty to animals in *The Story of an African Farm*.

If in their fiction they set forth their experiences and beliefs in an outspoken way, their hesitation to use the autobiographical genre is striking and should be seen perhaps as a deliberate strategy to avert censure. Hiding behind a mask, be it a male narrator or a pseudonym, was a common practice in women writers, and refraining from autobiography was another. It had to do with the ambivalence they felt in their profession, since the humility and self-abasement that was demanded of a lady-like behaviour was greatly "at odds with the self-centeredness implicit in the act of writing."<sup>3</sup> Showalter also mentions undermining their heroines' aspirations. In this respect we find a whole spectrum of New Women writers who punish their female characters with loneliness – Dixon, Egerton, Caird – or death – Grand, Schreiner, Mulholland, D'Arcy – for wishing to be independent.<sup>4</sup> A further device to prevent criticism was underscoring their conventionality in their private lives with a vengeance.<sup>5</sup> We are not then surprised to read in Ella Hepworth Dixon's work *As I Knew Them: Sketches of People I Have Met on the Way* (1930) that she was astonished to hear the critic and writer Sir Edmund Gosse calling her a New Woman and that she bluntly denied it: "Why I should have been so called I never knew, except that I had always been in favour of the Women's Franchise,"<sup>6</sup> she comments, even though many of her fictional characters, and the author herself, fit plainly into the New Woman type.

Ella Hepworth Dixon stood among her contemporaries as one of the best known women authors and journalists. Her literary output includes *My Flirtations* (1892), a brief survey of upper-class society, the novel *The Story of a Modern Woman* (1894) that was a great success overnight, numberless short stories and the play *The Toyshop of the Heart* (1908). *As I Knew Them*, her last book, was her answer to her editors' demand for an autobiography. "It is distasteful to write about myself," she said, and wrote instead about the celebrities of her time.<sup>7</sup> Valerie Fehlbaum, a Dixon scholar, remarks with respect to this work, which she calls more accurately Dixon's "memoirs," that "the self-mocking tone which the subject [...] adopts from the beginning could be interpreted as a mask, or as a deliberate distancing

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<sup>3</sup> E. Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 22. The same situation was to be found with respect to women painters. See Denise Noël, "Paris, 1881–1903. Les femmes peintres, le Salon et les Expositions Universelles de 1889 et 1900". Université Paris VII. U.F.R. Géographie, Histoire et Sciences de la Société. Diplôme d'Etudes Aprofondies en Histoire et Civilisations Sociétés Occidentales, sous la direction de Michelle Perrot (Sept. 1991), p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Showalter (1977), *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> E. H. Dixon, *As I Knew Them: Sketches of People I Have Met on the Way* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1930), p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> Dixon (1930), *op. cit.*, Foreword, p. 7.

technique," adding that there are many things left unsaid.<sup>8</sup> Actually, the little information Dixon gives about herself must be extracted from her perception of people. While rebellion can be read plainly in almost every line in her fiction, in her "autobiography" Dixon subverts the objective of the genre by deliberately refusing to make her private life public and focusing on the lives of others.

Facts about her life in *As I Knew Them* appear mostly in the first two chapters that she devotes to her adored father, the historian and writer William Hepworth Dixon, and even then they are not always offered to the reader in a straightforward way. We learn that she was part of a large, happy, modern family, with a house in London where many artists and intellectuals visited, and that her mother was in favour of women's suffrage.<sup>9</sup> Her education was like her brothers', both physically and intellectually. She was allowed to play outdoor games and sports and was sent to Heidelberg to study German, philosophy and music under the supervision of male professors.<sup>10</sup> She enjoyed the company of intellectuals like her father, travelled widely in Europe, and was very much up to date in cultural and artistic trends, as we gather from her many insightful comments on writers, artists, music and literature. Her comparison of Frazer's *Golden Bough* and Stravinsky's *Le Sacré du Printemps*, for instance, manifests her awareness of the Zeitgeist of her time.<sup>11</sup>

These biographical data permeate her work. In fact, they frame the background for many of her short stories compiled in *One Doubtful Hour* (1904), where we meet sophisticated men narrators travelling through Europe, young dreamers who must learn to face reality, clever rebels who achieve their independence through work, witty women who outwit men, and are sometimes outwitted themselves, and disappointed young ladies that are overlooked and branded as old maids by society.

Her first work, *My Flirtations*, was published under the pseudonym Margaret Wynman, very probably to avoid committing the breach of decorum inherent in writing about suitors in her own voice. The book is a collection of half-mocking sketches of masculine types drawn by a female first-person narrator, Margaret. It shares the same episodic structure as the memoirs, likewise suggesting that Dixon's intention was to give a personal account of more or less striking members of society and to expose social mores. Conventions, chaperones, protocols and favourite locations mentioned in *As I Knew Them* build up the fictitious

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<sup>8</sup> V. Felhbaum, *Ella Hepworth Dixon: The Story of a Modern Woman* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 11 and 19.

<sup>9</sup> Dixon (1930), *op. cit.*, pp. 13–16.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22–23, 32. Dixon only refers to her artistic abilities implicitly since she never mentions having trained as a painter in London and in Paris, and yet handbooks and dictionaries of British women painters state that from 1877 to 1883 she exhibited at the Royal Academy, the Royal Society of British Artists and at the Society of Women Artists. See, for instance, *An International Dictionary of Women Artists Born Before 1900*, ed. Ch. Petteys (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1985).

<sup>11</sup> Dixon (1930), *op. cit.*, p. 257.

milieu, where we also find incidents from Dixon's own life, for Margaret, narrator and protagonist, is the clever daughter of a famous society painter who provides a comfortable home and a wide circle of acquaintances for the family, allowing them to lead a lively social life. Each episode of *My Flirtations* narrates one of Margaret's love affairs briefly (as briefly as the narrator herself ironically says they lasted):

It is not flattering to one's vanity, but it must be frankly owned that, as a rule, my admirers 'depart' with phenomenal celerity. Their devotion generally lasts from six weeks to three months. Why this thing should be I cannot tell. Some people say it is because I don't let them talk about themselves.<sup>12</sup>

This sets the tone to the narrative and establishes Dixon's technique, which is a mixture of styles, the briskness of journalism<sup>13</sup> and the quick recording of impressions of the sketcher, tone and manner that are taken up again in many of her short stories and in her memoirs. Dixon was both journalist and painter, and her artistically-trained eye could rapidly grasp the most important elements of her subjects and present them in a more or less exaggerated way.<sup>14</sup> Thus, we hear about Gilbert Mandell, who is middle-age and wants to shape Margaret to his own taste;<sup>15</sup> about Tony Lambert, a flirt and fun but who needs to marry for money;<sup>16</sup> Hanbury Price, who is tight-fisted and a snob;<sup>17</sup> Frank Harding, the idealist who emigrates to pursue his social schemes abroad;<sup>18</sup> about the scandal-loving Valentine Redmond,<sup>19</sup> etc. The enumeration hilariously surveys the marriage market at the end of the century. The list finishes in chapter XIII with one last turn of the screw – that of Margaret unexpectedly marrying an old stockbroker for his money. The chosen candidate and Margaret are hardly acquainted, but the protagonist ironically comments, after they exchange rapid views on their likes and dislikes, that “[...] such is the adaptability of woman and the egoism of man that before we left the

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<sup>12</sup> E. H. Dixon, *My Flirtations* (1892), (Buchanan, NY: ReadHowYouWant, 2006), Ch. I, p. 3.

<sup>13</sup> Fehlbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>14</sup> Caricature, that is, the “Grotesque or ludicrous representation of persons or things by exaggeration of their most characteristic and striking features” (*OED*) was a skill that Dixon and her fellow-students at the Académie Julian in Paris were encouraged to practice, taking their teachers or one another as models, as the Russian student and painter Marie Barshkirstaf comments in her diary (Marie Barshkirstaf, *Journal de Marie Barshkirstaf*. Paris: Bib.-Charpentier, 1898). See also Catherine Fehrer, “Women at the Academie Julian”, *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. CXXXVI, no 1100, November 1994, pp. 752–757, and her Introduction to Gabriel P. Weisberg and Jane R. Becker, eds., *Overcoming All Obstacles: The Women of the Académie Julian* (New York–New Jersey–London: The Dahesh Museum and Rutgers University Press, 1999), pp. 17 and 19.

<sup>15</sup> Dixon (2006), *op. cit.*, Ch. I.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. II.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. III.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. IV.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. V.

dinner-table Mr. Ford was convinced that I cared for these things also.”<sup>20</sup> Margaret is a dreamer but her rash actions are often checked by her serious-minded sister, as she is well aware: “Christina, don’t interrupt my daydream,” she says, and goes on to announce the jewels she will wear once she becomes Mrs. Ford.<sup>21</sup>

When she published *My Flirtations*, Dixon was 35 years old and single, far beyond the age in which women were considered marriageable a century ago, so that her “happy ending” – the marriage of a young girl to a 46 year-old, “not quite ugly, but [whose] manners were odd”<sup>22</sup> – suggests more a penalty than a prize for her heroine, what coincides precisely with one last type of punishment mentioned by Showalter, that is, marriage as a substitute or replacement for the heroine’s aspirations.<sup>23</sup> Margaret’s marriage choice also reveals “women’s economic imperative to secure a good marriage” above all,<sup>24</sup> given their critical legal position at the turn of the century and the lack of marriageable men due to emigration and want of means. Was Dixon then making fun of Victorian conventional marriages, condemning the unscrupulous materialism of the *fin-de-siècle*? Was she simply pointing out the unstable situation of unmarried women and seriously describing her own ideal prince charming? It seems to me that Dixon conceived of this ending as an implicit denunciation of bitter reality rather than as a witty fantasy. Given the epoch’s harsh debate on the woman question and the intense prejudice against female independence and public self-revelation, the answer can hardly be found in her memoirs, but her novel *The Story of a Modern Woman* throws further light on this issue since it deals with woman’s independence, marriage and the difference between life and fiction.

The novel opens with a death. Mary Erle’s father suddenly dies in his sleep, and a third-person narrator (Dixon?), focalizing through Mary, muses: “And the strange, unmistakable odour of death, mixed with the voluptuous scent of waxen hot-house flowers, hung, night and day, about the staircase.”<sup>25</sup> In *As I Knew Them*, Dixon refers to her father’s death under the same circumstances and with a similar image: “over all was the terrible odour of tuberose, gardenias and mortality,”<sup>26</sup> the striking pairing of flowers and impermanence calling our attention towards the strong parallelism between Mary, the fictional “modern woman,” and the writer, that will be revealed along the pages of the book. Other matches between fiction and real life are the heroine’s love for her father, her enjoyment of rough tomboyish

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. XIII, p. 102.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Showalter (1977), *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>24</sup> L. Sage, Dixon, *The Cambridge Guide to Women’s Writing in English*, advisory eds. G. Greer and E. Showalter (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 195.

<sup>25</sup> E. H. Dixon, *The Story of a Modern Woman* (1894) (Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger, 2004), Ch. I, p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Dixon (1930), *op. cit.*, p. 21.

games, of travelling with her father, her contempt for artificiality and hypocrisy, her aspirations for independence or her desire to become a painter.

There are two modern women in the novel – Mary, the clever daughter of an intellectual on whom the story focuses, and the wealthy and aristocratic Alison, her intimate friend and alter ego. The combination of both results in Ella Hepworth Dixon, a woman who was favoured from birth by enterprising parents and social status, but who, like her heroine Mary, soon had to fight for her place in the world. In the critical observations of the one and the rebellious actions of the other, most of all, we find the ideology of the New Woman that Dixon refused to corroborate in her memoirs with respect to herself.

From the start, the child Mary hates dolls and questions the priceless angel wings that Victorian women win with a life of self-sacrifice and resignation.<sup>27</sup> Later, when she loses her father, she ponders upon women's lot, pitying the faceless and sexless creatures that women become by centuries of servility and giving in,<sup>28</sup> and refuses to accept their assigned role of waiting and smiling.<sup>29</sup> On the contrary, the heroine wants "To live her own life,"<sup>30</sup> believing that it should not be a male privilege.<sup>31</sup> "«Do you really think that, because I am a woman, I must sit by, and fold my hands, and wait?»" she says to her fiancé.<sup>32</sup> For her, work is an "absolute physical necessity"<sup>33</sup> and she postpones her marriage for her profession,<sup>34</sup> although Victorian patriarchal society frowned upon upper-class ladies working for money.<sup>35</sup> Mary, however, is proud of her first earnings: "She had earned that money herself; it was the output of her brain."<sup>36</sup> By the end of the novel Mary has become economically independent. On the way, she denounces the injustice of men having their future in their own hands, of their being able to work and earn money, acquiring thus social prestige, while women are fated to absolute helplessness and ignorance:

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<sup>27</sup> Dixon (2004), *op. cit.*, Ch. II.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. I and XVII.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. III, XI, XII, XV and XX.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. VIII, p. 43.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. III.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. V, p. 27.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. XI.

<sup>35</sup> There were few occupations for gentlewomen in Victorian times, even as late as the end of the century. At most, ladies were expected to know about art and even be able to paint a delicate still-life for their own amusement, but any type of artistic work had to go unpaid and, more often than not, unsigned, for "working gentlewoman" were opposed terms. A lady could not sell her work of art, for it was like selling herself. Paradoxically, only artistic objects that fetched a high price were considered excellent, money having taken on such prime importance that anything not done for money was considered poor quality or of very little value. See Anthea Callen, *Angel in the Studio: Women in the Arts and Crafts Movement. 1870–1914* (London: Astragal Books, 1979), pp. 8–9. This explains Perry Jackson's position with respect to art (Ch. XIII).

<sup>36</sup> Dixon (2004), *op. cit.*, Ch. X, p. 58.

Mary became conscious of the fine irony of the fact that man – the superior intelligence – should take his future companion, shut her within four walls, fill that dimly-lighted interior with images of facts and emotions which do not exist, and then, pushing her suddenly into the blinding glare of real life, should be amazed when he finds that his exquisite care of her ethical sense has stultified her brain.<sup>37</sup>

She also condemns the “laws made for man’s convenience and pleasure.”<sup>38</sup> Her fiancé, Hemming, a man of “a high ethical standard,” takes advantage of Mary’s emotional vulnerability at her father’s death and forces a long engagement upon her only to abandon her later and marry for money. Prophetically, Mary identifies the touch of his hands when he proposes to her with “links of iron,”<sup>39</sup> and later, when he asks her to be his lover, Mary rejects him, in solidarity with his wife.<sup>40</sup>

Mary is a fighter and a rebel both in thought and purpose. Unladylike, she walks about town without a chaperone,<sup>41</sup> not fearing the possibility to be taken for a street-walker. Similarly, the more privileged Alison revolts openly against conventionality and swears, rides on the tops of omnibuses, has her dresses made after the Rational Dress fashion and hates visiting the poor, what she calls “slumming,” which she finds an impertinence.<sup>42</sup> By contrast, her charity is more down to earth; it consists in living next to and employing young unmarried mothers from the East End<sup>43</sup> and denouncing boldly the sexual double standard: “the average man is, in theory, enamoured of virtue, but in practice his devotion usually takes the form of insisting on that of his female belongings.”<sup>44</sup> Alison is not attracted by marriage, believing that it puts fetters on women. “With a keen sense of the ridiculous, [women] would never fall in love at all.”<sup>45</sup> she declares, but thinks that unmarried women exercise no influence in the world, which is the reason why even the clever ones marry some time, for “One couldn’t permit one’s self the luxury of being an old maid, unless one had an income of over £5,000 a year.”<sup>46</sup> The economic factor is again foremost in Dixon’s mind with respect to women’s lives.

As Dixon also did in her early youth, Mary first tries to earn a living by painting, so that we follow her progress and comments on the state of art and routines at the Central London School of Art through half the novel. London is dull and backward and does not motivate art students, she concludes. “There were no tears, such as water the upward path of the student in a Parisian *atelier*; there were no

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<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. II, p. 13.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. XXIII, p. 137.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. V, pp. 25 and 29.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. XXII.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. III.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. IV.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. XI, pp. 58–59.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. IV, p. 22.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. VII and XVII, p. 95.

ambitions, no heart-burnings, no rivalries. No one at the Central London had ever been known to have a theory to express, or if he had, it remained locked in his own breast<sup>47</sup> is her sharp criticism of English art. To this she adds what sounds like nostalgic comparisons of the very different atmospheres to be found on each side of the Channel: “An English art school has none of the boisterous, contagious hilarity of a French *atelier*.”<sup>48</sup> To the very end, Mary misses her visits to Paris: “Pink lilac and foliage made artificial-looking by the yellow light of a gas-lamp – how they always reminded her of Paris,”<sup>49</sup> and yet it is wealthy Alison who represents Dixon’s own experience of working in a Parisian *atelier*.<sup>50</sup> Once again, the two heroines mix and complement one another, offering the reader a fuller view of their author.

The literary world at the *fin-de-siècle* criticized much New Woman writing because, it said, it relied too much on personal experience. Dixon depicts this opinion in her novel with several comments on the nature of fiction and on public taste when Mary negotiates the publication of her novel, which is a story that ends with adultery, echoing a recent divorce scandal of a well-known society couple. Her editor protests: “«The British public doesn’t expect [novels] to be like life,»” since fiction is to be written for “healthy English homes.”<sup>51</sup> That the public preferred sentimental novels with a happy ending written by women is voiced by several characters, like Beaufort Flower, an acquaintance of Mary’s who believes that the “pessimistic age” at the turn of the century required it,<sup>52</sup> or her fiancé, Hemming, who thinks that painting watercolours and writing love stories are the only socially accepted ladylike occupations.<sup>53</sup> Mary’s editor makes a clear distinction between literature – that should follow aesthetic Victorian norms – and journalism, or the reading matter of life – which is a compound of sad, ugly experiences, the scandal and gossip that the public likes: “«What [editors] want are well-known names; the public likes a name,»” or just “«Any gossip that hasn’t got into the papers.»”<sup>54</sup> Dixon’s life, like her heroine’s, never conformed to these rules. She knew she was under constant scrutiny, feeling, like Mary, like a little insect “fixed down under her little glass case, while

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. VI, p. 34.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. VI, p. 32. Another detail taken from Dixon’s own life is that Mary’s painting master is characterized following Rodolphe Julian, the owner of the French Académie that Dixon attended in Paris: “Mr. Sanderson, the headmaster, was a person who rarely committed himself to a definite opinion, and especially to an adverse one. He wished, above all things, to be well with the student” (Ch. VI, pp. 33–34). See Germaine Greer, “«A tout Prix devenir quelqu’un»: the Women of the Académie Julian”, [in:] *Artistic Relations. Literature and the Visual Arts in Nineteenth-Century France*, eds. P. Collier and R. Lethbridge (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 40–58.

<sup>49</sup> Dixon (2004), *op. cit.*, Ch. XXIII, pp. 133–134.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. IV.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. XVI, pp. 92–93.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. XV, p. 86.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. V and XII.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. X, pp. 54 and 57.

the world kept a coldly observant eye upon her,"<sup>55</sup> and disliking "the favourite modern amusement of whispering malicious things of one's host or hostess behind their backs,"<sup>56</sup> so she kept her sorrows to herself and turned a cheerful countenance to the world. In this respect, Mary, again verbalizing what Dixon herself might have felt about her own life, says: "Life is a compromise, and must not be taken too seriously. It is absurd to be much in earnest, and it bores people".<sup>57</sup> Ella Dixon's reticence in writing about herself in the autobiographical form then had to do with her desire to keep herself quietly in the background, refusing to delineate her life in a sufficiently tantalizing way to appeal to the general public.

Dixon, like Mary, learnt soon enough to distinguish between real life and fiction, since the early death of her father left the family in financial destitution. When Mary questions her own emotions at her father's decease, she realizes that in real life "Nothing happened as it does in tales and romances. In innumerable novels she had read how the heroine, in a house of mourning, lies on the bed for days and steadily refuses to eat."<sup>58</sup> Life from then on is going to be hardship and loneliness for Mary; life will mean standing on her own two feet: "«We've got [...] fortunately or unfortunately, to depend upon ourselves in all the crises of life,»"<sup>59</sup> and there is nothing interesting at all in a life of hard work and self-sacrifice.

Ella Hepworth Dixon, I daresay the Jane Austen of the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, exposed with her satire the injustices of life, the helplessness of women, the pomposity of men, the foolishness and vacuity of society and the arrogance of intellectuals. If she practiced a neutral tone, or at most irony, when referring to her contemporaries in her more personal work *As I Knew Them*, her fictional writing presents a combination of caustic criticism and open condemnation. It was her attempt to undermine current prejudices against single independent women.

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. III, p. 16.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. VII, p. 41.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. III, p. 17.

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## Propaganda wyrotowa i autobiografia nowej kobiety: Ella Hepworth Dixon

### Streszczenie

Nowokobiece autorki okresu *fin-de-siècle* na wiele różnych sposobów wyzwoliły się z konwencjonalnych wiktoriańskich form narracji, struktur i tematów, w ten sposób torując drogę modernizmowi. Jednak nie było to łatwe zadanie, podejmować tematy nieodpowiednie dla pióra kobiety, dlatego też autorki te stosowały różne strategie, pozwalające im na wyrażanie swych opinii i pragnień bez odsłaniania własnej osoby. Jedną z tych strategii było nie pisanie o sobie samej otwarcie, dlatego tak niewiele istnieje biografii i autobiografii tych pisarek; zamiast tego, autorki powierzały swe doświadczenia i fakty z życia osobistego narracji swych dzieł, w ten sposób obalając tradycyjne formy traktowania rzeczywistości. Przypisując własne ambicje i idee fikcyjnym bohaterkom – obdarzonym silną wolą, mądrym i niezależnym młodym kobietom, które nie bały się stawić czoła przesądom swej epoki – celowo rzuciły wyzwanie istniejącym ograniczeniom w życiu kobiet. Tak właśnie było w przypadku Elli Hepworth Dixon, kobiety, która w realnym życiu musiała porzucić swe marzenia o zostaniu artystką i dostosować się do wymagań społeczeństwa, lecz która była w stanie pokonać utrwalone konwenanse swej epoki poprzez ironię zawartą w swych opowiadaniach.

# Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis

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## FROM 9/11 TO 7/7 AND BEYOND: FILM AND FEAR

### Summary

*From 9/11 to 7/7 and Beyond* outlines the filmic representations of the terrorist attacks in New York, Madrid and London. The author divides the films into five possible categories (TV documentaries, conspiracy documentaries, TV docudramas, subliminal features, proper features) concentrating on the last one since it seems to be of the most limited scope. The text investigates some possible reasons behind this fact as well as provides general analyses of the films.

Over a decade after the terrorist attacks in New York, and the subsequent events in Madrid and London, appears to be long enough to sum up and explore the connection between this tragic communal experience and its filmic representation. It also makes one to ponder on how and to what extent these dramatic events have influenced and structured the collective mindset, what type of visual material they inspired, and whether this material may be analysed in the context of fear(s) it addresses and/or raises.

The following assumption may serve as a useful starting point: "Films transcode the discourses (the forms, figures, and representations) of social life into cinematic narratives. Rather than reflect reality external to the film medium, films execute a transfer from one discursive field to another. As a result, films themselves become part of that broader cultural system of representations that construct social reality. That construction occurs in part through the internalisation of representations."<sup>1</sup> This quotation comes from Michael Ryan's and Douglas Kellner's *Camera Politica. The Politics and Ideology of Contemporary Hollywood Film* which describes a link between film and social history. As the authors further observe: "Such representations are also taken from the culture and internalised, adopted as part of the self. When internalised, they mould the self in such

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<sup>1</sup> M. Ryan, D. Kellner, *Camera Politica. The Politics and Ideology of Contemporary Hollywood Film* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1988), p. 12.

a way that it becomes accommodated to the values inherent in those cultural representations.”<sup>2</sup>

If this is the case indeed, then an overview of the, as it were, filmic fallout from the terrorist attacks may reveal some interesting tendencies. Researching the topic I have come across such a wealth of material that any attempt to offer a comprehensive (and sensible) description of this phenomenon goes well beyond the scope of a few pages. However, the abundance of filmic productions demonstrated some striking patterns with one that particularly caught my interest. Namely, the way feature film directors approached the problem. What follows then offers a brief overview of the types of filmic narratives related directly to the terrorist attacks and concentrating on the depictions of these events in a form of feature films.

Everybody has their own story when it comes to remembering those events. And whatever the opinion about their importance it is hard to forget this moment, when the prevailing feeling was one of sheer shock and horror, combined with the weird sense of communal experience. It seemed as if everybody and everywhere knew that the rest of the world was watching the same images and listening to the same commentaries over and over again. If globalisation has any concrete meaning, then on that Tuesday in September we all went global. This act of going global had at least one aspect bordering on the perverse. This was the moment when both, the perpetrators and the victims of the attacks were strangely united in the act of watching the same images on television screens and separated by the interpretation of the meaning of what was happening. This pattern, when the terrorists and their victims were watching the same reports on television, was subsequently repeated after the attacks in Madrid and London.

Globalisation also manifested itself in the way these events engaged associations we all had. The media and our conversations alike were flooded with countless variants of the phrase: “like in a Hollywood film” or “I thought I was watching a disaster movie.” Suddenly everybody realised that even the most sophisticated action movie somehow paled in comparison with the “real thing.” However, at the back of our minds, we “evaluated” the horrifying images of two jets crashing into the towers from a cinematic point of view. Somewhere between the shocks most of us subconsciously, mechanically and unwillingly compared this imagery to the countless shots from Hollywood productions depicting similar cataclysmic events. And probably only then did we acknowledge to ourselves that the real disaster carries a completely different aesthetic value than its CGI equivalent although the towers went down as if everything had been carefully staged, planned and executed: the debris, the smoke, the zooming of TV cameras broadcasting the whole event live, the cries of disbelief, the running crowds.

Yes – we have seen this all before. Hollywood conditioned our perception, sensitivity and our imagination to such an extent that watching the Twin Towers collapse we could not but acknowledge some sort of familiarity with the horrifying images. Therefore it looks as if Ryan and Kellner were right: the representations

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<sup>2</sup> Ryan, Kellner, *Camera Politica*, p. 13.

have been internalised and adopted as part of the self. Those images have already been a part of our collective psyche and we have lived with them at least since the 1970s, when Hollywood was in the craze of churning out one disaster movie after another. And if any of them particularly stood out in memory on that day, it was undoubtedly *The Towering Inferno* (Guillermin, 1974) telling a story of the tallest building in the world that caught fire during the opening party. Once the fire broke out, a series of predictable images followed: people in panic, cries of disbelief and horror, exploding windows, fire fighters rushing to help, dozens running down-stairs plus the sight of the building surrounded in the plume of smoke and fire.

Perhaps not surprisingly the rhetoric of post-9/11 programmes, documentaries, docudramas and features bore some striking resemblance to the Hollywood manner of presentation. It is not an accusation. Maybe events like these simply cannot be reported in any other way. If the disaster movies imagery and the reports from New York carried a specific aesthetic value (i.e. shot composition) they were charged with different emotions. Disaster movies were just... movies, whereas the terrorist attacks stimulated genuine fear and anxiety. And it is this fear that since then has become a permanent ingredient of the filmic narratives. But it acquired a specific tint. As Joanna Bourke argues in her study *Fear. A Cultural History*:

[I]mmediately after the attack of 11 September there was a renewal of “the American community” in response to danger: church attendance soared, prayer vigils sprang up at the corner of suburban enclaves and people rushed to embrace their loved ones. But at the same time as the words “I love you” seemed to echo around the world, an evil “Other” was being identified and preparations made to defeat it. [...] When frightened people stop fleeing from the feared object of the situation, they seek to fight, even if a scapegoat has to be invented. With the 9/11 attack there was a relief that – finally – the enemy could be defined as an “outsider”. [...] Although there was considerable unease with the adroit way these terrorists were able to assimilate into Middle America, the relief of their otherness was clear. The enemy could be identified: he was “the Muslim.”<sup>3</sup>

It is this combination of internalised representations and the identification of the source of fear and its translation into the filmic images and narratives what interests me here the most. Even a cursory look at the films inspired by the events unveils certain patterns enabling grouping of the films into five distinctive categories. Needless to say, the vast majority of productions tackle the 9/11 attacks with only a handful of films dealing with the bombings in Madrid<sup>4</sup> and London. In fact, tracking down any significant production about Madrid proved to be quite a task. Therefore, taking into account the differences among the films boiling down not

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<sup>3</sup> J. Bourke, *Fear. A Cultural History* (London: Virago Press, 2005), p. 372.

<sup>4</sup> The only known to me Spanish feature production *Ilusiones rotas 11-M (Broken Illusions 11M)*, Alex Quiroga, 2005) has a form of seven stories about different people somehow affected by the attacks in Madrid in March 2004. The tone of the film is melancholic and the stories aim at portraying different individuals affected by the mayhem. The issue of terrorism and culture clash are of secondary importance.

only to the volume of material, but also to their content, the following categories of films and programmes can be identified:

- TV documentaries;
- conspiracy documentaries;
- TV docudramas;
- subliminal features;
- proper features.

This division, like any other, can be further debated or questioned. Before concentrating on the last category I want to provide a brief overview of the first four. This should explain why the last category might be perceived as somehow unusual and hence worth investigating.

### **TV documentaries**

Diverse in character and dealing predominantly with the 9/11 attacks, they have been coming up in two phases. Initially, hastily assembled almost a day after the attack, mainly presented the reconstruction of the events packed with interviews with the survivors and/or the experts. Later, this type of productions incorporated into their narrative lengthy technical and political analyses of all the aspects of the dramatic events. Various experts were questioned as well as some family members of those who lost their lives in course of the attacks.

Commemorating the events in 2011 a new batch of documentaries was released. Significantly, they contained a lot of footage of much more sensitive nature like the sight of people jumping off the windows of the Twin Towers. Now the viewers were able to watch those horrific jumps to oblivion on film, a sight they were denied a decade earlier. A lot of programmes and films were often devoid of any commentary, or voiceover, deciding to tell their story through plain images. This strategy in itself would be worthy of a separate investigation into its causes and motivations.

### **Conspiracy documentaries**

these have been made by various individuals contributing to the theories claiming that the 9/11 attacks were staged by the American authorities since the vast majority of them deals with the New York attacks. Significantly, only a handful of such films and claims have been made with the reference to the bombings in London and I have not come across any such a production on Madrid. Conspiracy documentaries have already inspired countless books commenting on the phenomenon. Generally speaking, the makers behind those productions concluded that the attacks were self-inflicted by the Federal government and that everything had been cynically (pre-)arranged and executed giving the Bush administration an excuse to limit citizens' rights and, consequently, invade Afghanistan and Iraq.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Probably the best known conspiracy documentary of all is Dylan Avery's *Loose Change*. The film has been updated a number of times and the title of its latest version, *Loose*

### TV docudramas

the focus here is on reconstructing individual stories linked to the events. Again, there is a multitude of such productions. Usually employing the cast of unknowns, TV networks have capitalised on the incoming information from the investigations and went for a recreation of tragic stories behind the happenings. As above, it concerns only the New York attacks.

### Subliminal features

I labelled this category this way to indicate a certain aspect of the narratives grouped here where the impact of the tragic events may be traced only indirectly and manifests itself especially in horrors and action films. However, it has to be emphasized that one can easily misinterpret a given element of the narrative as having no reference to the real events. Two Steven Spielberg films may be quoted as good examples of this type of filmmaking: *War of the Worlds* (2005) and, especially, *Munich* (2006). Nevertheless, it is all very impressionistic since in a similar fashion it might be claimed that Hollywood predicted, or anticipated, the dramatic events of September 2001 in such productions as *Armageddon* (Michael Bay, 1998), *Deep Impact* (Mimi Leder, 1998) or *Executive Decision* (Stuart Baird, 1996).

### Proper features

there are only a handful of filmic productions directly dealing with the events. By “directly” I understand the depiction of the actual attacks. I can think of a number of general reasons behind this scarcity of visual artefacts. One: the sensitive nature of the material. The tragedy behind the events in the three cities with the damage and loss of life seemed to have been too overwhelming to enable the filmmakers to deal with the subject matter without consideration for the feelings of the audiences not to mention those (in)directly involved in the events. Two: a wide coverage of the events in all other types of productions listed above rendering any fictional account of the events as superfluous. Three: films on any of the attacks could hardly be presented as happy ending stories. Therefore, it is easy to see why the film industry has been reluctant to take up the challenge and invest money in a film that could hardly be classified as a box office hit. Four: plain boredom and tiredness. As cynical as it may sound, it has to be said that the attack received so much media coverage that adding another one seemed to have been totally unnecessary.

Still, it is this last category I want to concentrate on in the following section. I am interested in those feature productions that bear a direct relation to the attacks, the way they handle the image(s) of the perpetrators and the sensation

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*Change: An American Coup* (2009), clearly summarises its agenda. A case in itself is Michael Moore’s *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004) – a documentary with worldwide theatrical distribution, clever marketing strategy and the winner of the Palm d’Or at Cannes.

of fear they address. This last emotion permeates their narratives to various degrees. The typology of fear might be represented in a form of a rhombus having its four peaks marked with four types of fear: individual vs. collective and clinical vs. cultural. This differentiation does not imply in any way that given types of fears are mutually exclusive. The four terms refer only to some “definitive” aspects of fears, whereas everyday experience is certainly a mixture of emotions occupying the area spread somewhere among all of them.

Although some choices may be debatable, I have selected the following “proper” feature productions for further investigation:

New York:

*11.09.01* (eleven various directors, 2002)

*The Hamburg Cell* (Antonia Bird, 2004)

*United 93* (Paul Greengrass, 2006)

*World Trade Center* (Olivier Stone, 2006)

London:

*Yasmin* (Kenneth Glenaan, 2004)

*Brick Lane* (Saraqh Gavron, 2007)

*London River* (Rachid Bouchareb, 2009)

*Four Lions* (Christopher Morris, 2010)

The films listed above are diverse in the way they present the events with the most striking contrast between the depiction of New York and London attacks. The “New York stories” clearly adapt victims’ point of view, whereas the “London stories” tackle the issue from, predominantly, Muslim perspective. A case in itself is *Four Lions* approaching the problem of British “home grown terrorism” from comedy-drama angle.

The Hollywood productions that dramatise the 9/11 attacks in the most direct way are the films of Oliver Stone and Paul Greengrass. Stylistically and emotionally, the two movies are worlds apart. Olivier Stone employs a strategy of portraying the heroic and probably this is why *World Trade Center* turns into a typical, run-of-the-mill Hollywood flick – high on clichéd emotions and low on intellectual insight. Its declarative tone makes it virtually unwatchable. If the film’s message can be ignored as sheer, yet tiresome, propaganda, what is interesting in Stone’s depiction of the 9/11 events is a certain type of lack. The director creates the world with cataclysmic events strangely devoid of fear. There is panic, but there is no fear. This is not only odd, but it is false. It appears as if the obligatory heroism bathed in saccharine sentimentalism was enough to deal emotionally with the attacks. Schematic story and one-dimensional characters are clearly intended to uplift the common spirit and heal the wounds. But the film was made five years after the tragic events and intentionally limiting its message to a mere patriotic dramatisation seems to be quite pointless.

*World Trade Center*, beside the lack of true emotions, suffers from a certain form of exclusion: the perpetrators are nowhere to be seen. They do not exist. Stone can be partly excused – the terrorists remained unknown in the hours immediately following the attacks. Yes. But this act of denial implies, indirectly, an existence of an evil force which is “out there,” incomprehensible, invisible, and deceitful. However, the director chooses not to deal with this evil force, to ignore the fear it might evoke, to curtain genuine emotions.

Paul Greengrass's *United 93* is much more effective not only in its artistic approach, but also in terms of portraying the emotional turbulences affecting all the characters. Although the script is highly speculative, Greengrass's realistic presentation of the story makes it absolutely believable. Fear and tension permeate the action especially on board of the plane. These emotions are not one-sided but experienced by the hijackers and their victims alike. Fear is omnipresent. One of the strongest moments in the narrative comes when both, the passengers and the hijackers, start praying to God. The words of prayer in English and in Arabic mingle creating a virtual cacophony of desperate calls to Christian God and Muslim Allah respectively. The passengers pray to survive the hijacking, whereas the terrorists pray to fulfil their suicide mission successfully; true master stroke in revealing ironies of life.

The terrorists in *United 93* are presented with clear bias: their body language, their manner of speech, violent, and, at times, hysterical behaviour strengthen the viewers' identification with the passengers. It also helps to identify the hijackers as “Others” in terms of culture, faith, look and behaviour. The dividing line: victim/oppressor is clear cut contributing to the feeling of alienation of both sides of the conflict as well as creating a confrontational paradigm of the culture clash.

In *United 93* Paul Greengrass picks up where Antonia Bird left off in her HBO production *The Hamburg Cell*. The film revolves around the activities of the group of Muslim fundamentalists behind the 9/11 attack. Bird carefully reconstructs the plot that led up to the tragic events in New York. The overall story clearly addresses problems of alienation and religious fanaticism. It is a chilling account of manipulation demonstrating how religious zeal combined with ideological indoctrination causes devastating results. For a Western viewer the activities of the group of Muslims are synonymous with mindless fanaticism and destruction. The film creates a peculiar sense of ambiguity. On the one hand, the narrative does provide a rationale behind the actions of the terrorists leading up to the tragic events. On the other hand, the reasoning presented there appears to be so outlandish, that any attempt to understand and justify terrorists' behaviour seems to be futile and nonsensical. The Muslim activists are turned into “Others” who stand as the representatives of the collective fear of an alien civilisation and culture.

This clash of civilisations and cultures fuels collective fear originating in the confrontation of two visions of reality: medieval and modern and is clearly portrayed in both films by the visual contrast. According to Greengrass, “‘young men in religious rapture,’ are juxtaposed with shots of Manhattan skyline and the

densely packed urban environment.”<sup>6</sup> What makes this contrast so dramatic is the certainty that these two visions of life cannot be reconciled and their relationship is based on mutual distrust and fear.

*11.09.01* is somewhat unique in this category. Although the film was made as a direct response to the New York attacks, the effect of this collection comprising eleven short films is somewhat confusing. All segments are highly personal and connected to 9/11 in various, mostly metaphorical ways. However, none of the episodes tackle the issues in such a way as to pass on some kind of judgement or comment. The whole enterprise is more a record of the state of mind (of individual contributors) rather than an intellectual or emotional evaluation of the event.

In her book on fear Joanna Bourke observes that if “for Americans terrorism was the «new Vietnam» [then] in Britain «the Muslims» gradually replaced «the Irish» as the new terrorist threat of the century. In the West Islamic fundamentalism was equated with Nazism and communism.”<sup>7</sup> Significantly, this shift is much more evident in British rather than American feature films. In these productions the tragic events from New York (*Yasmin*, *Brick Lane*) and London (*London River*) have a pivotal function in course of the narrative directly influencing protagonists’ fate and behaviour. All three films are multithreaded stories about women living (to various degrees) between cultures and the issues of racism, prejudice, and ethnic identity become topical once the terrorist attacks happen.

The outcome of the 9/11 attacks has twofold consequences in *Yasmin* and *Brick Lane*. Racial prejudice, covered by a thin layer of political correctness, immediately (re)surfaces once the attacks have been attributed to Muslim extremists. Thus *Yasmin*, finally realising she cannot claim membership to a social group she aspired, feels rejected and turns to her ethnic tradition. It is a victory and failure at the same time. Victory, because she finally comes to terms with her heritage definitely rejecting tight jeans in favour of the burqa. Failure, because, against her will, she is relegated to the position of “Other,” “the enemy within,” an alien tissue within the otherwise healthy social organism.

The 9/11 attacks generate an eruption of fear. The white majority looks with even more suspicion at Muslim migrants labelling them as potential terrorists.<sup>8</sup> Muslims, in return, express their fear of being forced to go back to the land of their fathers. Social groups remain in the grip of collective fear generated, on the one hand, by the attacks and, on the other, by potential retaliation. *Yasmin* experiences

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<sup>6</sup> S. Prince, *Firestorm. American Film in the Age of Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), p. 113.

<sup>7</sup> Bourke, *Fear*, p. 365.

<sup>8</sup> In 1977 and 1978 85–90% of the population of the USA and Britain regarded terrorism as a very serious problem. Indeed, in 1977 and 1978 for 55% of Americans and 71% of Britons the threat was sufficiently grave to advocate the introduction of the death penalty for the captures terrorists. In 1986 even the uncompromising state of economy, rising unemployment and poverty, escalating drug abuse, environmental pollution and the possibility of a new international conflict failed to topple terrorism from its lead in the fear polls. Terrorism remained the “number-one issue of concern” (Bourke, *Fear*, p. 365).

her individual fears of rejection by white majority and her ethnic group. Bengali minority members in *Brick Lane*, united by their faith, face open hostility and eventually gather in a community centre to counteract against the expected backlash. Collective and individual fears mingle. Everybody is afraid of everybody else.

This mood of anxiety and suspicion is further heightened in the aftermath of the 7/7 bombings. For the British the explosions on the London Underground and London buses transferred the source of fear from “out there” to the seemingly impossible “over here.” If 9/11 heightened awareness of a possible danger, 7/7 was like opening Pandora’s Box with all the suppressed collective fears and anxieties finding their outlet in the resulting crack down on Muslim extremists, officially sanctioned surveillance of ethnic minorities as well as open hostility towards individual citizens of Asian background.

*London River* directly addresses those emotions. Here, the London bombings serve as a kind of reinforcement of already existing prejudice generating further alienation. The narrative is from Elisabeth’s point of view – a middle-aged white English woman, who comes to London in search of her missing daughter. In the course of events she comes across Ousame – a black Muslim seeking his missing son. Elisabeth, contrary to Yasmin who eventually felt rejected by the white majority, suddenly feels alienated finding herself in places and among people whose existence so far have not concerned her. Elisabeth is genuinely overwhelmed at her discovery of a totally strange world of the ethnic minority and *London River* directly addresses these individual and cultural fears. The emblematic scene defining Elisabeth’s attitude towards Ousame comes when the woman is meeting the man for the first time. Her disbelief, shock, even repulsion can only be compared to her having an encounter with a ghost. Ousame, a tall, lanky black man with dreads arrives into Elisabeth’s world literally from the outer space. He is not like an alien, but he is an alien, the “Other,” causing fear and intimidation.

Although told from various perspectives, the filmic narratives tend to represent a white majority point of view identifying Muslims as a threatening factor. Even if those communities are not presented as posing a direct threat the possibility is there. *Yasmin* and *Brick Lane* contain sequences clearly exposing those fears. While the filmmakers try to balance such images with those of “descent Muslims” it cannot be denied that there is an atmosphere of ambiguity and suspicion. Particularly in *Yasmin* when Nasir, her brother, gets reprimanded by their father for expressing positive opinions on the 9/11 attacks but eventually he decides to travel to Pakistan and join his fellow compatriots in their fight against the American oppression. This gives the film a nearly prophetic feel: *Yasmin* was released in 2004 with the London bombings occurring just a year later. The perpetrators, as it was later discovered, were young British citizens of Pakistani background. With hindsight one may assume then it is not that unfair to feel threatened by one’s fellow citizens who are ready to resort to violence to pursue their goals.

*Four Lions* deals with exactly this problem. The story about fundamentalism, home grown terrorism, living between two cultures, the clash of medievalism and

modernity are all there. The filmmakers do not shy away from none of these issues, heightening the effect by coming up with the story which is very, very funny. And tragic. The plotting of a group of Muslim “moderate extremists” (as they call themselves) leaves no doubt who is to blame. The film can be read as a reaction to the 7/7 attacks but one which clearly points at the Muslim religious extremism as a source of violence and an obvious threat to, as it happens, everybody as well as a source of fear. A satirical approach to the problem might have meant to slightly play down the message which, nevertheless, comes in its full force.

To conclude, one may be surprised by, on the one hand, the scarcity of Hollywood feature productions directly addressing the attacks and, on the other, the realisation that only the films directed by non-American filmmakers do not avoid (whatever the form) confrontation with the Muslim fundamentalism. Oliver Stone chose to disregard this issue in his *World Trade Center*. Contrary to Paul Greengrass who does not turn a blind eye. But he is British. Why is it then, that Hollywood, and the film industry in general, have so far responded to 9/11 and the subsequent attacks in such a restrained way? Why the deluge of documentaries and docudramas and just a trickle of features? Is it because even the most horrific documentaries are, at the end of the day, just accounts of events unfolding beyond our control? They just happen out there. Whereas narratives, even based on actual events, have to be interiorised, intellectualised and informed with our own understanding. And thus they are prone to reflect our often internal fears that have to be confronted once the narrative is completed. Perhaps Hollywood just does not want to do it. Or, perhaps, fear is simply a box office poison and, as we all know, that the town of tinsel is not renowned for its willingness to drink hemlock.

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## Od 9/11 do 7/7 i nie tylko: film i strach

### Streszczenie

Niniejszy szkic koncentruje się na omówieniu filmowych reprezentacji zamachów terrorystycznych w Nowym Jorku, Madrycie i Londynie. Dzieła filmowe uszeregowano w pięciu kategoriach: dokument telewizyjny, dokument oparty na teorii spiskowej, dokument fabularyzowany, fabuła podprogowa oraz fabuła właściwa. Tekst, biorąc pod uwagę ograniczoną liczbę filmowych artefaktów przyporządkowanych do tej ostatniej kategorii, rozważa możliwe powody takiego stanu rzeczy oraz poddaje wymienione filmy ogólnej analizie.

# Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis

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## THE 1840S IRISH STATE TRIALS AND THEIR DEPICTION IN THE TWO ENGLISH ILLUSTRATED PERIODICALS: *PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI* AND *THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS*

### Summary

One of the events that received extensive and widespread coverage in the English press in the first half of the nineteenth century was the arrest and the subsequent trial of the Irish liberator and emancipist Daniel O'Connell. The Irish State Trials were hailed by the *Illustrated London News* as "one of the most remarkable occurrences in the history of the Nineteenth Century." The article shows how the Irish State Trials and the events leading to them were depicted in the two most important nineteenth century representatives of the English illustrated press: *Punch* and *The Illustrated London News*. The two periodicals despite conveying information to their readers through text and pictures differed substantially in how it was done. *Punch* by blending visual and verbal elements employed political cartoons, which satirically commented on the current events. *The Illustrated London News*, on the other hand, used engravings which can be viewed as predecessors of photographs in the modern press. The paper emphasizes how differently the Irish State Trials were portrayed in the two magazines and how they could have been received by the Victorian English and how they contributed to the picture of Ireland and the Irish in the eyes of the English.

One of the significant hallmarks of the Victorian period was the pictorial press. It was the time when illustrations proliferated and British illustrated periodicals flourished. The significance of pictures in the nineteenth-century Britain is pointed out by William Makepeace Thackeray in his semi-autobiographical novel *The History of Pendennis*, in which the author writes that "it was eminent poets who had to write to the plates, and not the painters who illustrated the poems."<sup>1</sup> The proliferation of pictures was possible foremost thanks to the technique of woodblock engraving, which employed boxwood. In contrast to other printing techniques it was relatively inexpensive and it allowed printing of text and illustrations on the same page. Eric de Mare even calls the reign of Queen Victoria, the Boxwood Age.<sup>2</sup>

The first half of the nineteenth century was the time when freestanding prints were replaced by illustrated magazines, which prior to the introduction

<sup>1</sup> W. M. Thackeray, *The History of Pendennis* (London: Smith, Elder, & CO, 1898), p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> E. de Mare, *The Victorian Woodblock Illustration* (London: Gordon Fraser, 1980), p. 1.

of photographs were very popular among Victorians. The insertion of woodcuts was employed successfully at first in the 1830s in such periodicals as *The Penny Magazine* and *Figaro in London*, both of which did not last more than a couple of years. Only in the 1840s did Victorian Britain see the introduction of the two most important, influential and lasting illustrated magazines: *Punch, or the London Charivari* and *The Illustrated London News (ILN)*. Despite the fact that both weeklies relied heavily on woodblock engravings they differed in the way they used illustrations.

*Punch* and its predecessor *Figaro in London* are examples of British illustrated satirical periodicals, which used comical cartoons as a commentary on current affairs. They were usually published on a weekly basis and consisted of small cuts, caricatures, bigger cartoons and texts filled with jokes, parodies or puns. Even though they may seem childish they were read by educated classes,

who read a newspaper daily and therefore could understand allusions to very current events, who read new books and attended new plays, who bought new fashions and employed servants, gave dinner parties and went through rituals of courtship and went for vacation to Scotland or the sea.<sup>3</sup>

The comprehension of cartoons in this kind of magazines, in fact, required keeping abreast of public life, mostly through a perusal of daily newspapers. As a result, in order to decipher such cartoons it is indispensable for a historian to know the context.

Illustrated satirical periodicals published in England have their roots in William Hogarth's prints and cartoons of such artists as James Gillray or Thomas Rowlandson, who belonged to the golden age of the British caricature (1760–1820). However, the accession of Queen Victoria and concomitant changes in British society brought about a change to the manner of caricatures. The earlier, often crude, prints of the early nineteenth century were replaced by more genteel ones, like those in *Punch*. This shift was regretted by Thackeray who wrote that former caricatures had been supplanted by "polite points of wit, which strike one as exceedingly clever and pretty, and cause one to smile in a quiet, gentleman-like kind of way."<sup>4</sup> What is more, the term "cartoon" in the modern sense, i.e. a satirical drawing, was coined by *Punch* in 1843 when the new Houses of Parliament were being built. Prince Albert wanted the walls in the new building to be emblazoned with frescoes and asked various artists to submit cartoons, meaning preparatory drawings. There was an exhibition of the cartoons, which *Punch* decided to mock in a series of drawings called "Mr. Punch's cartoons."

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<sup>3</sup> D. J. Gray, "A List of Comic Periodicals Published in Great Britain, 1800–1900, with a Prefatory Essay", *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, 5 (1972), p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> T. L. Hunt, *Defining John Bull: Political Caricature and National Identity in Late Georgian England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 298.

The *ILN* was, in contrast to *Punch*, “the title that first successfully yoked news and pictures in a sustainable and enduring publication in Britain.”<sup>5</sup> Thus, it employed illustrations to depict current events and present them to its readers through wood engravings. As it is stated in the preface to the first volume of the *ILN*, the periodical turned out to be a very successful novelty, which “discovered and opened up the world of *Illustration* as connected with News, and the quick-sighted and sound-judging British public peopled it at once.”<sup>6</sup> It was, by and large, a family magazine for Victorian coffee tables, which quickly became “a pictorial magnet for readers ravenous for visual coverage of current events and cultural topicalities.”<sup>7</sup> With the circulation of 67,000 in 1850, the *ILN* quickly turned into one of the leading periodicals.<sup>8</sup> Peter W. Sinnema states that the *ILN* “makes the world, fabricating an English identity for its nineteenth-century readers, by contributing to such solidifying ideologies as those of national superiority, limitless progress, and bourgeois solidarity.”<sup>9</sup> Drawing comparisons with other countries and their inhabitants, *inter alia*, Ireland, played a significant role in creating English identity and underlining its superiority.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, the portrayal of Ireland and the Irish in illustrated magazines contributed to the way the English perceived themselves and their self-aggrandizement.

The depiction of Ireland and her inhabitants, both verbal and visual, delivered to public opinion in England was generally negative and rife with stereotypes since the Norman invasion in the twelfth century.<sup>11</sup> The anti-Irish discourse was

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<sup>5</sup> L. Brake, M. Demoor, “Introduction: The Lure of Illustration”, [in:] L. Brake, M. Demoor (eds.), *The Lure of Illustration in the Nineteenth Century: Picture and Press* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *ILN*, vol. 1: n.p.

<sup>7</sup> V. McKendry, “The Illustrated London News and the Invention of Tradition”, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 27 (1994), p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> W. H. Smith, “Introduction”, [in:] L. de Vries, *Panorama 1842–1865: The World of the Early Victorians as Seen Through the Eyes of the Illustrated London News* (London: John Murray, 1967), p. 10; M. Jackson, *The Pictorial Press: Its Origin and Progress* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1885), p. 300; R. D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800–1900* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 394; C. Hibbert, *The Illustrated London News: Social History of Victorian Britain* (London: Angus & Robertson, 1975), p. 13.

<sup>9</sup> P. W. Sinnema, *Dynamics of the Pictured Page: Representing Nation in the “Illustrated London News”* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 310.

<sup>10</sup> L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (London: BCA, 1992), p. 6; M. de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798–1882* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), pp. 23–24; T. Tracy, *Irishness and Womanhood in Nineteenth-Century British Writing* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> N. Lebow, “British Historians and Irish History”, *Éire-Ireland*, 8 (1973), pp. 4–7; W. R. Jones, “Giraldus Redivivus – English Historians, Irish Apologists, and the Works of Gerald of Wales”, *Éire-Ireland*, 9 (1974), pp. 3–20; J. Th. Leerssen, *Mere-Irish & Fíor-Ghael: Studies in the Idea of Irish Nationality, Its Development and Literary Expressions Prior to the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1986), pp. 35–38.

propagated through various mediums such as travelogues, popular in the first half of the nineteenth century, the theater, novels or history books. By far the most influential and opinion-shaping was the English press. Since the early days of the press until now one of the common practices of the fourth estate has been focusing on popular figures. Thus, the press coverage of Irish affairs in England in the 1830s and 1840s invariably focused on the person of the Irish emancipist, Daniel O'Connell. As far as the space devoted to his speeches in the press, O'Connell was among the twelve most frequently quoted British MPs.<sup>12</sup> In the case of O'Connell, articles usually presented him in the negative light, particularly the leading newspaper at the time, *The Times*. W. E. H. Lecky states that *The Times* was O'Connell's "bitterest enemy, and the language it employed was sometimes far in excess of anything that could now be found in respectable journalism."<sup>13</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson underlining the influence of *The Times* on English public opinion said that *Punch* "is the comic version of the same sense."<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, the personalization of the news, as stated by Roger Fowler, serves "to promote straightforward feelings of identification, empathy or disapproval" and "avoids serious discussion and explanation of underlying social and economic factors."<sup>15</sup> This practice was, therefore, very harmful to Ireland. Despite the fact that the Irish question generated a lot of attention in England in the first half of the nineteenth century, no effective reforms were introduced to ameliorate appalling conditions of Ireland's inhabitants.

One of the events that received extensive and widespread coverage in the English press on the eve of the Great Irish Famine was the arrest and subsequent trial of O'Connell along with his son John and other members of the Repeal Association. The Irish agitator was arrested in 1843, the year proclaimed by him as the Repeal Year, during which a series of monster meetings took place around Ireland. The term "monster meeting," which referred to massive rallies of O'Connell's adherents, was coined by *The Times*.<sup>16</sup> The final assembly of the year was to be held at Clontarf on 8<sup>th</sup> October. The day before the planned monster meeting, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had proclaimed the rally as unlawful and, as a result, O'Connell cancelled it. Charged with conspiracy and sedition O'Connell was arrested a few days later. Postponed owing to disagreements over selection of members of the jury, the State Trials ensued in January 1844.

The relevance of the Irish State Trials is visible in the headings relating to Ireland in *The Times*, which started to take up much more space. The newspaper

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<sup>12</sup> M. MacDonagh, *Daniel O'Connell and the Story of Catholic Emancipation* (Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1929), pp. 237–238.

<sup>13</sup> W. E. H. Lecky, *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland*, Vol. 2: Daniel O'Connell (London: Longmans, Green and CO, 1912), p. 36.

<sup>14</sup> R. W. Emerson, *English Traits* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860), p. 269.

<sup>15</sup> R. Fowler, *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 15–16.

<sup>16</sup> O. MacDonagh, *The Emancipist: Daniel O'Connell 1830–1847* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), p. 229.

sent also additional reporters to Ireland and the news was received via express. *The Times* even hired a fast ship to receive up-to-date reports.<sup>17</sup> The events taking part in the Court of Queen's Bench were not only reported verbally in the press, but also the budding *ILN* sent its artist "to limn the visages of judges, jury, counsel, conspirators, and all concerned."<sup>18</sup> The *ILN* sent its artists "for the purpose of affording our readers illustrations of the stirring scenes at present taking place in the Irish capital" and promised that "the tone of impartiality which characterizes our journal, shall be preserved in the prosecution of our design."<sup>19</sup> The trials were documented and copiously illustrated in the series entitled "Pencilings in the Four Courts, from the Sketch Book of an Irish Barrister," which portrayed and depicted characters involved in the court actions. The illustrated magazine decided to devote so much space to the events taking place in Ireland stating that

The all-absorbing nature of the events, in the present stirring and exciting period of our national history, will be our best excuse for devoting so much of our space to their illustration, and we are not without hope that when time shall have obliterated all traces of national prejudices, jealousy, and disunion, and all parties will have joined in cordially promoting the welfare of our common country, the ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS will be referred to as the only faithful pictorial record of these important occurrences.<sup>20</sup>

The illustrations in the *ILN* can be seen as reasonably objective visual account of the trial. However, stereotypical images of Ireland appear in the coverage of the Irish State Trials. One of the examples is the juxtaposition of four engravings (Fig. 1) right at the beginning of the prosecution. Three illustrations are related to the trial, one depicting O'Connell with his sons on their way to the court and two containing minuscule portraits of civic and legal participants of the trial. The detached depiction of events in Ireland is counterbalanced by a fourth engraving "Signal Fires" showing frenzied Irishmen surrounding a blazing bonfire. In the background one can also perceive ruins, a common element of travelogues and other descriptions of Ireland. William H. A. Williams states that omnipresent ruins and other antiquities of the Irish landscape "did not just represent Ireland's past; they represented its present as well, underscoring the country's apparent backwardness."<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> L. A. Williams, *Daniel O'Connell, the British Press and the Irish Famine: Killing Remarks* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 75.

<sup>18</sup> *The Times*, 18 November (1843), p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> *ILN*, vol. 3: 327.

<sup>20</sup> *ILN*, vol. 4: 59.

<sup>21</sup> W. H. A. Williams, *Tourism, Landscape, and the Irish Character: British Travel Writers in Pre-Famine Ireland* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), p. 37.

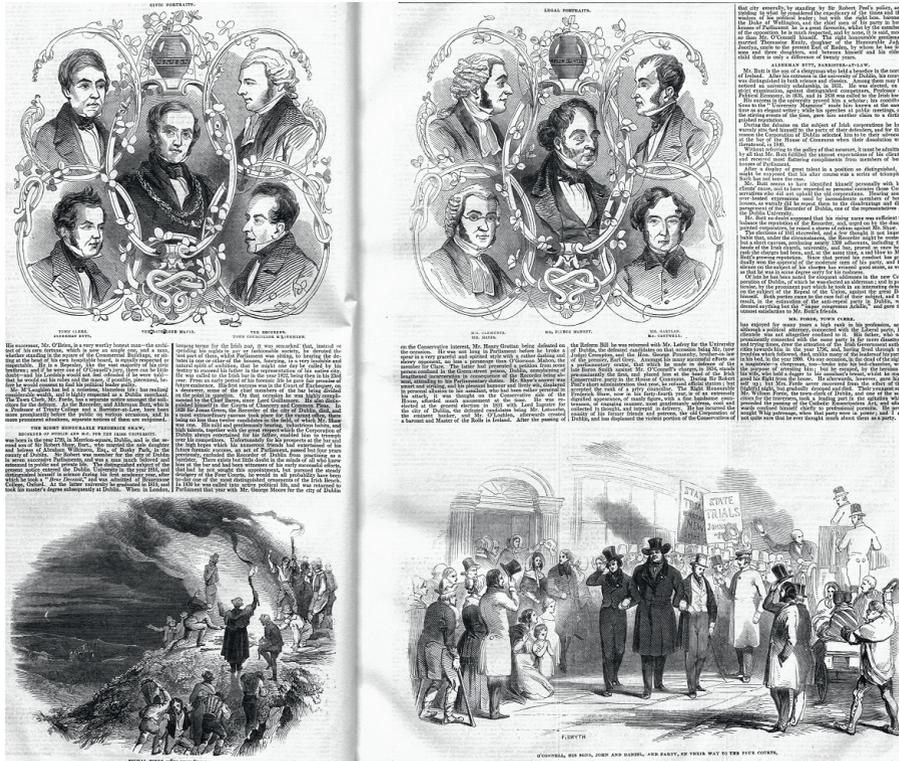


Fig. 1. “The Dublin State Trials”, *ILN*, vol. 4 (January–June 1844), 40–41

The portraits drawn by the artists of the *ILN* were “without even a particle of caricature.”<sup>22</sup> This was the complete opposite of pictures in *Punch*, which, as stated by Richard D. Altick did not have “the same air of authenticity possessed by the portraits of the same persons in the *Illustrated London News*, but they were unquestionably funnier.”<sup>23</sup> Cartoons, whose purpose “is invariably to vilify rather than to adulate,”<sup>24</sup> were not so funny for O’Connell and the Irish, particularly because since the inception of *Punch* “page after page was peppered with savage verbal and pictorial attacks on” them.<sup>25</sup> *Punch* took full advantage of the prosecution of the Irish leader in order to vilify and lambaste him. On the first day of the trial O’Connell arrived ceremoniously to the Four Courts in the carriage of the Lord Mayor of Dublin accompanied by a fleet of forty carriages. This theatrical ceremony was obviously ridiculed by *Punch*, which states that “we always thought

<sup>22</sup> *ILN*, vol. 3: 327.

<sup>23</sup> R. D. Altick, *Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution 1841–1851* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997), p. 129.

<sup>24</sup> J. Geipel, *The Cartoon: A Short History of Graphic Comedy and Satire* (London: David & Charles, 1972), p. 26.

<sup>25</sup> F. E. Hugget, *Victorian England as Seen by Punch* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1978), p. 30.

that the ordinary police van was the proper vehicle for bringing up accused parties to the Court where they are to take their trial."<sup>26</sup> The text is accompanied by a cartoon depicting sinister looking O'Connell sitting in a carriage, which is chased after by a mob of stereotypically portrayed Irishmen (Fig. 2). The men are pictured wielding shillelaghs, which denoted their proclivity for violence.<sup>27</sup> The last person who is following the crowd is an Irishwoman overburdened with children, which pointed out to the imprudence of the Irish that had led to overpopulation of Ireland. The cartoon shows also bare-footed Irish children, another symbol of Irish backwardness.

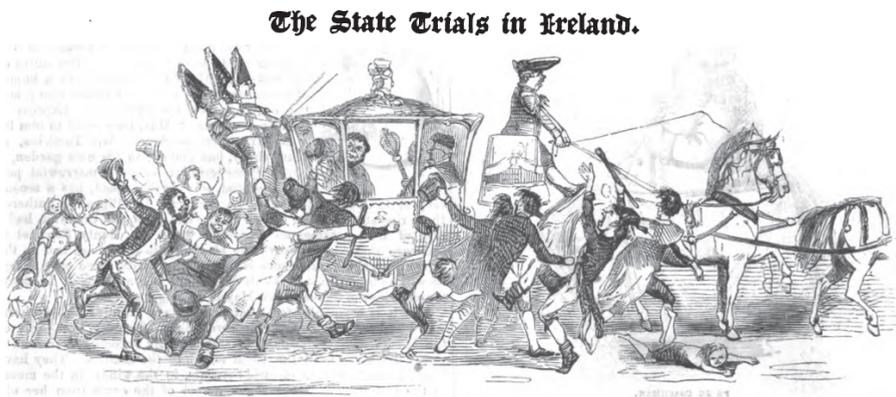


Fig. 2. "The Irish State Trials", *Punch*, vol. 6 (January–June 1844), 48

As the court proceedings were on their way they were interrupted by a controversy surrounding a letter written by the Attorney General Smith to the Queen's Counsel Fitzgibbon. The letter was perceived in the press as an invitation to a duel and was roundly criticized. This only corroborated the belief that the Irish were prone to violence and showed their reckless disregard for human life. As a matter of fact, violence was so inextricably linked with Irishmen that the entry on Ireland in the contemporary encyclopedia *The Penny Cyclopaedia* says that "the prevailing vices of the national character are improvidence and a disposition to riotous excitement."<sup>28</sup> The *ILN* commented on the Attorney General's letter stating that "we thought that such indecorums had vanished before the breath of civilization and the march of mind, and that in the nineteenth century a Court of Justice could never again become the preliminary to field of blood."<sup>29</sup> Thus, the periodical portrays Ireland as an uncivilized country. The whole case is derided in *Punch* in the cartoon "An Irish Mode of 'Challenging a Jury.' – Vide 'State Trials'" (Fig. 3). The title of

<sup>26</sup> *Punch*, vol. 6: 48.

<sup>27</sup> M. Weimar, *Das Bild der Iren und Irlands im "Punch" 1841–1921* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993), pp. 523–527.

<sup>28</sup> *The Penny Cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, vol. 8 (London: Charles Knight, 1839), p. 21.

<sup>29</sup> *ILN*, vol. 4: 71.

the cartoon is a pun on the word ‘challenge’ and the drawing depicts the Attorney General presenting the jury with two pistols.



Fig. 3. “An Irish Mode of Challenging a Jury. – Vide State Trials”, *Punch*, vol. 6 (January–June 1844), 80

Eventually, O’Connell and other defendants, referred to throughout the trial as the traversers, were found guilty and were sentenced to two years of imprisonment. They were incarcerated in the Richmond Penitentiary controlled by the Dublin Corporation, whose members indulged O’Connell and his followers. The prisoners were allowed to use gardens, where they could exercise, a sitting room and each of them had a separate bedroom. In addition, they received visits from their friends and threw sumptuous dinner parties.<sup>30</sup> Thackeray wrote a letter addressed to O’Connell on behalf of Mr. Punch in which he advises O’Connell against inflammatory speeches threatening John Bull and says that “I wish you would come out of prison, for how can I poke fun at you through the bars?”<sup>31</sup> The imprisonment of O’Connell, however, did not preclude *Punch* from mocking him. After O’Connell’s son had said that “the prisoners were looking right well and getting fat”<sup>32</sup> and that they had received a big cake and a sturgeon from Limerick, John Leech, *Punch*’s main artist, drew a cartoon “The Probable Effects of Good Living and No Exercise!” (Fig. 4). The satirical drawing pictures a monstrously

<sup>30</sup> L. O’ Broin, “The Trial and Imprisonment of O’Connell, 1843”, *Éire-Ireland*, 8 (1973), p. 52.

<sup>31</sup> *Punch*, vol. 6: 248; M. H. Spielmann, *The Hitherto Unidentified Contributions of W. M. Thackeray to “Punch”* (London: Harper & Brothers, 1900), pp. 76–80.

<sup>32</sup> *Punch*, vol. 7: 38.

fat O'Connell sitting in an armchair surrounded by a variety of food and drink, among them a cake and a sturgeon, and in front of whom lies a cookbook. The caricatured O'Connell is wearing the so-called 'Repeal cap,' which was designed by the leader of Young Ireland Charles Gavan Duffy, the painter Henry MacManus and the sculptor John Hogan.<sup>33</sup> The cap is also depicted in one of the illustrations accompanying an article on the trial in the *ILN*. The weekly suggesting O'Connell's aiming at becoming a king writes about the cap that "there is something suspicious in the imitation of a coronet and the cushion."<sup>34</sup> O'Connell's attire, often related to Irish symbolism, was often lampooned by English journalists and cartoonists. Gary Owens says that "the cap was a particular favorite with British artists who used it to suggest O'Connell's buffoonery and childishness."<sup>35</sup> O'Connell was also often derisively referred to as "the uncrowned monarch."



Fig. 4. "The Probable Effects of Good Living and No Exercise!", *Punch*, vol. 7 (July–December 1844), 39

O'Connell's prison diet was further ridiculed in *Punch* in short articles.<sup>36</sup> The article "Irish Intelligence" derides gaining weight by O'Connell and his exercising to shed pounds<sup>37</sup>. Next to the article there is a cartoon "O'Connell at His

<sup>33</sup> F. O'Ferrall, "Daniel O'Connell, the 'Liberator', 1775–1847: Changing Images", [in:] R. Gillespie, B. P. Kennedy (eds.), *Ireland: Art into History* (Dublin: Town House, 1994), p. 99.

<sup>34</sup> *ILN*, vol. 4: 101.

<sup>35</sup> G. Owens, "Visualizing the Liberator: Self-Fashioning, Dramaturgy, and the Construction of Daniel O'Connell", *Éire-Ireland*, 33 (1998)–34 (1999), p. 111.

<sup>36</sup> *Punch*, vol. 7: 42.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

Gymnastics” showing corpulent O’Connell climbing a pole to reach his Repeal cap. While climbing he loses his wig and his hat, which reveals his baldness, another target of mockery in *Punch’s* cartoons. The cartoons and comments concerning O’Connell’s weight and his lack of hair must have been very hurtful to O’Connell, as he was concerned and acutely sensitive about his body image, which played a pivotal role in his political campaigns.<sup>38</sup>

After three months of incarceration the conviction of the traversers was quashed by the House of Lords and the prisoners were released on the 13<sup>th</sup> of September 1844. *Punch* commented on the acquittal of O’Connell both visually and verbally in “The Comedy of Errors” (Fig. 5). The cartoon portrays O’Connell as a bird with “Appeal” and “Writ of Error” written on its wings which laid an egg inscribed with the word “Repeal” and is pursued by the Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel, who “wanted to put the fatal salt on the tail of the Liberator.”<sup>39</sup> The “tail” stood for the Irish MPs loyal to O’Connell. *Punch* states also that Peel blundered in the handling of the whole case and only did favor to O’Connell, who “is now a somebody almost supernatural – a political saint – a holy martyr – an incarnation of all the wisdom, the force, and the purity of human nature.”<sup>40</sup> In the wake of his release O’Connell fulminated against the Irish judges and in particular against the Attorney General, whom he called “*vinegar cruets on two legs*.”<sup>41</sup> This epithet was immediately capitalized on by Leech in the cartoon “The Pepper-Box and the «Vinegar-Cruet»” (Fig. 6). The drawing depicts O’Connell as a pepper shaker wearing his usual cap standing and clenching his fists in front of the Attorney General portrayed as a cruet. The next cartoon, entitled “The Next Move” (Fig. 7), which appeared in *Punch* pictures O’Connell and Peel playing checkers. The troubled and helpless Peel is waiting for O’Connell’s move, who is depicted here as jolly and plump. The drawing suggests that O’Connell is a perennial trouble of the British ministry and a hindrance to increasing prosperity of the British Empire.

O’Connell astutely took advantage of his release from prison and organized a conspicuous triumphal cavalcade that passed from the penitentiary to the city center of Dublin. The grand procession was profusely depicted in the *ILN* in a 3-page feature interspersed with five engravings.<sup>42</sup> Three of the pictures show the cheering of the Irish, first at the news of the release of the prisoners and then during the procession. O’Connell was driven during the parade in his triumphal car, which “constituted of a large platform, bearing three stories, arranged like steps of stairs, and profusely decorated with purple velvet, gold fringes, gilt-headed nails, bosses, and paintings.”<sup>43</sup> The triumphal car is delineated in one of the

<sup>38</sup> Owens, *op. cit.*, pp. 105–106.

<sup>39</sup> *Punch*, vol. 7: 128.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>41</sup> *ILN*, vol. 5: 182.

<sup>42</sup> *ILN*, vol. 5: 164–166.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165.

drawings. The illustration that stands out from all the other woodcuts arranged on a double-page spread is “Night-Scene in a Dublin-Street” (Fig. 8). The engraving portrays celebrating Irishmen, in the center of whom stands a savagely-looking bearded and unkempt man shaking his fist and holding a blowing torch. The scene reminds one of an outbreak of a revolution and is evocative of mindless violence. In addition, the illustration pictures two agitated boys, one brandishing a shillelagh, which might have been viewed as a portent of the new generation of troublesome and disorderly Irishmen. An ominous stone, a common weapon among the Irish, is lying manifestly in the foreground of the drawing.



THE COMEDY OF ERRORS.

Fig. 5. “The Comedy of Errors”, *Punch*, vol. 7 (July–December 1844), 128



THE PEPPER-BOX AND THE «VINEGAR-CRUET.»  
 “Touch me with Vinegar, I’ll have at you with Pepper!”  
 DUNN DISSEMINATOR (The O’Connell Reading.)

Fig. 6. “The Pepper-Box and the «Vinegar-Cruet,»”  
*Punch*, vol. 7 (July–December 1844), 133



### THE NEXT MOVE.

(For Particulars Inquire of Sir R. Peel or Dan. O'Connell, Esq.)

Fig. 7. "The Next Move", *Punch*, vol. 7 (July–December 1844), 143

In the preface to the fourth volume the *ILN* remarks on the Irish State Trials as "the most remarkable occurrences in the history of the Nineteenth Century," and that "we have handed it down full a warm and bright vitality" and "we have not recorded a dry law case, but there is canvas as well as a report, and pictured truth as well as written history."<sup>44</sup> Even though the engravings in the *ILN* can be perceived as fairly objective, the magazine did not avoid propagating stereotypical images of the Irish. In addition, devoting so much attention in the press to the trial and personalization of the news the *ILN* shunned the discussion of a precarious state of Ireland, which within a year was attacked by the disastrous potato blight. Underlining propensity of the Irish for violence as well as their backwardness definitely did not earn sympathy among the English. Ridiculing and chastising of O'Connell undermined his authority and showed the inability of the Irish to self-government. No wonder that during the Famine English public opinion was opposed to spending money on the relief for Ireland, especially when the major newspaper often highlighted that the money of English taxpayers might have been used to "enrich the coffers of an extortionate and heartless demagogue [O'Connell]."<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *ILN*, vol. 4: preface.

<sup>45</sup> *The Times*, 20 November (1845), p. 4.



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## **Proces O'Connella z 1840 roku w dwóch angielskich periodykach ilustrowanych: *Punch, or the London Charivari* i *The Illustrated London News***

### **Streszczenie**

Jednym z wydarzeń, które opisywano obszernie i dokładnie w angielskiej prasie w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku było aresztowanie a następnie proces irlandzkiego polityka, walczącego o niepodległość i autonomię Irlandii Daniela O'Connella. *The Illustrated London News* nazwało proces O'Connella „jednym z najważniejszych wydarzeń w historii XIX wieku”. W niniejszym artykule ukazano, w jaki sposób proces sławnego Irlandczyka i zdarzenia, które do niego doprowadziły oddane zostały w dwóch najważniejszych dziewiętnastowiecznych czasopismach angielskiej prasy ilustrowanej: *Punch* i *The Illustrated London News*. Mimo że oba te periodyki przekazywały swym czytelnikom informacje w formie tekstu i rysunków, różniły się zasadniczo co do sposobu przekazu. *Punch*, łącząc elementy wizualne i werbalne, publikował polityczne rysunki satyryczne, opatrzone komentarzem bieżące wydarzenia. Z kolei *The Illustrated London News* publikował ryciny, które można uznać za poprzedników współczesnych fotografii. W niniejszej pracy zwrócono uwagę na to, w jak różny sposób przedstawiano proces O'Connella w tych dwóch czasopismach, jak mógł on być odbierany w wiktoriańskiej Anglii, i w jaki sposób przyczynił się do ukształtowania popularnego wizerunku Irlandii i Irlandczyków wśród Anglików.

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## ALE AND BEER AS STAPLE DRINKS IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

### Summary

Ale has been known in Britain for ages. The Celts produced a porridge-like concoction with various herbs added. The Anglo-Saxons brewed a variety of ales and many of the English terms used in brewing are of Anglo-Saxon origin. Ale played a vital role in the life of Norman Britain up to the Tudor times when it started to compete with beer. Ale together with beer was the most commonly consumed beverage in the Middle Ages and in early modern times. They were drunk by the affluent and the poor, by adults and also by children. In nobleman's household brewing was a home based activity and a brewhouse was essential part of his house. Both beverages were brewed in the same way, the only exception being hops added to beer. At first hops were looked at with suspicion because their bitter flavour was disliked by many. Ale and beer were drunk with all meals, they were served at feasts and on special occasions. In towns ale and beer were mostly purchased and the large number of brewers suggests high levels of their consumption.

Historically, the terms used to describe different drinks made from grain have been less than precise, which makes the history of brewing difficult but also indicates that brewing technology was far from static. The terms 'beer' and 'ale' respectively referred to drinks brewed with and without hops, however sometimes this distinction was not followed rigidly.

Ale, a fermented alcoholic beverage obtained chiefly from malted barley, was known in the British Isles as well as on the Continent for ages. The Roman historians Pliny (in the first century BC) and Tacitus (in the first century AD) reported that Celts, Saxons, as well as Nordic and Germanic tribes drank ale.<sup>1</sup> The Celtic

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<sup>1</sup> The terms ale and beer were used in varying forms in many Germanic countries as names for a drink made from fermented grain. In many countries either a form 'beer' or a form 'ale' was used. The question arises whether beer and ale were the same type of drink. In Old English, as in Old Norse, both forms were used. In Old Norse sagas two drinks are mentioned, 'alu,' the drink of the people, and 'bior,' the drink of the gods. See: R. W. Unger, *Beer in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 22. Most probably the word 'ale' comes from the word for mead with spices. See: H. Thunaeus, *Ölets historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1968–70), p. 13; M. Hoffmann, *5000 Jahre Bier* (Nuremberg: Verlag Hans Carl, 1956), pp. 42–44 and 51. However, by the 9<sup>th</sup> century ale meant the drink made from malted grain.

word for malt was 'brace,' which is probably the origin of the English 'brew' and German 'brauen.'<sup>2</sup> In Wales the name 'cwrw' and in some parts of Ireland the name 'courmi' was retained, which is evidence that ale was known in the isles before arrival there of German tribes.<sup>3</sup> The Celts soaked grain and then left it to ferment by reaction with wild yeasts in the air. The obtained beverage was most probably a porridge-like concoction with various herbs added. The early ales might contain, alongside the basic starch source, fruits, honey, numerous types of plants, spices and other substances such as narcotic drugs.<sup>4</sup> What they did not contain was hops, as that was a later addition, first mentioned in Europe around 822 by a Carolingian Abbot and again in 1067 by Abbess Hildegard of Bingen.<sup>5</sup>

The Anglo-Saxons were great ale and beer drinkers. They knew about a variety of ales and expected them to be available. Apart from their everyday ale they had special kinds, such as bright ale, mild ale, and extra strong twice-brewed ale.<sup>6</sup> According to Thomas O. Cockayne:

Saxons, [...] could satisfy thirst with not a few good and savoury drinks; with beer, with strong beer, with ale, with strong ale, with clear ale, with foreign ale, and with what they called twybrowen, that is, double brewed ale, a luxury, now rare, and rare too then probably.<sup>7</sup>

Cockayne assumes that some of them were hopped but even without hops, a strong ale would keep until it became "old ale."<sup>8</sup> It is not known, however, whether the Anglo-Saxons were aware of the preservative qualities of hops, but most probably they valued most the bitter taste hops produced. Many of the English terms used in brewing, such as malt, mash, wort, and ale itself, are of Anglo-Saxon origin. The Angles and the Saxons considered ale to have significant health advantages and recommended it as an ingredient in many remedies.<sup>9</sup>

Ale really came into its own with the advent of the Christian era, largely through the influence of the monasteries and the monastic orders preserved brewing as a craft. Monks often built the first breweries and provided shelter, food and drink to pilgrims and other travellers. Ale played a vital role in the life of Norman Britain up to the Tudor times when it started to compete with beer. Ale together

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<sup>2</sup> *Medieval Science, Technology, and Medicine: An Encyclopedia*, eds. T. Glick et al. (New York: Routledge, 2005), s.v. 'brewing.'

<sup>3</sup> Unger, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24.

<sup>4</sup> M. Nelson, *The Barbarian's Beverage: A History of Beer in Ancient Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>6</sup> C. A. Wilson, *Food and Drink in Britain* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), p. 330.

<sup>7</sup> *Rerum Britannicum Medii Ævi Scriptores or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages*, vol. II, ed. T. O. Cockayne (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1860), p. ix.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

with beer was the most commonly consumed beverage in the Middle Ages and also in early modern times. They were drunk by the affluent and the poor, by adults and also by children. Literally everyone had them with their meals. The widespread acceptance of ale and the quantities consumed in England indicate that ale was considered to be beneficial. Thomas Elyot, a sixteenth century humanist, does not clearly differentiate between ale and beer. Elyot writes,

I can neither here nor rede, that ale is made and vsed for a cōmon drynke in any other countrey than England, Scotlād, Ireland, & Poyle. The latyn worde Cereuitia, is indifferent as welle to ale as to biere. If the corne be good, the water holsome and cleane, and the ale or biere welle and perfytelye brewed and clensed, and by the space of syx dayes or more, settled and defecate, it must nedes be a necessary & conuenient drynk, as well in syknes as in helth.<sup>10</sup>

Andrew Boorde, a sixteenth century physician, explains that “ale is made of malte and water” and in his opinion it is “a naturall drynke” for an Englishman.<sup>11</sup> Ale was also praised in the most famous regimen of health *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum*, which reads: “Ale humors breeds, it addes both flesh and force; Tis loosing, coole, and vrin doth enforce.”<sup>12</sup>

The importance of ale in the national diet was recognised for the first time in 1267, when it became the subject of *The Assize of Bread and Ale* which fixed the price of bread and ruled that the price of ale ought to be related to the price of grain from which it was made. Ale was often brewed in the household from malt purchased on the market or supplied from manorial demesnes. It was barley malt that the best ale was made from, however sometimes other grains, mostly oats were malted for brewing.<sup>13</sup> Mixed cereals were not uncommon, “and wheat, oats and sometimes even beans<sup>14</sup> were added to the malt before it was mashed.”<sup>15</sup> In the household of Dame

<sup>10</sup> T. Elyot, *The Castel of Helth* (London: T. Berthelet or T. Powell, 1541), sig. 34r–34v.

<sup>11</sup> A. Boorde, “A Compedious Regiment or a Dietary of Health”, [in:] ed. F. J. Furnival, *Andrew Boorde’s Introduction and Dyetary with Barnes in the Defence of the Berde* (London: Trubner, 1870), p. 256.

<sup>12</sup> J. Harington, *The School of Salernum. Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum* (New York: Hoeber, 1920), p. 102.

<sup>13</sup> Brewers discovered that barley was the best grain to use in brewing, although wheat, oats, rye, even rice, can be used as well. In those regions where all grains were available in sufficient quantities, barley’s suitability for brewing was economically convenient. Barley is a poor bread-grain, whereas wheat and other grains, by contrast, do not have as many of the enzymes necessary for brewing. By preference, therefore, barley was made into ale, and wheat into bread. This division is reflected in language. Barley was often used as a synecdoche for ale, and whenever a source refers simply to *malt*, or *brasium* in Latin, without identifying the type of grain, barley is implied.

<sup>14</sup> In the reign of Edward VI, the Brewers’ Company, in a petition to the Common Council asked for a revision of the prices of ale and beer and complain that the articles they use in brewing, viz., “wheate, malte, oates, beanes, hoppes at these days are comen unto greate and exceeding pryces.” Quoted in J. Bickerdyke, *The Curiosities of Ale and Beer* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co, 1889), p. 154.

<sup>15</sup> Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

Alice Bryene “2 qrs. barley-malt”<sup>16</sup> “2 quarters of malt whereof one quarter drage”<sup>17</sup> were used for brewing. This means ale was produced from barley and dredge, which was a mixed corn of barley and oats. From two quarters of whatever malt the brewer obtained “112 gallons of ale.” The household of Sir Thomas Le Strange made ale from barley malt only.<sup>18</sup>

Medieval brewing was basically similar to modern techniques and it required “barley, water, and hops, sodden and mingled together by the industry of our brewers in a certain exact proportion.”<sup>19</sup> On its own, water was generally considered too dangerous and it was not recommended as a drink for anyone. The quality of water used in brewing was of the most importance. In Andrew Boorde’s opinion, “the best water is rayne-water, so be it that it be clene and purely taken.” Next is running water, “the whiche doth swiftly ronne from the Eest in to the west vpon stones or pybles.” River water is the third followed by standing water, “the whiche be refreshed with a fresshe spryng.” The worst are well water and standing water, “to the whiche the sonne hath no reflexion.”<sup>20</sup> Before brewing started good quality water was boiled and then allowed to cool for a short while. Having done this, barley or other grain, was soaked in warm water “by the space of three days and three nights until it be thoroughly soaked.”<sup>21</sup>

Then the water was strained off and the grains were piled up several inches high in a room where the temperature was kept warm and constant usually in the range of 15–25°C. These grains were then kept moist and were carefully watched to see just when they germinate, “which maltsters call «coming.»” At just the right time after germination, the brewer removed the grains from the malting floor and heated them in a kiln “covered with haircloth, where they give it gentle heats.”<sup>22</sup> Sometimes, if the weather was favourable, drying was done in the sun which produced the cleanest tasting malt. Before brewing the malt was ground into a floury grist in a variety of mills. Next, the malt was subjected to the process of mashing by mixing it with hot water known as ‘liquor.’ During mashing, various enzymes make soluble some of the vegetable matter contained in the malt. The resulting product called ‘mash’ was left for a few hours so that sugars could dissolve into the water to produce grout that was rich in carbohydrates and nitrogenous material. Then the water was drained and the remaining malt was mixed with water for the second, and later for the third time. Each time a weaker grout was produced, the last one called small ale. The grout was then poured into wooden tubs, yeasts were added

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<sup>16</sup> *The Household Book of Dame Alice de Bryene, of Acton Hall*, ed. V. Redstone (Ipswich: The Ancient House, 1931), p. 34

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>18</sup> NRO NH 13, p. 27. The account covering the period 1<sup>st</sup> April 1531 to 9<sup>th</sup> March 1532 is a weekly expense account.

<sup>19</sup> W. Harrison, *The Description of England* (New York: Dover Publications, 1994), p. 135.

<sup>20</sup> Boorde, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

<sup>21</sup> Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

and the obtained wort was left in a warm place for a few days for fermentation.<sup>23</sup> The ready ale was then poured into storage vessels and left to clear itself.<sup>24</sup> London brewers were ordered to let the ale stand for a day and a night<sup>25</sup> otherwise the ale would be a cloudy drink. The lower classes would rather consume such unsettled ale which was full of proteins and carbohydrates, making it a good source of nutrition for the poor. In noblemen's households ale which was under five days old was not considered good for consumption.<sup>26</sup> In great households ale was stored in the buttery, from whence it was served.

Generally, ale had a shelf-life of about a week, sometimes of two and the whole brewer's production was consumed by the next brewing. In medieval England the normal monastic allowance was one gallon<sup>27</sup> of good ale per day, sometimes supplemented by a second gallon of weak ale. In Episcopal households in the late fourteenth century the consumption of ale reached a gallon per *ferculum*.<sup>28</sup> In the household of Dame Alice de Bryene ale was served every day. The standard was a gallon per person per day which was an average amount as was calculated from account books and other household documents.<sup>29</sup> The ale in Alice's household was however a little weaker than in other households of the same period. The household of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, spent £36 on ale in years 1431–1432.<sup>30</sup> The household of the fifth Earl of Northumberland consumed in one year 27,594 gallons of ale.<sup>31</sup> The ration of ale in the household of Henry Stafford at Woking was almost a quarter of a gallon per person at each of the two main meals.<sup>32</sup> From the

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<sup>23</sup> The other product of mashing was draff, spent grains, that was fed to animals. "Animal feed has often been an important by-product of brewers, and into the ninetieth century piggeries were a common feature of even big urban breweries [...]" Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>24</sup> Ale and also beer was stored in oak casks coated inside with a thin layer of brewers' pitch so that the ale did not come in contact with the wood.

<sup>25</sup> Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

<sup>26</sup> "[T]hyne ale .v. dayes old er Þow serue it abowt, for ale Þat is newe is wastable withi-owten dowl: And looke Þat alle Þynge be pure & clene Þat ye go abowt." J. Russell, "The Boke of Nurture", [in:] ed. F. J. Furnivall, *Early English Meals and Manners* (London: Oxford University Press, 1868), p. 12.

<sup>27</sup> 1 gallon = 4 quarts (4.62 litres).

<sup>28</sup> C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 127.

<sup>29</sup> There were exceptions from the rule. In the household of the Duke of Clarence, in 1468, a gallon of ale was to be shared between eight at meal "but supplemented as need be." Woolgar, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

<sup>30</sup> C. M. Woolgar (ed.), "Household Accounts from Medieval England". *British Academy, Records of Social and Economic History*, new series, 17–18 (1992–1993), pp. 522–548.

<sup>31</sup> Henry A. Percy, *The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, the Fifth Earl of Northumberland* (London: A. Brown, 1905). This amount equals 127,484 litres of ale.

<sup>32</sup> WAM 12188 *passim*. This means that the average ration of ale was half a gallon per day for ordinary household members. The calculation was based on all members of the

Sir Petre's accounts it is clear that ale in his household was only for the young, the sick, the ladies, and those who preferred ale to the slightly bitter beer.<sup>33</sup>

In the late Middle Ages, ready-brewed ale was purchased as shows the case of Elizabeth Berkeley whose ale was purchased when needed rather than being home-brewed.<sup>34</sup> The household of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, in years 1503–1504 purchased ale almost exclusively. His accounts for the period of 1507–1508 show that the Duke, Duchess, Chancellor, and Auditor were served ale only, while the rest of the household were issued with ale and beer.<sup>35</sup> The household of Sir Edward Don purchased ale on a regular basis. Even households that brewed their own ale would sometimes supplement their supplies from the market.<sup>36</sup> According to Kate Mertes, the households of dukes and earls as well as the households that moved about a great deal purchased their ale together with cheese, bread and butter from local producers rather than made it.<sup>37</sup>

Ale was not only served on an every-day basis as a drink that accompanied all meals from the morning to the evening, but it was also a component of feasts. The first fully detailed menu for an English feast is found in the late thirteenth-century *Treatise of Walter of Bibbesworth*, an Anglo-Norman text which reads:

A fashionable yeoman who came from a great banquet has told us about the feast, how their service was ordered. Without bread and wine and ale, no one at a feast will be at ease, but the choicest of all three were provided there, he has told us.<sup>38</sup>

In 1504, at the enthronement feast of Archbishop Warham, which occurred on a fast day, no meat, poultry or game was included in the menu, but plentiful compensation was found in the lavish assortment of confectionery, spices, ale and wine. "Of wine of various vintages there were upwards of 12 pipes, and of ale and beer, thirty tuns,<sup>39</sup> including four of London and six of Kentish ale."<sup>40</sup>

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household although those eating breakfast drank 0.75 gallon and some of them did not drink ale but wine.

<sup>33</sup> F. G. Emmison, *Tudor Secretary Sir William Petre at Court and Home* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1961), pp. 148–149.

<sup>34</sup> C. Ross, "The Household Accounts of Elizabeth Berkeley, Countess of Warwick, 1420–1421", *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society*, 70 (1951), p. 99.

<sup>35</sup> SRO D (W) 1721/1/5, pp. 14–15.

<sup>36</sup> C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 57.

<sup>37</sup> K. Mertes, *The English Noble Household 1250–1600. Good Governance and Politic Rule* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), p. 101.

<sup>38</sup> *Curye on Inglysch: English Culinary Manuscripts of the Fourteenth-Century (Including the Forme of Cury)*, ed. C. B. Heiatt, S. Butler (London: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 3.

<sup>39</sup> A tun (tonnel) equalled 2 pipes, 252 gallons, 953.92 litres.

<sup>40</sup> W. C. Hazlitt, *Old Cookery Books and Ancient Cuisine*, on-line edition, <[http://etext.library.adelaide.edu.au/h/hazlitt/william\\_carew/h431o/complete.html](http://etext.library.adelaide.edu.au/h/hazlitt/william_carew/h431o/complete.html)>; accessed on March 15, 2008.

In towns ale was mostly purchased and the large number of brewers suggests high levels of ale consumption. For instance, in Colchester in 1311 there was a brewer for every thirty people.<sup>41</sup> In the Middle Ages, many of the town brewers were women<sup>42</sup> who tried to earn some extra money by selling ale to whoever would buy it in a variety of places. Over the course of the fourteenth, and particularly the fifteenth century, the selling of ale became more sophisticated and located. Although some women still took ale to the market, it was rather around the brewing place where ale was increasingly sold and consumed. As brewing became commercialized,<sup>43</sup> women brewers were replaced by men who became also ale-sellers. In the vicinity of their brewing place they provided a 'drinking room' where the customers could stay and drink their ale. As drinking encourages eating, so the provision of basic foods became common.<sup>44</sup> Soon, it was made obligatory for brewers to put out a long stake above his door on the end of which was a bunch of leaves or a bush. It showed that he was awaiting the 'ale-conner' or 'ale-tester' to evaluate his ale and fix its price. Brewers who failed to observe the prices were fined.<sup>45</sup> Ale was sold in containers of a gallon, pottle and quart. According to medieval regulations brewers were expected to sell first to consumers, rather than to retailers who would resale it later for higher price. As the Assize of Bread and Ale fixed the price of ale, it was to be sold at 2d. for two gallons if barley cost 20d.<sup>46</sup> What is more, ale was to be sold publicly, and not at the back door.<sup>47</sup> Drummond and Wilbraham say that villagers brewed a crude ale in their homes while the manors brewed large quantities for their own use and to supply the village ale house.<sup>48</sup>

Ale played a significant role in raising money for the upkeep of parishes in medieval and early modern England. Events called 'ales' were common in the south of England and the South Midlands. These were days of merrymaking, with food, drink, dancing and games. Many church ales were organised at Whitsun taking the generic name "Whitsun ales." Church ales took place in other times of the year too,

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<sup>41</sup> Dyer, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

<sup>42</sup> For instance, in fifteenth century London Fleet Street was tenanted by 'alewives.'

<sup>43</sup> The brewing was successfully replaced by medium-sized operations of about eight to ten people who were typically members of the brewer's family. This type of production spread to Holland in the fourteenth century and later to Flanders, Brabant and reached England by the late fifteenth century. *Medieval Science, Technology, and Medicine: an encyclopedia, op. cit.*, s.v. 'brewing.'

<sup>44</sup> P. Clark, *The English Alehouse – A Social History 1200–1800* (London: Longman, 1983), p. 133.

<sup>45</sup> In fourteenth century London it was ordained that the penalty for a first offence was three days in prison and 40d. paid as a fine, for a second offence six days in prison and a fine of half a mark, and for the third offence the brewer was banned from the city.

<sup>46</sup> P. Hammond, *Food and Feast in Medieval England* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 1993), p. 51.

<sup>47</sup> Dyer, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

<sup>48</sup> J. C. Drummond and A. Wilbraham, *The Englishman's Food* (London: J. Cape, 1957), p. 44.

most often, however, when need arose.<sup>49</sup> The church ale was usually celebrated in a house known as the Church House, which was either hired for the festival, or was a house to which the parishioners had a right to resort upon occasions of this character.<sup>50</sup> Soon church ales became occasions for heavy drinking and some bishops tried to prohibit the holding of these events in their dioceses. What is more, other rustic feasts at which ale was freely drunk earned more and more popularity. Harrison mentions weddings (bride-ales), funerals (soul-ales, called also dirge-ales), and help-ales, which were celebrations of rural work completed with the help of neighbours.<sup>51</sup> Another variety of the ale was called Mary ale, and was a feast held in honour of the Virgin Mary. There were also bid ales, give ales, cuckoo ales, tithe ales, leet ales, lamb ales, midsummer ales and Scot ales.

Ale was often used as the base for other drinks, as for example posset, which was prepared according to a recipe:

Put a pint of good Milk to boil; as soon as it doth so, take it from the fire, to let the great heat of it cool a little; for doing so, the curd will be the tenderer, and the whole of a more uniform consistence. When it is prettily cooled, pour it into your pot, wherein is about two spoonfuls of Sack, and about four of Ale, with sufficient Sugar dissolved in them. So let it stand a while near the fire, till you eat it.<sup>52</sup>

Another popular drink was braggot<sup>53</sup> made, in its simplest form, from ale, honey and powdered pepper according to such recipe:

Ad Faciendum brakott. Take fourteen gallons of good fine ale whose malt is doubly mashed, put it into an earthenware vessel and let it stand for three or four days until settled. Then add in a quart of fine malt and half a quart of unclarified honey, and set it to boil on the fire, skimming until it is clear. Add in a pennyworth each of ground pepper and ground cloves, and boil everything well together. Take it off the fire, let it cool and pour off the clear liquid into vessel; put the remaining grounds in a bag, put this into the vessel along with fresh yeast, and stop it up air-tight with a linen cloth for three or four days before you drink it.<sup>54</sup>

Lamb's wool was a version of mulled ale prepared for special occasions, particularly winter celebrations such as Halloween, Christmas Eve and Twelfth Night but also New Year. The lamb's wool was made with hot ale, some versions had hot cider or more rarely wine as its base, to which sugar and spices such as nutmeg, ginger, or cinnamon were added, along with apples as the essential ingredient.

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<sup>49</sup> S. Roud, *The English Year: A Month-by-Month Guide to the Nation's Customs and Festivals, from May Day to Mischief Night* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), p. 194.

<sup>50</sup> Bickerdyke, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

<sup>51</sup> Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>52</sup> K. Digby, *The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelme Digbie Knight Opened* [1669] (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1910), p. 112.

<sup>53</sup> Bragget, bracket, bragwort, brakott – the name most probably comes from Old Celtic *bracata*, the Gaulish name of a kind of grain. *OED* s.v. 'bragget.'

<sup>54</sup> British Library, MS. Royal 17. A.iii, f. 123r, [in:] *Curye on Inglysch*, *op. cit.*, pp. 149–150.

Apples had been roasted or baked before going into the liquid so that their pulp fell apart giving the appearance of lamb's wool.<sup>55</sup>

Although the English originally preferred hops-free ale, continental influences steadily increased the consumption of beer. The process of brewing beer was almost identical with that of ale, the only major difference being hops added to beer. Ale was often produced with addition of herbs which included ground ivy, rosemary and alecost which gave ale a bitter taste. Spices such as long pepper, nutmeg, cinnamon were also introduced to sharpen the taste of the ale. In beer brewing the malt also went through three stages of mixing it with water, the first of which produced very strong beer which could keep for up to two years. In the next process called sparging more hot water was added to rinse the last of the sugars off the grains. Usually, a second and third infusions were made, the third resulting in small beer, which was very weak and everyone, from the highest to the lowest, and from the oldest to the youngest drank this when they were thirsty.<sup>56</sup> An essential difference between ale and beer was that for a beer, the wort had to be boiled with the hops ("in summer two hours and in winter an hour and an half"<sup>57</sup>), a change in technology that had long-reaching consequences for the preservation, as well as taste and nutritional value of the beer.

When beer was introduced, it was considered a separate beverage from ale, and was regulated separately.<sup>58</sup> Under the 1441 English assize, double *kuit* or *coyt*<sup>59</sup> cost one-third more than single *coyt*, and while the price of single *coyt* was fixed at two shillings a barrel, the price of double *coyt* varied with the price of grain.<sup>60</sup> Hops were introduced into Britain from Flanders where, by the fourteenth century hopped beer had become an important drink.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> S. Roud, *The English Year: A Month-by-Month Guide to the Nation's Customs and Festivals, from May Day to Mischief Night* (London, 2006), p. 15.

<sup>56</sup> The spent grain, which still was of some nutritional value, was generally used, along with other by-products from the brewing process, as animal feed.

<sup>57</sup> Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>58</sup> In 1441 beer was made subject to an assize. See: J. Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures. A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 112.

<sup>59</sup> 'Coyt' derives from Old Flemish *kuyte* thin beer. A. Boorde defines *coyte* as "a drynke made of water, in the whiche is layde a sowre and a salt leuyn iii. or iiii hours; than it is dronke." A. Boorde, *op. cit.*, p. 258. Double *coyt* was twice boiled beer.

<sup>60</sup> Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 335; L. F. Salzman, *English Life in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921), pp. 293–294.

<sup>61</sup> Hops had been used by monastery breweries, such as Corvey in Westphalia, Germany, from 822 AD, though the date normally given for widespread cultivation of hops for use in beer is the thirteenth century. R. W. Unger, *Beer in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Philadelphia, 2007), pp. 54–55.

About the year 1524 a large number of Flemish immigrants settled in Kent, cultivated hops and brewed beer, and soon caused that county to become famous for its hop gardens and the excellence of their produce.<sup>62</sup>

By the early sixteenth century, hops were cultivated also in Essex, Worcestershire, Cornwall and Yorkshire, and beer was beginning to displace unhopped ales. Hops added a measure of bitterness to the beer, and also helped preserve it, although the weaker types of beer did not keep for long.<sup>63</sup> At first hops were looked at with suspicion because their bitter flavour was disliked by many.<sup>64</sup> In 1436 king Henry VI tried to ease these fears with a commendation of beer as “notable, healthy, and temperate.”<sup>65</sup> But in 1524, hops were condemned as an adulteration by king Henry VIII, and an injunction against their use was issued.<sup>66</sup> Andrew Boorde did not consider beer as a natural drink for an Englishman, as was the case of the ale.

“Bere [...] is a naturall drynke for a Dutche man. [...] it is moche vsed in Englande to the detriment of many Englysshe men; specially it kylleth them the which be troubled with the colycke, and the stone, & the strangulion.”

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<sup>62</sup> Bickerdyke, *op. cit.*, p. 70. The introduction of hops into England has been generally assigned to the early part of the sixteenth century. “Hops, Reformation, bays and beer Came into England all in one year” goes a rhyme from that time based on Henry Buttes’ *Dyets Dry Dinner*. It points to a period subsequent to 1520 as the time when the great improvement of adding hops to malt liquors was first practised in England. This of course relates to the cultivation of hops in England because hopped beer as a continental innovation had been imported before from Low Countries, north Germany and Poland. For more information on hops and beer see H. M. Esslinger (ed.), *Handbook of Brewing: Processes, Technology, Markets* (Weinheim: Wiley-VCH Verlag, 2009); [H. A. Monckton], *A History of English Ale and Beer* (London: The Bodley Head, 1966). Tusser in his *Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie* gives a very practical “lesson where and when to plant a good hop-yard.” See T. Tusser, *Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie*, eds. W. Payne, S. J. Herrtage (London: English Dialect Society, 1878), pp. 120–121.

<sup>63</sup> Hugh Platt provides some instructions on how to revive sour beer. He recommends putting some ground malt into the barrel or adding some new, strong beer and stir it well. He suggests putting oyster shells or salt into the barrel too. H. Platt, *The Jewell House of Art and Nature* (London: Peter Short, 1594), p. 59.

<sup>64</sup> Recent studies showed that hops contain several characteristics that give beer its unique character. Hops contribute a bitterness that balances the sweetness of the malt; they contribute floral, citrus, and herbal aromas and flavours to beer; they have an antibiotic effect that favours the activity of brewer’s yeast over less desirable microorganisms; what is more, the acidity of hops is a preservative. C. A. Blanco *et al.*, “A Better Control of Beer Properties by Predicting Acidity of Hop iso- $\alpha$ -acids”, *Trends in Food Science & Technology*, 17 (7), 2006, pp. 373–377.

<sup>65</sup> M. de la Falaise, ed. A. Boxer, *Seven Centuries of English Cooking* (New York: Grove Press, 1973), p. 19.

<sup>66</sup> In the 1526 Eltham Ordinances of Henry VIII forbade the royal brewer to put hops or brimstone into his ale. However, it must be remembered that this and other Tudor-era regulations prohibiting the use of hops in ale do not indicate, as is occasionally thought, that hops were outlawed in England, but rather that laws were passed to maintain the distinction between ale and beer. Henry himself did not forbid brewing beer but wanted to have pure ale.

Boorde explains that beer is dominated by coldness and as such may be dangerous to man's health; "yet it doth make a man fat, and doth inflate the bely."<sup>67</sup>

However, it was not long before some began to believe that hopped beers were, in fact, medicinally beneficial. Besides, hops allowed the brewer to produce more beer from the same amount of malt.<sup>68</sup>

In nobleman's household brewing was a home based activity and a brewhouse was essential part of his house. From the thirteenth century through to the sixteenth century and even later on, the brewing of ale and beer and baking of bread were inseparable activities, usually being carried out in adjacent rooms or buildings. It was because both processes required ready access to grain and water as well as both needed warmth to activate yeasts.<sup>69</sup> Andrew Boorde, in his directions for building a country house, writes: "and also the backe-howse and brew-howse shuld be a dystaunce from the place and from other buyldyng."<sup>70</sup> Some useful rules of home brewing can be found in a sixteenth century manual on household and estate management by Thomas Tusser:

Where brewing is needfull, be brewer thy selfe,  
what filleth the roofe will helpe furnish the shelve  
In buieng of drinke, by the firkin or pot,  
the tallie ariseth, but hog amendes not.  
One bushell well brewed, outlasteth some twaine,  
and saueth both mault, and expences in vaine.  
Too new is no profite, too stale is as bad,  
drinke dead or else sower makes laborer sad.  
Seeth grains in more water, while grains be yet hot,  
and stirre them in copper, as poredge in pot.  
Such heating with straw, to haue offall good store,  
both pleaseth and easeth, what would ye haue more.<sup>71</sup>

Brewing ale and beer was responsibility of a brewer who was expected to be skilful in his job and also honest.<sup>72</sup> Although the task of brewing was predominantly a woman's job, the gentry and nobility employed men as brewers rather than women.

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<sup>67</sup> Boorde, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

<sup>68</sup> R. Scot states that "whereas you cannot make above 8–9 gallons of a very indifferent ale from a bushell of malt, you may draw 18–20 gallons of very good beer." R. Scot, *A Perfite Platforme for a Hoppe Garden* (London, 1574).

<sup>69</sup> P. Brears, *Cooking and Dining in Medieval England* (Trowbridge: Prospect Books, 2008), p. 87.

<sup>70</sup> Boorde, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

<sup>71</sup> Tusser, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–171.

<sup>72</sup> The brewer should "stir the mault when it is in the fatt with the liquor, and not to leave the strength of the maulte to remaine in the graines, being their fees." The reason is that if someone buys the malt containing still much sugar in it from the brewer "may draw good drincke forth therof." [R. Brathwaite], *Some Rules and Orders for the Government of the House of an Earle* (London, 1821), p. 38.

In 1555, the Vernons employed Geoffrey Hunt as their brewer.<sup>73</sup> The household of Sir William Petre's employed a part-time brewer at Ingatestone.<sup>74</sup> Sir Edward Don's account book is full of references to the brewers. In November 1527 he paid 5d. "to Crystyane the brewar."<sup>75</sup> The inventory of the Ingatestone Hall casts some light on the equipment that was used by a brewer. Among things that were recorded in 1600 one can find rowers for stirring the barley in, scavel, jets, mashing vat, sweet wort tun, copper for boiling wort, cooler, chunk to which the wort was poured, yealding vat in which the wort fermented, cowls, yeast-tubs, roudlets, baskets called skeps, leaden troughs.<sup>76</sup> The requisites of a brewhouse of the fourteenth or fifteenth century are described in a Latin-English Vocabulary of the period:

Brasiatrix, a brewster [a female brewer].  
 Cima, a kymnelle [a mash tub]. Fornax, a furnasse.  
 Alveum, a trogh. Brasium, make. Barzissa, wortte.  
 Dragium, draf [grains]. Calderium, a caldron.  
 Taratantarum, a temse [sieve]. Cuvella, a kunlion [small tub].  
 Ydromellum, growte. Mola, a quern [handmill].  
 Pruera, ling [a broom made of ling].<sup>77</sup>

Like ale, beer was drunk for breakfast, dinner and supper. In great households a standard daily food ration allowed every individual between two and three pounds of wheat bread and about a gallon of ale or beer.<sup>78</sup> The noontide breakfast provided for the lord and lady in the household of the fifth Earl of Northumberland on fish days consisted of a loaf of bread, two manchets, a quart of beer and one of wine, two pieces of salt fish, and six baked herrings or a dish of sprats. Lord Percy and Master Thomas Percy had half a loaf of household bread, a manchet, a pottle<sup>79</sup> of beer, a dish of butter, a piece of salt fish, and a dish of sprats or three white herrings.<sup>80</sup> Small households with limited storage brewed beer frequently, whilst manor houses tended to brew mainly in March and October.<sup>81</sup> As Harrington explains, "the beer that is used at no-

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<sup>73</sup> W. A. Carrington (ed.), "Selections from the Steward's Accounts Preserved at Haddon Hall, for the Years 1549 and 1564", *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 16 (1894), p. 81.

<sup>74</sup> Emmison, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

<sup>75</sup> WRO, CR 895/106, f. 124v.

<sup>76</sup> F. G. Emmison, *Inventory of Ingatestone Hall in 1600* (Essex: Essex Education Committee 1954), p. 17.

<sup>77</sup> Bickerdyke, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>78</sup> It is about 1–1.3 kg of bread. C. Dyer, "English Diet in the Later Middle Ages", [in:] T. H. Aston, P. R. Cross, C. Dyer and J. Thirsk, *Social Relations and Ideas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 192–193.

<sup>79</sup> Pottle = 2 quarts (4 pints).

<sup>80</sup> Percy, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>81</sup> The reason could be the problem of controlling the temperature when brewing; in March and October it was neither too hot nor too cold and the brewing process could run smoothly.

blemen's tables in their fixed and standing houses is commonly of a year old, or per-adventure of two years' tunning or more, but this is not general. It is also brewed in March and therefore called March beer."<sup>82</sup> It was only the stronger March or October beer that kept all year; other weaker beer lasted a few months, but no longer. Beer was also regarded as food, not only a drink. It provided all the main nutrients and vitamin B. The only nutrient it did not provide was fat.

The Northumberland household used one pound of hops to each quarter of malt. The strength of beer depended on when it was brewed, i.e. it was made stronger in the summer by producing eighty-eight gallons to the quarter, whereas in the winter the yield was ninety-one gallons of beer from each quarter of malt. This practice was easily explained by stating that "Beere must be maide bygger in Somer than in Winter for turnynge."<sup>83</sup> John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, in 1481, bought 562 lb of hops for his brewer<sup>84</sup> but in 1468 he had purchased beer.<sup>85</sup> In the household of William Petre two kinds of beer were drunk, namely household beer, or 'single beer,' which was the weaker drink, and 'March beer,' a stronger brew.<sup>86</sup> The household of Robert Waterton, in 1416–1417, consumed five and a half barrels of beer.<sup>87</sup> Thomas, the third Baron Paget, his family and retainers, in the week ending 8<sup>th</sup> January 1579, drank twenty hogsheads of beer, which cost £6 and only one hogshead of ale, which cost 7s. 6c. Beer drunk by this household in the week ending 11<sup>th</sup> March totalled five hogsheads and only ¼ hogshead of ale was consumed.<sup>88</sup> During the week ending 10<sup>th</sup> July 1587, the household of Henry, Earl of Derby, consumed twenty-one hogsheads of beer together with other foods and drinks.<sup>89</sup> The household of Sir Edward Don made their own beer,<sup>90</sup> however some

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<sup>82</sup> Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

<sup>83</sup> Percy, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

<sup>84</sup> *Household Books of John, Duke of Norfolk and Thomas, Earl of Surrey, 1481–1490*, ed. J. P. Collier (London: printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1844), p. 56.

<sup>85</sup> B. Botfield (ed.), *Manners and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London: W. Nicol, 1841), pp. 512–515 and 517.

<sup>86</sup> ERO, D/DP A3.

<sup>87</sup> Woolgar, "Household Accounts from Medieval England", *op. cit.*, p. 514.

<sup>88</sup> *The Householde Booke Declaringe the Daylie and Weeklie Expences from the xvij Daie of October 1579*, the Staffordshire County Record Office, D/1734/3/3/280.

<sup>89</sup> Edward and Henry, Earls of Derby, *Household Books*, ed. F. R. Raines, Chetham Society (Manchester, 1853), II, p. 30.

<sup>90</sup> In the Don's accounts there are several entries for payment to the brewers, e.g. in December 1518 Sir Don paid twice 4d., in November 1524 he paid again 4d. "to the brewer for Saincte Clemment," in November 1527 he noted "gevyn to Crystyane the brewar v<sup>d</sup>." Another proof for brewing ale and beer in the household is the purchase of hops, for which in April 1528 he paid "to Bate for a quarter of hoppys iii<sup>s</sup> vi<sup>d</sup>." In May next year Sir Edward paid Bate again "for one quarterim of hoppys ii<sup>s</sup>." In May 1523 he paid 1d. for the barm. WRO, CR 895/106, ff. 41r., 80v., 111r., 124v., 128v., 137v.

amounts of beer were bought in Risborough<sup>91</sup> and when he was on his journeys.<sup>92</sup> The household accounts of the Willoughby family<sup>93</sup> show regular receipts of beer suggesting that it was brewed very often. In 1588, for instance, six hogsheads were received each time brewing took place and the ratio was six hogsheads for two and a half quarters of malt.<sup>94</sup>

Brewing enjoyed great success in the Renaissance with production and consumption rising. The success was based on the development of methods of producing hopped beer in the closing centuries of the Middle Ages.<sup>95</sup> In Elizabethan times, beer was brewed in three strengths: single, or 'small beer,' double, or 'strong,' and double-double, or 'very strong.' Originally the names must have originated from the use of twice the weight of malt for the brew or boiling the wort twice.<sup>96</sup> Brewers had rather concentrated on double-double strength which fetched the highest price. However, Queen Elizabeth I preferred single and in 1560 ordered that brewing of double-double be stopped and that production of single be increased substantially. Soon large-scale beer brewing replaced domestic ale brewing and reached industrial scale to such an extent that English beer was exported.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> The market in Risborough was granted by King Henry III.

<sup>92</sup> Sir Edward paid 1d. for a bottle of beer on the 12<sup>th</sup> July 1532 and on 22<sup>nd</sup> July 3d. for ale and beer in bottles from Risborough. On 21<sup>st</sup> August that year he bought "a bottell of bere from Rysborow" for which he paid 1d. and in August 1533 he paid 1d. for "one bottell of bere from Whyttoks" and two days later 4d. for "bere in bottles from Whyttoks." WRO, CR 895/106, ff. 191v., 192r., 194r., 214r.

<sup>93</sup> The accounts are contained in the Middleton archive housed in the University of Nottingham's Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections.

<sup>94</sup> Middleton, *MiA27, MiA69, MiA74, MiA76*.

<sup>95</sup> *Medieval Science, Technology, and Medicine, op. cit.*, s.v. 'brewing.'

<sup>96</sup> In 1552 the strength and quality of single and double beers were defined in the following way: "«Of every quarter of grayne that any beare-bruer shall brewe of doble beare, he shall drawe fowre barrells and one fyrkyn of goode holsome drynke for mannes bodye,» and double that quantity of single beer." [J. Bickerdyke, *The Curiosities of Ale and Beer* (London, 1889), p. 155]. In the same year, the London authorities tried to enforce by law the use of twice the malt for double beer. However, by 1560 'double-double' beer was being made, which indicated the probable failure of the attempt. See: P. Clerke, *English Alehouse: a Social History 1200–1830* (London: Longmans, 1983), pp. 22–24; Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

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## **Ale i piwo: podstawowe napoje w średniowiecznej i renesansowej Anglii**

### **Streszczenie**

*Ale* znane było na Wyspach Brytyjskich od wieków. Celtowie produkowali wywar podobny do owsianki z dodatkiem różnych ziół. Anglosasi z kolei warzyli wiele rodzajów *ale*, i wiele z angielskich terminów używanych w piwowarstwie pochodzi z ich języka. Napój ten odgrywał również istotną rolę w życiu codziennym w Normañskiej Brytanii aż do czasów Tudorów, kiedy to zaczął konkurować z piwem. Oba były w Średniowieczu i wczesnym Renesansie napojami najczęściej spożywanymi, zarówno przez bogatych jak i biednych, dorosłych i dzieci. W domach szlacheckich warzenie piwa należało do zwykłych czynności gospodarskich, a warzelnia była kluczowym budynkiem na terenie posiadłości. Oba napoje warzono w podobny sposób, jedynie do piwa dodawano chmiel. Początkowo nieufnie traktowano dodatek chmielu, którego gorzki smak wielu nie przypadł do gustu. *Ale* i piwo podawano do wszystkich posiłków, również w czasie uczt i z okazji uroczystości. W miastach piwo i *ale* najczęściej kupowano od producentów: ogromna ilość browarów sugeruje, że poziom spożycia tych napojów był wysoki.

# Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis

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## CHURCHILL'S VISIT TO CYPRUS IN 1907: ENOSIS AND CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

### Summary

Churchill, when still a young politician, in October 1907 visited Cyprus in his capacity of under-secretary of state for the colonies. The island *de jure* belonged still to the Ottoman Empire, but since 1878 it had been occupied and administered by the British. Churchill's visit took place against a backdrop of growing Cypriot politicization, *enosis* (union with Greece) and constitutional issues being the major issues of the day. Churchill was not in position to make policy decisions on the island future, but as the documents preserved in the National Archives in Kew and Secretariat Archives in Nicosia show, during his meetings with Greek and Turkish Cypriot delegations he tactfully deflected the question of *enosis* or any constitutional changes.

In 1907 Winston S. Churchill's great political career was only starting, and that not without difficulties. He was already a perennial subject of gossip and speculation. Physically he was unimpressive. Slenderly built, with delicate skin, ginger hair, and a "pugnacious baby face with twinkling blue eyes," he was described as "striking but not handsome."<sup>1</sup> Though he was a fluent writer, he spoke with a lisp and his speeches were the result of long and elaborate preparation. On those who met him he generally made an instant and powerful impression, though not always a favourable one. Although he was an offspring of the landed aristocracy and a descendant of the famous first duke of Marlborough, he was far from the English ideal of a gentleman. When Beatrice Webb met him in 1903, she thought he was "egotistical, bumptious, shallow-minded and reactionary, but with a certain personal magnetism, great pluck and some originality, not of intellect but of character. More of the American speculator than the English aristocrat."<sup>2</sup>

Churchill was elected as a Conservative MP in 1900, but disappointed by lack of progress in his political career, in 1904 he crossed the floor of the house, which gave rise to the accusation that he was a turncoat. When Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman

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<sup>1</sup> P. Addison, "Churchill, Sir Winston Leonard Spencer (1874–1965)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn. [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32413, accessed 2 August 2013].

<sup>2</sup> *The Diary of Beatrice Webb*, ed. N. MacKenzie and J. MacKenzie, 4 vols. (London: Virago, 1982–5), 2, p. 287.

became prime minister in December 1905, Churchill achieved ministerial office for the first time as under-secretary at the Colonial Office. Since the colonial secretary, Lord Elgin, was a member of the House of Lords, Churchill had the responsibility of handling colonial affairs in the Commons.

Delighted by his new responsibilities, Churchill became very much interested in the affairs of British colonies. Hyam writes that he "had a generous and sensitive, if highly paternalistic, sympathy for subject peoples, and a determination to see that justice was done to humble individuals throughout the empire."<sup>3</sup> Already in 1899 he published a strikingly sympathetic story of the Sudanese revolt against Egyptian rule, entitled *The River War*, where he wrote:

Those whose practice it is to regard their own nation as possessing a monopoly of virtue and common sense are wont to ascribe every military enterprise of savage people to fanaticism. They calmly ignore obvious and legitimate motives [...] upon the whole there exists no better case for rebellion than presented itself to the Sudanese.<sup>4</sup>

During his maiden speech to the House of Commons on 18 February 1901, when talking on the war in South Africa, he alarmed his colleagues declaring: "If I were a Boer I hope I should be fighting in the field."<sup>5</sup> But although he was also critical of aspects of British imperialism, for example, censuring Kitchener for his part in the desecration of the Mahdi's tomb and the slaughter of wounded dervish soldiers, he never doubted the "civilizing mission" of the British in Asia and Africa. The journalist J. B. Atkins, who sailed to South Africa on the same ship, recalled:

He was slim, slightly reddish-haired, pale, lively, frequently plunging along the deck "with neck out-thrust" as Browning fancied Napoleon [...] when the prospects of a career like that of his father, Lord Randolph, excited him, then such a gleam shone from him that he was almost transfigured. I had not before encountered this sort of ambition, unabashed, frankly egotistical, communicating its excitement, and extorting sympathy.<sup>6</sup>

In autumn 1907 Churchill set out on a tour of east Africa which began as a hunting expedition but turned into a semi-official inquiry into colonial affairs. In the interludes Churchill dictated memoranda for the Colonial Office, and a series of articles for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, later published as *My African Journey* (1908). The first step on the journey was Cyprus. Churchill's visit to the island took place against a backdrop of growing Cypriot politicization.

In the 1870s, the fortunes of the Ottoman Empire of which Cyprus had been part since 1571, assumed new dimensions. Its demise, the fear of Russian advance into the Balkans and the Mediterranean and the development of a new European Order based on the emergence of new nations and the search for new markets and territories by the established and emerging industrialised nations, meant that

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<sup>3</sup> R. Hyam, *Churchill and Elgin at the Colonial Office* (London: Macmillan, 1968), p. 503.

<sup>4</sup> W. Churchill, *The River War*, 2 vols. (London: New English Library, 1973), 1, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> M. Gilbert, *Churchill: A Life* (London: Heinemann, 1991), p. 139.

<sup>6</sup> J. B. Atkins, *Incidents and Reflections* (London: Christophers, 1947), p. 122.

Cyprus became a prized possession. On 4 June 1878 the secret Cyprus Convention was signed between Great Britain and Turkey. In return for protection, the sultan transferred the island to the British Crown “to occupy and administer” for an undefined period. If, however, Russia at any time restored to Turkey her three Armenian conquests of 1877 (Batoum, Ardahan, and Kars) then Cyprus was to be evacuated and returned to Turkey. Cyprus directly commanded the entrance to the Suez Canal, the coasts of Palestine and Syria, and the southern provinces of Asia Minor. With Gibraltar in the east of the Mediterranean, Malta in the centre and now Cyprus in the east, the process of converting it into a distant “British lake” was complete.<sup>7</sup> At the end of Turkish domination, Cyprus had been run down as never before in its history. With the change to Britain there seemed to be bright future for the island as a British naval base. Under the benevolent administration of the British, Cypriots would become well-to-do British subjects, Queen Victoria’s proclamation promising

[...] the adoption of such measures as may appear best calculated to promote and extend the commerce and agriculture of the country, and to afford to the people the blessings of freedom, justice, and security. It is Her Majesty’s gracious pleasure that the Government of Cyprus shall be administered without favour to any race or creed; that equal justice shall be done to all, that all shall enjoy alike the equal and impartial protection of the law ; and that no measures shall be neglected which may tend to advance the moral and material welfare of the people.<sup>8</sup>

But this bright picture did not become true because three years later, in 1881, as a result of the revolt of the Egyptian army, the British intervention led to a permanent military occupation of Egypt and the Suez Canal. Thus, the British no longer needed to develop Cyprus as a *Place d’Armes*, but decided to keep the island and use it as a source of revenue to redeem the Turkish loan of 1855, collecting the so called “tribute.”<sup>9</sup>

Soon after the British took over, in 1882, the Ministry of Colonies gave Cyprus a Constitution. Power on the island was vested in the Commissioner, who was helped in his duties by a Legislative Council consisting of 18 members. The six of who were appointed by the Commissioner, nine “non-Moslem” were elected by Greek Cypriots and three “Moslem” by Turkish Cypriots for a five year term. This was in reality a parody of a Parliament, where six official members supported usually by the Moslem members and combined with the casting vote of the Commissioner and imposed laws and taxes in accordance with the wishes of the administration.

One of the biggest obstacles for the enforcement of British rule was the Orthodox clergy. In Ottoman times they possessed great privileges that could only have been

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<sup>7</sup> D. E. Lee, *Great Britain and the Cyprus Convention Policy of 1878* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934); C. W. Orr, *Cyprus under British Rule* (London: Robert Scott, 1918), p. 36.

<sup>8</sup> Proclamation by His Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, Knight Grand Cross of the most distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Commander of the most honourable Order of the Bath, Her Majesty’s High Commissioner for the Island of Cyprus, 22 July 1878, [in:] C. W. Orr, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–41.

<sup>9</sup> The question of the “tribute” will be dealt with in detail in a forthcoming article.

obtained by collaborating and becoming part of the Ottoman system of corruption, suppression and exploitation. Indeed, the Archbishop of the autocephalous church of Cyprus was, according to the millet system, the leader of the community, the *millet basi*, or the *ethnarch* in Greek. This high position had its price since the Porte expected the Archbishop to guide his community according to their wishes and, e.g., collect the taxes for them. Since the Ottoman conferred more and more power on the Archbishop one could speak of a condominium. The (Protestant) British not only did not acknowledge the position of the *ethnarch*, but they also rejected the Orthodox bishops' demands to preserve church rights, to exempt church land from tax, to protect indebted priests from prison and forced labour and even to sign a church-state concordat to define relations.<sup>10</sup> Prime Minister Salisbury was clear that in Cyprus "the clergy have used the weakness of Turkish rule [...] to consolidate a power over their people which is inconsistent with all modern views of civil government."<sup>11</sup>

No wonder then, that the clergy became the leaders of the quest for union with the newly created kingdom of Greece, called in Greek *enosis*. In 1844 Prime Minister of Greece, John Kolettis presented the essence of the so-called *Megali Idea*, the Great Idea, which in practice aimed at the recreation of the Byzantine Empire at its apogee:

The kingdom of Greece is not Greece; it is only a part, the smallest and the poorest, of Greece. A Greek is not only he who lives in the kingdom, but also he who lives [...] in whatever country is historically Greek, or whoever is of the Greek race. Constantinople is the great capital, the City, the joy and hope of the Hellenes.<sup>12</sup>

Until 1878 the quest for *enosis* was a dream of a few Greek Cypriot upper class idealists in towns who had only very few followers. They had noticed that in 1863 Great Britain handed over the Ionian Islands to Greece and hoped that Britain would repeat this gesture in the case of Cyprus. But two years before the British arrived, Greece's vice-consul in Cyprus lamented to Athens that "the spirit of Hellenism in some place is asleep and in others totally non-existent."<sup>13</sup>

Archbishop Sophronios, welcoming the first British High Commissioner, Sir Garnet Wolseley, expressed the wish that the sorely tried island "may enjoy the fruits of a true civilisation and of a just rule." And he continued: —

We hope, therefore, that from now on a new life begins for the people of Cyprus; a new great period, which will become memorable in the annals of the island. We hope that we all, shall be instructed without distinction of race or creed, that law is the king of all; that all shall have equal rights and equal responsibility before the law, for equality of rights

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<sup>10</sup> National Archives, Foreign Office Correspondence, 4319, June–December 1879, Memorial to Wolseley, 16 February 1879.

<sup>11</sup> National Archives, Foreign Office, FO 421/32: Salisbury to Biddulph, 4 July 1879.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in S. G. Xydis, "Modern Greek Nationalism", [in:] *Nationalism in Eastern Europe*, eds. P. F. Sugar, I. J. Lederer (Seattle: Washington University Press, 1971), p. 237.

<sup>13</sup> Greek Foreign Ministry Archives quoted in Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus*, p. 55.

implies also equality of responsibility; that all shall be used to treading the good road, that is to say, the road of truth, of duty and of liberty.<sup>14</sup>

But according to many historians the Archbishop welcoming the British also said: “We accept the change of Government inasmuch as we trust that Great Britain will help Cyprus, as it did the Ionian Islands, to unite with Mother Greece.” These words were to dominate the Greek Cypriot political discourse during the British rule. But in 1996 it was proven that these words were not, in fact, said, but that local politicians invented the *enosis* declaration in 1903.<sup>15</sup> It may be, though, that the words were uttered not by Sophronios, but by Kyprianos, Bishop of Kitium, on welcoming the first High Commissioner at Larnaca. Kyprianos was to become the leader of the fight for *enosis*.<sup>16</sup>

At first the British seem to have been indifferent to *enosis*. Already Gladstone – when in opposition – called Cyprus “virtually a European Island,” alluded to its “Greekness” and declared it would want to join Greece and in 1880 even unofficially suggested this.<sup>17</sup> Most British politicians, however, doubted the “Greekness” of the Cypriots and would agree with the opinion of Hamilton Lang who wrote that:

The Cypriots are generally classified as Greeks, but from the earliest prehistoric times to this day their characteristics have been essentially distinct from those of the Greeks. They are deficient in their liveliness and nervous activity and they are not infected with monomania of Hellenic aspirations.<sup>18</sup>

The more educated quoted even the famous, if not very clear, phrase from Aeschylus’ *Suppliant Women* (ll. 282–3) to show that even in ancient times Cypriots were regarded by Greeks as “alien.”<sup>19</sup> It was also claimed that Cyprus never really was part of Greece:

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<sup>14</sup> Quoted in D. Alastos, *Cyprus in History. A Survey of 5000 Years* (Nicosia: Zeno, 1955), pp. 307–308.

<sup>15</sup> National Archives, CO 67/134, 42: Haynes Smith to Chamberlain, 28 March 1903, with Greek memorial; Katsiaounis, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–28.

<sup>16</sup> *The Times*, 7 August 1878, 10a–b.

<sup>17</sup> W. E. Gladstone, speech, *The Times*, 30 December 1879, 9a; W. E. Gladstone, “England’s Mission”, [in:] *Midlothian Speeches, 1879* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1971), 568–9; *The Times*, 25 March 1880, 7f. When in 1881 there were rumours that Cyprus had been offered to Greece, Gladstone, having received telegrams of thanks from a number of Greek Cypriots, replied that Cyprus was held by England as a part of the Ottoman Empire under the Convention with the Porte, and that “proposals which would be a violation of that Convention cannot be discussed.” Parliamentary Paper, Cmd 2730.

<sup>18</sup> H. Lang, *Cyprus: Its History, Its Present Resources and Future Prospects* (London: Macmillan, 1878), p. 204. Compare the opinion of E. Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1880), p. 300, that “one ought not to confuse the Cypriotes with the true Hellenes, for in many characteristics the two people are essentially different, almost, indeed forming a distinct race. The Cypriotes are dull and lazy, they have no ambition, not the patriotic longings of the Greeks [...] They are docile and extremely easily governed.”

<sup>19</sup> The summary of the long-lasting dispute as to the meaning of the phrase “Κύπριος χαρακτήρ” is given in K. Hadjioannou, *On the Interpretation of the Κύπριος χαρακτήρ of*

On what ground is this claim [for the union with Greece] of a section of the community based? Neither on historical nor on geographical grounds would there seem to be any real connection between Cyprus and modern Greece [...] Cyprus has belonged in the past to Egypt, to Persia, to Assyria, to Rome, to Venice, to Genoa, to the Ottoman Empire, but never to Greece. Nor can it, by the widest stretch of imagination, be said to form geographically one of the Greek islands.<sup>20</sup>

The official British policy was not to pay much attention to the developing interest in *enosis* among the Greek Cypriotes, and to reject their demands expressed in countless petitions, memoranda, resolutions and telegrams, that as they are part of the Greek nation, they should form a political part of the Greek Kingdom. But already in 1899 Tankerville Chamberlain, commissioner for Kyrenia, warned Chief Secretary Young:

Having watched the march of the Hellenic movement for [...] some thirteen years, I must respectfully submit the opinion that unless Her Majesty's Government intend to favour the annexation of Cyprus to Greece serious trouble will sooner or later [result] if something is not speedily done to check what is going on.<sup>21</sup>

Indeed, two years later, a statement made by Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the House of Commons that the cession of Cyprus to Greece would not meet with the general approval of its people who preferred to live under the domination of a rich Power rather than under that of a small and poor one, produced a flood of protests. The Greek-Cypriot deputies wrote in a memorial addressed to Chamberlain that

This [...] insinuation has touched the most sensitive chord of the heart of the Greek Cypriotes, who felt themselves offended to the inmost, as the casting of a doubt on the genuine and general aspirations of the Greek Cypriotes for their union with Mother Greece constitutes the greatest insult against them. It was, therefore, but natural that as soon as the Greek population of Cyprus took cognizance of the statement made by you officially in Parliament, they rose in one body in order to protest strongly and declare for the thousandth time in the presence of the whole civilised world that their ardent and inextinguishable desire is to be united with Greece, in the same way as it is the desire of the whole enthralled Hellenism. And we beg to submit on our behalf and on behalf of every educated Cypriote that we heard this insinuation with the same equanimity as one who would hear his own individuality doubted by another.

If obstacles beyond our control prevent the approachment of the blessed day of our union, we consider, nevertheless, that our national feelings and aspirations deserved

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*Aeschylus*, [in:] Πρακτικά του δεύτερου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού [sic] Συνεδρίου (Nicosia, 1985), A: 509–513; S. A. Hadjistyllis, Κύπριος χαρακτήρ (A. Supp. 282): A Discussion of a New Interpretation, *Ibid.*, A: 514–520; C. E. Hadjistephanou, Κύπριος χαρακτήρ in *Aeschylus' Supplices 282–3: A New Interpretation and Contextual Interpretation*, "Hermes" 118 (1990), pp. 282–291.

<sup>20</sup> Orr, *op. cit.*, pp. 162–163.

<sup>21</sup> National Archives, Colonial Office, CO 67/119, Confidential: Tankerville Chamberlain to Young, 7 June 1899.

greater respect by our rulers. It is true that the people of Cyprus are poor and small in number, but it must not be forgotten that in spite of its smallness, it has contributed to the propagation of civilisation in Europe and it has shown itself a hero for the preservation of its own nationality. It is a well-known fact that the Christian civilisation was transmitted from Asia to Europe through Cyprus, and, that the people of Cyprus are worthy of the estimation and admiration of the world for having preserved their language, their religion, and their national conscience so vividly through many centuries of servitude and persecution, and that as soon as the muzzle of servitude has been relaxed since the English occupation of Cyprus, the first phrase that came out of their breast was their desire for their union with Mother Greece.<sup>22</sup>

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In the morning of 9 October 1907, Churchill landed at Famagusta. He was the first member of the British Government to come to Cyprus since 1878.<sup>23</sup> The High Commissioner of Cyprus at that time was Sir Charles King-Harman, a genuinely popular figure in the island.<sup>24</sup> He had been informed of Churchill's proposed visit in a dispatch from Lord Elgin, the Colonial Secretary, already in July<sup>25</sup> and he expressed his pleasure at the visit and thought it too short to enable Churchill to see the island's attractions.<sup>26</sup> At the same time, however, he considered that in welcoming the Under-Secretary to Cyprus "there was no occasion for any decoration."<sup>27</sup> In the absence, therefore, of any official initiative,<sup>28</sup> the Cypriots themselves organised a fitting public reception for the distinguished guest. The Greek Cypriots decorated with the Hellenic national colours the towns visited by Churchill, with the exception of Kyrenia, whose inhabitants did not receive the information about the visit in time.

The leaders of the Hellenic agitation determined that every effort should be made to impress the Under-Secretary of State with the predominance of what was known in Greek circles in the island as "The National Idea." The columns of the local press called on the people with one heart and one voice to advocate union with Greece as the great ideal of the Cypriot nation. Greek flags were manufactured by

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<sup>22</sup> National Archives, Cyprus Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus, Cmd 3996 (1908): A Memorial from the Greek population of Cyprus to the Right Honourable Mr. J. Chamberlain, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, 12 February 1903, par. 39–40.

<sup>23</sup> The only detailed and well documented treatment of the visit is G. S. Georghallides, „Churchill's 1907 Visit to Cyprus: A Political Analysis", *Επετηρίς Του Κέντρον Επιστημονικών Ερευνών* 3 (1969–70): 167–220, which, however, concentrates mainly on the "tribute" question.

<sup>24</sup> The British High Commissioner in the period 1904–1911.

<sup>25</sup> Secretariat Archive, State Archives, Nicosia – hereafter cited S. A. – 2404/1907: Lord Elgin to King-Harman, Confidential, 12 July 1907.

<sup>26</sup> S. A. 2404/1907: King-Harman to Lord Elgin, Confidential, 19 July 1907.

<sup>27</sup> S. A. 2404/1907, No. 64F: King-Harman's minute to J. E. Clauson's note of 8 October 1907.

<sup>28</sup> S. A. 2404/1907: Clauson's minute of his conversation with A. Liasides, October 1907.

the thousand and school children were organized and drilled to wave the national standard effectively; the people were exhorted to assemble in their thousands, and to "vociferate unceasingly" their desire for the union.<sup>29</sup>

Landing in Famagusta went Churchill was welcome by crowds of mostly Greek Cypriots who were waving hundreds of Greek flags and shouting for the union with Greece. The Moslems having failed to find a place for themselves at the Famagusta bay, felt mortified and generally did not take part in the demonstrations. The mayor of Famagusta presented Churchill with an address on behalf of Greek Cypriots, in which he gave prominence to their desire for *enosis*. Turkish Cypriots were also ready with an address of welcome in which they repudiated the pretensions of their compatriots. In the afternoon Churchill proceeded by train to Nicosia.<sup>30</sup>

In October 1905 the British opened the first railway line, which ran from Famagusta to Nicosia. It was meant to boost Cypriot agricultural exports and, as *The Times of Cyprus* observed, "a railway would do more to educate, civilize and soften our rough peasantry by giving them the opportunities of visiting the large towns of the island that can well be imagined,"<sup>31</sup> but the "rough peasantry" were reluctant to ride on a railway, continuing to use camels, mules or donkeys to transport themselves and their produce, and were "content to gape at the passing train, as if it were intended to afford amusement rather than be of use."<sup>32</sup>

The railway, however, had an important role to play in the public life of the island, providing the official mode of transport for dignitaries and government officials arriving at Famagusta port. On such occasions one of the "miniature engines" would be draped in a Union flag and decorated with bunting, flags were hung above the footplate of one of the "box cars on wheels" that served as first-class carriages, and a commode was installed discretely inside. The official visitor was then required to stand on the open platform of the carriage for the next two hours waving at "curious peasantry," as he "chugged along backwards" to Nicosia.<sup>33</sup>

Winston Churchill was one of the first to endure this ritual. Photographs from the family album of Charles King-Harman, show a slightly nervous young man in a crisp white suit standing on the carriage footplate, preparing to acknowledge the crowds waving Greek flags and shouting for union with Greece, which had turned out to mark the beginning of his journey.<sup>34</sup>

Churchill postponed all political deputations and memorials till Saturday and received only such representative persons as were deputed to approach him on

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<sup>29</sup> National Archives, Colonial Office, CO 67/149; Cmd 3996: Cyprus. Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (1908): I. Dispatch of C. A. King-Harman, 21 October 1907, par. 2.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pars. 3–5.

<sup>31</sup> *The Times of Cyprus*, 3 March 1894, 13 May 1894.

<sup>32</sup> Orr, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>33</sup> G. B. Pusey, "Servitude Preferred", a memoir published in G. S. Georghallides, *Journal of the Cyprus Research Centre*, vol. 11 (1981–2), pp. 275–334.

<sup>34</sup> Ἐλευθερία, 12 October 1907.

matters connected with the local requirements of the people. He interviewed the heads of the Forest, Public Works, Agricultural, and Education Departments and inspected the Central Prison.<sup>35</sup>

On Friday Churchill went to Kyrenia and there he was requested by the spokesman of the people to give the assistance of the Government for the improvement of their harbour, their water supply, and their public buildings. King-Harman noticed that 'no Greek demonstration was made and not a single Greek flag was visible' and added "so completely are these docile people at the orders of their political organizers."<sup>36</sup>

On Saturday Churchill received the elected members of the Legislative Council who, as the people's representatives, were deputed to present the principal requirements of their constituents. The deputations were received in the Chamber of the Legislative Council in the presence of the official and elected members, and also of the public, "so far as accommodation could be made for them."<sup>37</sup>

At the time of Churchill's visit only one of the three members representing the Turkish Cypriots was present, the other two being absent from the island on other business at Constantinople. Thus, Mustafa Hami, the member for Larnaca and Famagusta, presented the Turkish Cypriots' views.<sup>38</sup>

Mustafa Hami had no memorial to present, and he commenced his speech by apologising for the absence of the Moslems from the railway station on Churchill's arrival, explaining that they were "unable to reconcile with their national feelings their appearance among Greek flags." Then in a strong language he states that the Turkish Cypriots "absolutely repudiate" the union of Cyprus with Greece and requests that delivering speeches on the subject of *enosis* "in places of official and high standing" should be "categorically prohibited." He complains of the latitude allowed by the Government to the Greek Cypriots in the expression of their national sentiments and insists that the feelings of the Moslems are "outraged and insulted" by such demonstrations. And because the "contemptuous and aggressive acts taking place against the Moslems have passed all bounds" and "neither our persons nor our places of worship escape their insults and jeerings," he insists that such demonstrations should be forbidden altogether. To "inspire" the public with a feeling of security, he suggests that sufficiently numerous British troops should be stationed in all parts of the island.<sup>39</sup>

Then Mustafa Hami presented the Moslems' opinion on the important political questions of the day, saying that they do not want autonomy and they would like

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<sup>35</sup> National Archives, Colonial Office, CO 67/149; Cmd 3996: Cyprus. Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (1908): I. Dispatch of C. A. King-Harman, 21 October 1907, par. 6.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 7.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 10.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 8; S. A. 3352/1907: Address of the Moslem Members of the Legislative Council delivered by Hami bey.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pars. 2-4 and 8.

that the conduct of public affairs should always be presided over by an "impartial and just" Englishman. He was also against granting of more extensive powers to the Legislative Council as it could be "dangerous for the future," and suggested that the preservation of the *status quo* is "under all circumstances to be preferred." As far as the tribute was concerned, he explained the Moslem view that it was a token of the sovereignty of the Sultan and should continue to be paid by the island.<sup>40</sup>

As regards local requirements, he thought that they will be settled with the able High Commissioner, the only thing to be wished for being a substantial increase of the grant for education and the establishment of a university under the direct supervision of the Government.<sup>41</sup>

In reply to Mustafa Hami, Churchill assured him that he fully appreciated the motives which had prevented the assembly of the Moslems at the railway station and that he had not attributed their abstention to any want of respect to himself as a member of His Majesty's Government. He said that he had noticed the display of Greek flags, but had not discerned in that display any attack on the honour or dignity of the Moslems or any discourtesy to the representative of His Majesty's Government. He regarded the display as an evidence of the anxiety of the Greek population to impress him with the particular views which they held, and, although he could not agree that the methods adopted were the best that could have been found, yet he did not complain of them. Churchill underlined that freedom of expression should be allowed within due bounds and he hoped that the Greek Cypriots people would be careful to avoid such manifestations as might hurt the feelings of others in the island. Finally, he said he would reserve his observations on the questions of the union with Greece until he had heard the address of the Greek elected members.<sup>42</sup>

The Greek members of the Legislative Council, nine in number, were present in full strength with the Bishop of Kition as their spokesman. They presented Churchill with a long memorial, expressing at the beginning "by direction and on behalf of the Greek-Cypriot people" who "compose the four-fifths of the whole population of the island" their "unqualified joy" and greeting him cordially.<sup>43</sup>

Then they write they are certain that Churchill's visit to Cyprus is a "strong proof" of the interest which the British Government takes in the affairs of the island and of the willingness "to ascertain closely and more directly" the "aspirations, needs, and grievances" of the Cypriots. They also add they believe that Cypriots hold

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<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pars. 5–7.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 9.

<sup>42</sup> Churchill's reply to Hami effendi, Κύπριος, 19 October 1907; summarized in National Archives, Colonial Office, CO 67/149; Cmd 3996: Cyprus. Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (1908): I. Dispatch of C. A. King-Harman, 21 October 1907, par. 11.

<sup>43</sup> National Archives, Colonial Office, CO 67/149; Cmd 3996: Cyprus. Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (1908): I. Dispatch of C. A. King-Harman, 21 October 1907, Appendix B: Letter of Greek Members of Legislative Council; Secretariat Archives, 3307/1907: Address of the Christian elected members of the Legislative Council, par. 1.

a “prominent position” among the British colonies by reason of their “descent, history, traditions, and language.”<sup>44</sup>

After the customary pleasantries, the memorial recalls “a pleasant event which has held an immortal position in our national history” that is the visit to the Ionian Islands of the “great statesman,” Gladstone, whose principles they compared to Churchill’s. And as Gladstone’s visit, Churchill’s – they believe – would also be the “harbringer” of the Union of Cyprus with “Mother Greece.” as this is “the strong and earnest desire which burns the breast of every Cypriot.”<sup>45</sup>

Then under the heading entitled “National aspirations,” the memorial tries to explain the reasons for the Greek Cypriot yearning for *enosis*. It claims that “as far as the lights of the latest archaeological researches have shown,” Cyprus has been first-ly inhabited by Greeks, and successive settlements have only renewed the national ties and strengthened [the] national spirit. This spirit has been manifested on every opportunity not only in literature and the arts, but also in “the struggles and martyrdoms for the common liberty and progress of the Greek race and humanity.”<sup>46</sup>

The Cypriots have declared their descent and their aspirations for *enosis* to the London government from the beginning of the British Occupation and repeating it in the presence of Churchill, they declare that the Cypriot people “unhesitatingly believe its realisation as the only basis and inexhaustible source of its true prosperity and as the only final goal of its historical career, from which no interest and no power either moral or material can ever possibly keep it away.”<sup>47</sup>

The Cypriots expect the realisation of their desire for the island to be restored to whom it belongs, that is to “the beloved Mother Greece, in the bosom of which only will it enjoy the blessings of liberty on which every people has imprescriptive rights, and especially a people by reason of descent, language, religion and civilisation, forming as it does an integral part of the immortal Greek race, which has born and promoted civilization and developed humanity.”<sup>48</sup>

Then the memorial deals with the objections to *enosis* of the Moslem minority, saying that their numbers are not so big as to entitle them to “dispose of the national fate of the island, and what is more, it cannot be shown that the activity of the Moslems in civilizing and economic progress of Cyprus is “possessed of any significance” as “Trade, Science, Arts, Letters, Industry, and every work connected with mental or economic progress” are almost exclusively exercised by the Greek Cypriots.<sup>49</sup>

The memorial claims that it would be “a great injustice” to the Greek Cypriot majority and “a flagrant denial of the sacred right of nationalities” if “a small alien

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 2.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 3.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 5.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pars. 6–7.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 8.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pars. 9–10.

minority" stopped them from realizing their dream of union with Greece. Indeed, the Moslems would only "benefit in a good many respects" from Cyprus joining Greece, as "the Hellenic race" has always practically exhibited a remarkable religious tolerance and "tendency to communicate its own blessings to the foreign races," as in Thessaly, Epirus and Crete.<sup>50</sup>

The next part of the memorial deals with the political rights of the Cypriots. It claims that the Cyprus people consider the present political regime as a temporary and transitory one and that the present Constitution granted to Cyprus is very limited, and, as such, "altogether inadequate both to the spirit of the century and to the character and culture of the Cyprus people who, more than any other, is to-day conscious of the necessity of taking a more effectual part in the management of its own affairs."<sup>51</sup> Therefore the Greek Cypriots suggest that the Legislative Council may consist exclusively of Elected Members in proportion to the population of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots with the British Government represented by the Members of the Executive Council (i.e., Chief Secretary, King's Advocate, and the Receiver-General) who should, however, have no vote; that the Legislative Council may be accorded full liberty in the management of the interests of the island – the restrictions embodied in the Order in Council of 6<sup>th</sup> July 1907, Clause 33, being removed – the Crown reserving to itself the power of disallowance; that the administrative and judicial authority should be entrusted to the Cypriots, due allowance being made to the proportion of the population.<sup>52</sup>

The next, and the longest, part of the memorial deals with the financial conditions of Cyprus and the question of the tribute. It claims that due to the "tribute" the economic situation of the island is very bad. Because of lack of funds people's education is "not even the fourth of what it ought to be" in comparison to the population and the underpaid teachers choose other means of making their living, not even the absolutely necessary public works have been performed, and with exception of Famagusta all the rest of the island remains without harbours, agriculture, being "the chief wealth creating source" of Cyprus, has not been "duly protected and sensibly improved" and is still in a primitive state; huge areas of land have not been re-afforested; public health is not duly guarded and the sanitary works have not been made; no money is provided for archaeological excavations of the island or for the building of an archaeological museum; many villages are without mail communication; salaries for the Cypriot government officials (police, especially) are unusually meager.<sup>53</sup>

At the closing of the memorial, the Greek Cypriot elected members of the Legislative Council, thank the British Government for entrusting the administration of the Island to Sir Charles King-Harman, who, by his "uprightness and sincerity,

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<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 11.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 12.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 13.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pars. 14–23.

by his political perspicacity and wisdom, by his deep study of the needs and just complaints of the country, and by his sincere co-operation with the elected representatives of the people, has succeeded in removing, to a very great extent, acute friction between the people and the Government, and has thus deservedly won the appreciation and respect of the Cypriot people."<sup>54</sup>

In conclusion, the elected members once again repeat that "the Hellenic people of this land of Cyprus," now "temporarily entrusted by Divine Providence to the governance of the glorious British scepter," "ardently yearn" for their "most speedy union with their glorious Mother Greece."<sup>55</sup> The memorial is signed by the Greek Representatives of Cyprus: the Bishop of Kition, Kyrillos, Antonios Theodotou, Theophanes Theodotou, Evangelos Hajioannou, Michael Nikolaides, Loues E. Louizou, Ioannes Kyriakides, Christodoulos Sozos, Spyros Araouzos.

Churchill answered the Greek members' memorial at length.<sup>56</sup> First he congratulates the spokesmen of the Greek Cypriots on the eloquence and force with which the Bishop of Kition has presented his case. And then he deals with the important question raised in the first part of the memorial, namely, an alteration of the existing Constitution to secure a widening of political liberties, which in practice would mean a greater predominance and power for the Greek Cypriots. In his opinion it does not appear that the wishes of the representatives of the people have suffered from any insufficiency of expression or from any failure to shape or control legislation. He also adds that having carefully examined and considered the Constitution, he fails to discern any way by which the influence and power of the Greek Elected Members could be increased which "would not [in fact]<sup>6</sup> involve a surrender of sovereignty and an inability, not only on the part of the British Government but also in that of the Moslem minority, to exercise any [further] influence on the course of affairs." Churchill adds that in the future such a way may be discovered, but he does not see it now.<sup>57</sup>

He also rejects the demand that the elected representative element in the Legislative Council should actually have power to initiate expenditure, as it does not belong to private Members of the House of Commons, but the initiation of expenditure is confined to the Executive Government, on which the responsibility also rests. And this is not only the case of the United Kingdom, but also of all other countries with parliamentary constitutions.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 24.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 25.

<sup>56</sup> National Archives, Colonial Office, CO 67/149; Cmd 3996: *Cyprus. Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus* (1908): I. Dispatch of C. A. King-Harman, 21 October 1907, Appendix C: Mr. Churchill's Reply to the Greek Elected Members. Secretariat Archives (S. A. 3307/1907, No. 30) have the draft prepared for publication in *The Cyprus Gazette*. It contains corrections in King-Harman's hand [here indicated by square brackets].

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pars. 2-3.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 4.

Next Churchill deals with the important question of *enosis*. He underlines that the abrogation of the Treaty with Turkey is a most important political issue and that Greek Cypriots' demand does not pay any attention to the views of "nearly one-third of the population" and thus could lead to a permanent [and dangerous] antagonism between the two sections of the community.<sup>59</sup>

Then comes the most often quoted part of Churchill's answer:

I think it is only natural that the Cypriot people, who are of Greek descent, should regard their incorporation with what may be called their mother-country as an ideal to be earnestly, devoutly, and fervently cherished. Such a feeling is an example of the patriotic devotion which so nobly characterises the Greek nation; and while I trust that those who feel so earnestly themselves will not forget that they must show respect for the similar feelings of others, I say that the views which have been put forward are opinions which His Majesty's Government do not refuse to regard with respect.

But after this most generous recognition of Greek Cypriots' national sentiments, Churchill continues:

On the other hand the opinion held by the Moslem population of the island, that the British occupation of Cyprus should not lead to the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, and that the [mission of Great Britain] in the Levant should not [be to] impair the sovereignty of the Sultan, is one which His Majesty's Government are equally bound to regard with respect.<sup>60</sup>

Next Churchill deals with the results of British administration of Cyprus saying that it "has not been represented" to His Majesty's Government that the Greek nor the Moslem population of Cyprus is actually discontented with the British administration of the island. He admits, that many complaints, some of which are well founded, have been made that the progress of the island during the British occupation has not been so rapid or so substantial as had been anticipated. But in his opinion the material welfare of Cyprus would not be much increased were the administration to be transferred to any other Power. Therefore, His Majesty's Government may be "encouraged to hope that the people of Cyprus, while cherishing great national ideals, are content, for the present at least, to be governed in accordance with British ideas of justice and freedom."<sup>61</sup>

His Majesty's Government, continues Churchill, believes that the people of Cyprus appreciate the fact that their condition, social, political, and economical, has been considerably improved during the last 30 years; and if complaints exist that the progress of the island has not been commensurate with the promises made, and the hopes entertained, at the time of the occupation, it will be the duty

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<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pars. 5–6.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 7.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 8.

of the Government by all possible means to remove the reasons which may exist for those complaints.<sup>62</sup>

Then Churchill goes back to the question of *enosis*, saying that the reference included in the numerous speeches he has heard during his visit to the cession of the Ionian Islands to Greece, and the comparison made between those islands and Cyprus, he thinks that the analogy is by no means complete, if only for because the Ionian Islands, at the time of cession, were in the possession of Great Britain, and accordingly at the disposal of Great Britain, and this is by no means the case with regard to Cyprus. In these circumstances it is the duty of Great Britain to remain in occupation of Cyprus, and in his opinion His Majesty's Government "cannot recognise that the time has come when the island should be abandoned, or when any change in its political status should be effected."<sup>63</sup>

After shortly mentioning the question of the tribute, Churchill concludes that the financial condition of the island is improving and with the increasing prosperity of the people means will be found for repairing past failures and undertaking further improvements. He also promises to report "all that I have seen and all that you have said to me" to Lord Elgin, who is "most desirous of using his influence to promote [the highest] interests and [most rapid] advancement" of the people of Cyprus.<sup>64</sup>

Realising how important his remarks on the union, the tribute, and constitutional liberties were for the Cypriots, Churchill promised that they would be published for the public.<sup>65</sup>

Churchill received also several other deputations representing the many different sections into which the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots were split up, namely two representing Greek Cypriots,<sup>66</sup> and four representing Moslem Cypriots.<sup>67</sup> They made further references to the leading questions of the day, and certain local requirements were brought to the front. The addresses presented by the delegations

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<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 9.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pars. 10–11.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 15.

<sup>65</sup> National Archives, Colonial Office, CO 67/149; Cmd 3996: *Cyprus. Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus* (1908): I. Dispatch of C. A. King-Harman, 21 October 1907, par. 14. It was published on 17 October 1907 in *The Cyprus Gazette*, Extraordinary, No. 898.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*; Secretariat Archives 3353/1907: Memorial of the Greek Christian inhabitants of Paphos, delivered by I. Kyriakides; S. A. 3357/1907: Address of a deputation of Greek Christian inhabitants of Nicosia, delivered by P. Constandinides.

<sup>67</sup> S. A. 2404/1907: Address of a deputation of Moslem inhabitants of Cyprus introduced by Irfan effendi; S. A. 3356/1907: Address of a deputation of Moslem inhabitants of Nicosia introduced by Sadreddin effendi; S. A. 3358/1907: Address of a representative of the Moslem inhabitants of Ktima presented by Hafiz Ramadan effendi; S. A. 3359/1907: Address of a representative of the Moslem inhabitants of Knodara, Yenije Keuy, Kuru Monastir and Kalyvakia presented by Mehmed Zeki.

representing the Roman Catholics and the Armenians were purely complimentary and congratulatory.<sup>68</sup>

Having dismissed the deputations, in the afternoon Churchill had an interview with the Patriarch of Alexandria and the two Exarchs, representatives of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople and of the Patriarch of Jerusalem. These ecclesiastical dignitaries were present in Cyprus because of the long lasting discussion of the Archiepiscopal question. They informed Churchill that they trusted the deplorable dispute would be soon over and the new archbishop be elected.<sup>69</sup>

On Sunday morning Churchill left Nicosia for Larnaca, where he met the leading people of the town. He then embarked on H.M.S. *Venus* and proceeded to Limassol, where he landed and was well received by the people. In the evening he left Cyprus for Port Said.<sup>70</sup>

In his report on Churchill's visit King-Hartman writes that it

has been of the greatest advantage to the island from every point of view. His pronouncements on the political questions which agitate the people have been most satisfactory in their effect, and although he was not able to satisfy the ardent national aspirations of the Greeks, he has pleased them by his sympathetic recognition of their patriotism, and he has given satisfaction to them, as well as to the Turks, by his assurance that His Majesty's Government intend to remain in occupation of the island. His ready recognition of the economic difficulties under which Cyprus is labouring, and of the moral and material advantage to be derived by liberal expenditure on the development of the island's resources is not only for the benefit of the people but is extremely encouraging and strengthening to the Island Government.<sup>71</sup>

King-Harman's report, together with the Greek memorial and Churchill's reply were published in Command Paper, causing problems for King-Harman.<sup>72</sup> On 8 May 1908 he complained to Elgin's successor, Lord Crewe, that confidential

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<sup>68</sup> S. A. 3355/1907: Address of a deputation of Armenian inhabitants of Cyprus introduced by M. Sevasly; S. A. 3354/1907: Address of a deputation of Roman Catholic inhabitants of Cyprus presented by the reverend father Basilius Azcarraga.

<sup>69</sup> National Archives, Colonial Office, CO 67/149, 67/117-133; Cmd 3996: Cyprus. Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (1908): I. Dispatch of C. A. King-Harman, 21 October 1907, par. 15. Por. J. Hackett, "The Archiepiscopal Question in Cyprus", *The Irish Church Quarterly*, 4 (October 1908), pp. 320-339; J. Hackett, "The Close of the Archiepiscopal Question in Cyprus", *The Irish Church Quarterly*, 11 (July 1910), pp. 230-242.

<sup>70</sup> National Archives, Colonial Office, CO 67/149; Cmd 3996: Cyprus. Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (1908): I. Dispatch of C. A. King-Harman, 21 October 1907, par. 16.

<sup>71</sup> National Archives, Colonial Office, CO 67/149; Cmd 3996: Cyprus. Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (1908): I. Dispatch of C. A. King-Harman, 21 October 1907, par. 21.

<sup>72</sup> G. S. Georghallides, "Lord Crewe's 1908 Statement on Greek-Cypriot National Claims", *Κυπριακά Σπουδαί* (1970), pp. 25-34.

dispatches should not be published verbatim, because he was now compromised with the Cypriots.<sup>73</sup>

Before leaving Cyprus Churchill telegraphed Elgin that it was “terribly starved by [the] Treasury and bears deep mark[s] in moral and material conditions.”<sup>74</sup> Six days after the departure from Cyprus, “somewhere in the Red Sea,” Churchill wrote a long memorandum on his visit to Cyprus addressed to Lord Elgin, the Colonial Minister and Sir Francis Hopwood, the Permanent Under-Secretary.<sup>75</sup> Most of it deals with the question of the tribute, but includes also interesting opinions on the future of Cyprus and the achievements of the British administration there.<sup>76</sup>

Churchill starts: “I am concerned about the condition of Cyprus, which I have just left, after a short but crowded visit”.<sup>77</sup> After presenting the issue of the tribute, he says:

There is scarcely any spectacle more detestable than the oppression of a small community by a great Power for the purpose of pecuniary profit; and that is, in fact, the spectacle which our financial treatment of Cyprus at this moment indisputably presents. It is in my opinion quite unworthy of Great Britain, and altogether out of accordance with the whole principles of our colonial policy in every part of the world, to extract tribute by force from any of the possessions or territories administered under the Crown. And that, I say, constitutes a blemish upon Imperial policy of a peculiarly discreditable kind.<sup>78</sup>

Then he tries to show that the usual way of explaining the situation by the British does not have much to do with the truth. And the usual arguments, that the British are only in temporary occupation of Cyprus, that they have no real responsibility towards its people except within the conditions of the Convention of 1878, and that if and when Russia restores Kars and other places in Asia Minor to Turkey, the British are bound by Treaty to restore Cyprus to the Sultan. But according to Churchill these arguments are not worth much in the face of Lord Salisbury’s virtual promise to the Cypriots that they should never be given back to Turkey. Then Churchill asks if it is honest to go on repeating this “diplomatic fiction,” as it is quite clear that the British cannot give the island back to Turkey if only because Europe and the House of Commons would never tolerate such a “retrocession.” On the question of *enosis*, he says

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<sup>73</sup> S. A. 1: 3351/1907, confidential, King-Harman to Crewe, 8 May 1908.

<sup>74</sup> National Archives, Elgin Papers, confidential, telegram, Churchill to Elgin, 13 October 1907.

<sup>75</sup> R. S. Churchill, *Winston S. Churchill, Young Statesman, 1901–1914*, 2 vols. (London: Minerva, 1967), pp. 227–228.

<sup>76</sup> National Archives, Colonial Office Correspondence, C.O. 883/7, Mediterranean No. 65, Confidential: Conditions of Cyprus. Memorandum by Mr Churchill, 19 October 1907. Recirculated National Archives, Cabinet, CAB 37/89/83, 21 June 1910; National Archives, Cabinet, CAB 24/89/457 GT 8285, 7 October 1919.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 1.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 8.

Are we going to give it to Greece? I know of no such question, and I should deeply regret its being raised. If that were done, the lives of the Moslems in the island, who constitute more than a fifth of the population, and who have always behaved to us with the utmost loyalty and good conduct, would be rendered utterly intolerable, and they would all be oppressed or frozen out, just as in the old days the Greeks suffered.<sup>79</sup>

The abandonment of Cyprus, he continues, would force the British to make provision for the payment of their own debts to the extent of 48,000 pounds a year, but it "would not grieve me," but the admission of failure either to revive the country or to reconcile the people, involved in a cession, would make a "melancholy episode" in British history, and would be deservedly unpopular in England. Because it is obvious that there is no present intention of altering the international status of Cyprus, and that the British mean to go on occupying it indefinitely. Thus the often repeated theory that the British have only indirect responsibilities in Cyprus should be abandoned.<sup>80</sup>

Generally, Churchill thinks that the present condition of Cyprus is "most unsatisfactory," although it is obvious that it has greatly progressed under the British rule and it is "incomparably better off" than it would have been under Turkey, and these facts are readily recognized by the Cypriots themselves. But, adds Churchill, "an improvement upon Turkish standards is not a sufficient or suitable defence for British policy." And it is the tribute, the "annual drain" averaging between 20 and 30% of the total revenue, that effectually prevented anything like a rapid economic development. Then, he summarises the economic condition of Cyprus:

Every necessary work is cramped. Education, bridges, harbours, roads, the salaries of struggling and almost starving officials, the development of agriculture (including cotton and silk), the provision of the perfectly justifiable and urgently needed railway branches, and above all the reafforestation of the island – which has been incredibly neglected, and upon which the beauty and comfort of life, the averaging of the rainfall, and the provision of fuel depend – all, all are restricted, and unjustifiably restricted, within arbitrary and unnatural limits.<sup>81</sup>

And the economic injustice brings about political discontent. And because of the tribute, all the achievements of British administration even when contrasted with the past tyranny of the Turks, "fail to establish any claim on the hearts of the people." Churchill ends his memorial saying:

It is well worth our while to make a success of Cyprus. Politically it is one of the countries where British methods are, so to speak, on trial before the tribunal of Europe. Great and signal success in Cyprus, as in Egypt, invests the British name with dignity and even lustre in the eyes of the world. Failure involves equally notorious discredit.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 11.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 12.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pars. 13–14.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pars. 15–16.

He is honest enough to admit that he cannot tell if removing the tribute would stop the demands for *enosis*, but at least the British should have “done our duty, and have freed ourselves from a position which is morally, politically, and economically indefensible.”<sup>83</sup>

Churchill’s memorial was called “the most cogent and devastating criticism of the British administration of Cyprus ever delivered by a member of the British Government.”<sup>84</sup> Unfortunately, in 1907 Churchill lacked enough political influence to enforce his views of Cyprus on the British Cabinet. The Colonial Office and the Treasury ridiculed Churchill. Elgin was told that Asquith, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was “vastly amused by the Cyprus memorandum.”<sup>85</sup> The Permanent Under-Secretary Sir Francis Hopwood was very irritated by Churchill’s memorandum on Cyprus and wrote to Lord Elgin, the Colonial Minister, that the young politician was led astray by a “restless energy, uncontrollable desire for notoriety and the lack of moral perception.”<sup>86</sup> And Sir George Murray, a senior official of the Exchequer, called the memorandum an “insane minute.”<sup>87</sup>

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- <sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 17.
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## Wizyta Churchilla na Cyprze w 1907 roku: *enosis* i problemy konstytucyjne

### Streszczenie

Będąc jeszcze młodym politykiem, w październiku 1907 roku Churchill odwiedził Cypr, jako podsekretarz stanu do spraw kolonii. Wyspa *de iure* należała wciąż do Imperium Otomańskiego, jednak od 1878 podlegała administracji brytyjskiej. Wizyta miała miejsce w okresie rosnącej polityzacji Cypryjczyków, głównymi tematami było żądanie *enosis* (zjednoczenia z Grecją), oraz kwestie konstytucyjne. Churchill nie miał możliwości podejmowania strategicznych decyzji w sprawie przyszłości wyspy, toteż, jak wyraźnie wskazują dokumenty zachowane w Archiwum Narodowym w Kew oraz w Archiwach Sekretariatu w Nikozji, podczas spotkań z delegacjami Cypryjczyków greckiego i tureckiego pochodzenia, taktownie i bardzo oględnie wypowiadał się na temat *enosis* czy jakichkolwiek zmian w konstytucji.