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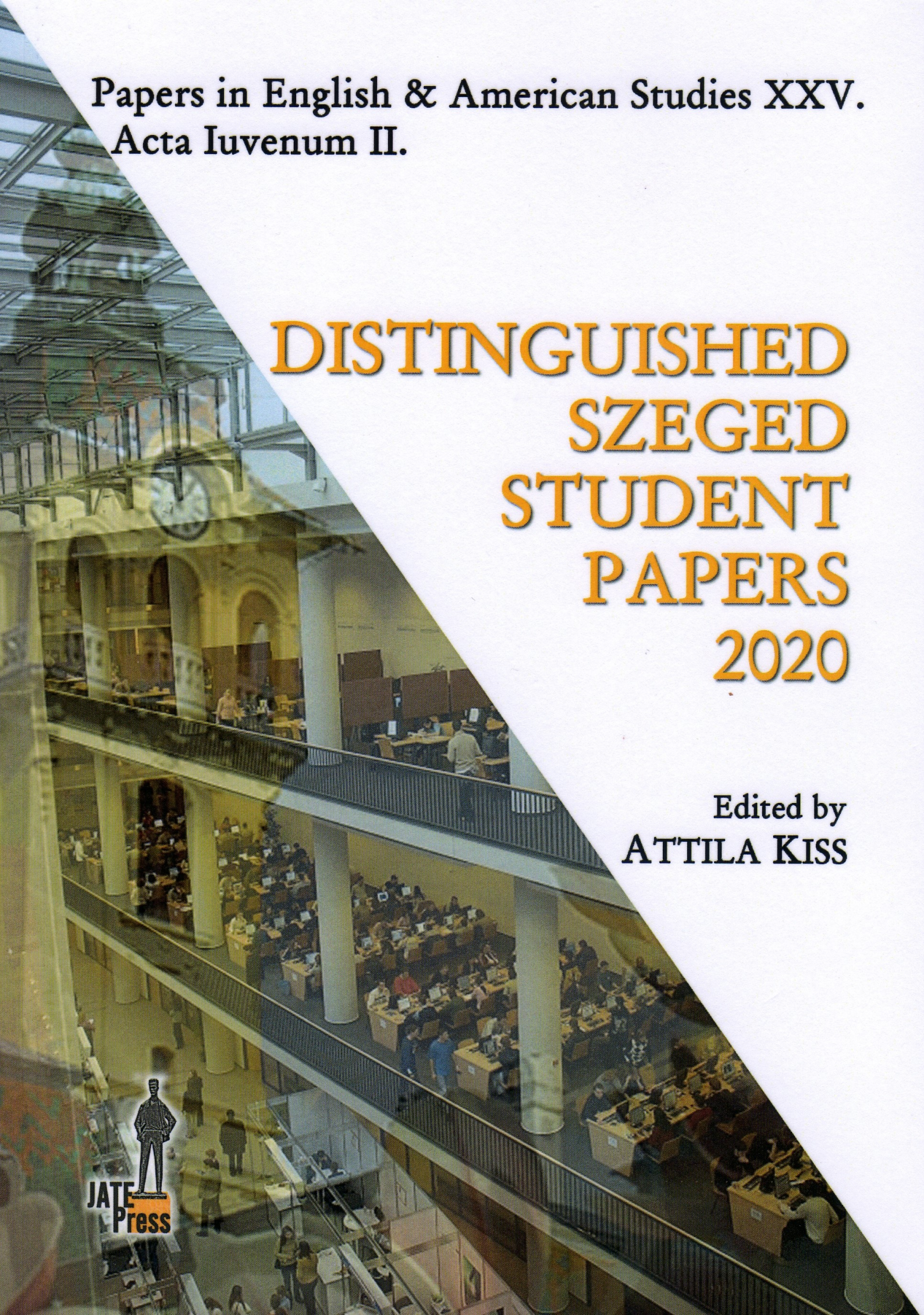

Edited by
ATTILA KISS

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Dániel Bagi

Glimpses Beyond the Veil: Occult Concepts in Algernon Blackwood's Weird Stories*

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to examine the writings of Algernon Blackwood, a relatively lesser-known English author of supernatural fiction, in the context of the modern occult revival of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Blackwood was actively involved with the most notable occult organisations of the age, but how this might have influenced his stories has not been studied until quite recently, and he is mostly remembered for his impact on the development of weird fiction, a literary mode that has emerged in roughly the same period. This thesis is an attempt at exploring the possible intersections between occultism and weird fiction by analysing four occult concepts (reincarnation, *anima mundi*, Neopaganism, and Egyptomany) in four short stories ("Old Clothes," "The Man Whom the Trees Loved," "The Sea Fit," and "A Descent into Egypt"). Based on the findings, it can be observed that the weird atmosphere results from the occult.

1. Introduction

In June 1900, an Englishman arrived in Budapest in a canoe accompanied by a friend, marking the end of a long rowing journey down the Danube that had begun about a thousand miles upriver in the Black Forest. Before returning to England, he spent a few days with the Hunnia Rowing Club in the city, travelled to Balaton to cross the lake by canoe from Balatonföldvár to Tihany, and enjoyed the hospitality of composer Antal Siposs in Révfülöp and of Count Imre Hunyady in Keszthely while exploring the lakeside towns. Though he doubtless enjoyed his stay in Hungary, the most momentous event of the Danube journey occurred sometime between passing Pressburg (today's Bratislava in Slovakia) and reaching Budapest, when they made camp for the night in an uninhabited area where the river splits to multiple streams forming small islands full of willow trees. The general atmosphere of the place captivated the Englishman's imagination, so much so that years later, when he was an up-and-coming writer, he relied on the experience to create the setting for one of his supernatural stories, a short story H. P. Lovecraft regarded as "the greatest weird tale ever written."[1] The title of the story, first published in 1907, was "The Willows" and the name of its author was Algernon Blackwood.[2]

Given that he has hitherto been a marginalised figure in the study of literature and culture, it is safe to assume that Blackwood's name sounds unfamiliar to most today, so providing a brief overview of his life, based on Mike Ashley's exhaustively researched biography, would perhaps

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* MA Thesis. Supervisor: György Endre Szőnyi

1 H. P. Lovecraft, "H. P. Lovecraft: Letters to Fritz and Jonquil Leiber," in *Fritz Leiber and H. P. Lovecraft: Writers of the Dark*, ed. Ben J. S. Szumskyj and S. T. Joshi (Holicong, PA: Wildside Press, 2003), 15.

2 Algernon Blackwood, "The Willows," in *The Listener and Other Stories* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1917).

be welcome.[3] Born in 1869 to an upper-class family, Blackwood's early life was relatively uneventful until he left England at the age of twenty-one to make something of himself on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. Failed attempts at dairy farming and running a pub in Toronto, however, led to his quickly losing most of his capital and he ended up in New York where he made ends meet mainly by reporting for *The Sun* and *The New York Times*, but also by giving violin lessons and modelling for artists, before becoming the private secretary of a wealthy banker. There were adventurous episodes during his years in America, too: he mingled with the New York underworld in order to have his criminal ex-roommate arrested, he took part in an expedition to the backwoods of Canada in search of gold, and only typhoid fever stopped him from joining Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders on their Cuban campaign. Nevertheless, the majority of these years was characterised by extreme poverty—including periods of sleeping on a bench in Central Park and living exclusively on dried apples and porridge—and it was amid these dark times that he discovered writing fiction as a means of escapism.

Blackwood had always had a natural talent for storytelling that he demonstrated both at campfires and in social gatherings, yet he never thought about becoming an author. After returning to England at the age of thirty, he still pursued various jobs until, unbeknownst to him, one of his friends submitted a couple of his stories to a publisher whose reader deemed them worthy of print. Blackwood's first collection of short stories in 1906 was met with generally positive reviews and his writings were suddenly in demand. His third collection, *John Silence—Physician Extraordinary*, was successful enough that its royalties enabled him to become a full-time writer in 1908. Blackwood's most creative period spanned from 1910 to 1914, when he produced what Ashley calls "the most remarkable body of supernatural fiction ever written."[4] This corpus consists of two short story collections, *Pan's Garden: A Volume of Nature Stories* and *Incredible Adventures*; two novels, *The Human Chord* and *The Centaur*; and a children's book, *A Prisoner in Fairyland*. Unfortunately, the horrors of the Great War, during which he operated as a secret agent, extinguished most of his creative spark and he focused mostly on the theatre and children's books afterwards. He also wrote an autobiography—titled *Episodes Before Thirty* and chronicling his years in Canada and the United States—which became a bestseller.[5] Blackwood never married and settled down; when he was not travelling around the world, he spent his time either as a guest at friends' houses or renting a room in the Swiss Jura Mountains. Despite his general distaste for modernity, he embraced new technologies and became a popular storyteller initially on the radio, then on television. Blackwood was dubbed "the Ghost Man" and received a Commander of the British Empire honour for his services as an entertainer in 1949, so he was somewhat of a celebrity around the time of his death in 1951.[6]

The fact that Blackwood has mostly been overlooked by the academic community is quite surprising, considering he was such a striking figure in the first half of the twentieth century. Via his membership in the Savile Club, he was acquainted with the likes of H. G. Wells, H. Rider Haggard, and Thomas Hardy, while his friends made through his years in the theatre included composer Edward Elgar and actor Henry Ainley. Blackwood's fiction won him many contemporary admirers; in addition to Lovecraft, whose appreciation of Blackwood is well-documented, trench poet Siegfried Sassoon, modernist Rainer Maria Rilke, and fantasy author C. S. Lewis were all among those full of praise for his work. J. R. R. Tolkien, Lewis's friend and

[3] Mike Ashley, *Starlight Man: The Extraordinary Life of Algernon Blackwood*, rev. ed. (Eureka, CA: Stark House Press, 2019). All information concerning the life and times of Blackwood is taken from this book, except where noted.

[4] Ibid., 185.

[5] Algernon Blackwood, *Episodes Before Thirty* (London: Cassel and Co., 1923).

[6] Ashley, *Starlight Man*, 410.

fellow member of the Inklings (a literary discussion group of Oxford professors), also acknowledged his familiarity with Blackwood's stories and some passages in his Middle-earth legendarium might have been influenced by them.[7] Others, however, were less impressed. Noted psychoanalyst C. G. Jung, for instance, referred to him as "a very poisonous writer," though not explaining why and admitting that at least some of his stories were "very good from a psychological point of view."[8] It would be reasonable, therefore, to reckon Blackwood among the more noteworthy people of the period and a re-evaluation of his legacy may be timely.

The limited scholarly attention Blackwood's work has received so far is predominantly concerned with establishing him as a founding father of weird fiction. The earliest of these studies is Lovecraft's influential essay on supernatural horror, where he is identified as one of the four "modern masters" of the weird, the other three being Arthur Machen, Lord Dunsany, and M. R. James.[9] Lovecraft describes Blackwood's work as "voluminous and uneven," but claims that his better stories authenticate him as "the one absolute and unquestioned master of weird atmosphere."[10] In the first monograph on the subject, S. T. Joshi dedicates an entire chapter to the author, declaring his writings "more consistently meritorious than any weird writer's except Dunsany's."[11] Joshi adds that Blackwood is "the most wholesome and cheerful horror writer" he knows about, which also highlights his uniqueness.[12] More recently, China Miéville reaffirms Blackwood's position as a "key name" in the weird canon.[13] While Blackwood's fundamental role in the development of the tradition is indeed undisputable, his *oeuvre* lends itself well to other types of inquiry, and a promising approach would be an examination of his significance within the context of the period that he lived in: the period of modernity.[14]

For most of the twentieth century, modernity was associated with the decreasing prevalence of magic and mystery in people's lives, a phenomenon described by Max Weber as the disenchantment of the world. Weber's theory, however, has come under serious criticism since the end of the millennium and scholars provide more and more evidence for the presence of various forms of enchantment and re-enchantment coexisting with or brought about by the processes of disenchantment.[15] One such scholar is Christopher Partridge who discusses the widespread emergence of the occult in modern culture and argues for the existence of an "occulture," which he defines as "a resource on which people draw, a reservoir of ideas, beliefs, practices, and sym-

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[7] Dale J. Nelson, "Possible Echoes of Blackwood and Dunsany in Tolkien's Fantasy," *Tolkien Studies* 1, no. 1 (2004).

[8] C. G. Jung, *Visions: Notes of the Seminar Given in 1930–1934*, ed. Claire Douglas, vol. 1, 2 vols., Bollingen Series 99 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 713.

[9] H. P. Lovecraft, "Supernatural Horror in Literature," in *Dagon and Other Macabre Tales*, The H. P. Lovecraft Omnibus 2 (London: Panther Books, 1985), 493.

[10] Ibid., 501.

[11] S. T. Joshi, *The Weird Tale: Arthur Machen, Lord Dunsany, Algernon Blackwood, M. R. James, Ambrose Bierce, H. P. Lovecraft* (Holicong, PA: Wildside Press, 2003), 132.

[12] Ibid., 89.

[13] China Miéville, "Weird Fiction," in *The Routledge Companion to Science Fiction*, ed. Mark Bould et al., Routledge Literature Companions (London: Routledge, 2009), 510.

[14] For another possible approach, namely an ecocritical reading of Blackwood's works, see Michelle Poland, "Walking with the Goat-God: Gothic Ecology in Algernon Blackwood's *Pan's Garden: A Volume of Nature Stories*," *Critical Survey* 29, no. 1 (2017); David Punter, "Algernon Blackwood: Nature and Spirit," in *EcoGothic*, ed. Andrew Smith and William Hughes, International Gothic (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

[15] Richard Jenkins, "Disenchantment, Enchantment and Re-Enchantment: Max Weber at the Millennium," *Max Weber Studies* 1, no. 1 (2000).

bols."[16] Literature and the arts are certainly among the areas where this "occulture" is heavily capitalised on, as writers and artists often turn to the occult for inspiration. Tessel M. Bauduin and Henrik Johnsson advocate a similar view when they discuss the "dynamic interaction" between occultism and modernism, concluding that: "Occultism offers modernism new modes of expression; so does modernism for occultism."[17]

Blackwood, too, is known to have been deeply interested in occultism, even though he refuses to mention any "mystical, psychic, or so-called 'occult' episodes" in his autobiography, claiming the book's intention is "to recapture surface adventures only."[18] Ashley's biography, however, reveals that he eagerly engaged in the activities of the most prominent occult organisations of his time: he inspected haunted houses for the Society for Psychical Research, he became a member of both the Theosophical Society and the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, and he attended G. I. Gurdjieff's Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man. Yet the ways his involvement in these establishments may have influenced his writing remains a largely unexplored topic. Lovecraft complains about Blackwood's "too free use of the trade jargon of modern 'occultism'" and, as a consequence, this aspect of his fiction does not seem to be a point of interest for the devotees of the weird.[19] David Punter and Glennis Byron point out that the uniqueness of Blackwood's stories is the result of his being "one of the few writers of Gothic fiction actually to have believed in the supernatural," but do not deliberate further on the matter.[20] Fortunately, as occultism has become an increasingly researched topic, a good opportunity presents itself to reassess Blackwood's merits. Justin Sausman takes the crucial first step in this direction in an essay discussing how the occult understanding of vibratory energy is presented in *The Human Chord*.[21] Susan Johnston Graf—aptly calling Blackwood "an omnivorous occultist"—extends the scope of investigation to cover the majority of his novels (plus the short stories featuring John Silence, a recurring character comparable to a modern magus) and surveys how the teachings of the Golden Dawn can be observed in them.[22]

Blackwood's output as a writer thus fits well into the theoretical framework of (re)enchantment summarised above, but he was a prolific author and a substantial part of his works has not been studied from this perspective. The aim of this thesis is to contribute towards a more complete understanding of Blackwood's relevance in this context by examining how the weird and the occult interact in four of his short stories. After conceptualising the two terms, the inquiry is focused on ideas associated with occultism as they appear in the individual narratives: reincarnation in "Old Clothes," *anima mundi* in "The Man Whom the Trees Loved," Neopaganism in

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[16] Christopher Partridge, *The Re-Enchantment of the West: Alternative Spiritualities, Sacralization, Popular Culture, and Occulture*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (London: T & T Clark International, 2004), 84.

[17] Tessel M. Bauduin and Henrik Johnsson, "Introduction: Conceptualizing Occult Modernism," in *The Occult in Modernist Art, Literature, and Cinema*, ed. Tessel M. Bauduin and Henrik Johnsson, Palgrave Studies in New Religions and Alternative Spiritualities (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 7.

[18] Blackwood, *Episodes Before Thirty*, 304.

[19] Lovecraft, "Supernatural Horror in Literature," 502.

[20] David Punter and Glennis Byron, *The Gothic*, Blackwell Guides to Literature (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 90.

[21] Justin Sausman, "From Vibratory Occultism to Vibratory Modernism: Blackwood, Lawrence, Woolf," in *Vibratory Modernism*, ed. Anthony Enns and Shelley Trower (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

[22] Susan Johnston Graf, *Talking to the Gods: Occultism in the Work of W. B. Yeats, Arthur Machen, Algernon Blackwood, and Dion Fortune*, SUNY Series in Western Esoteric Traditions (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2015), 81.

"The Sea Fit," and Egyptomany in "A Descent into Egypt."[23] Based on the findings, this thesis argues that what makes these stories weird is rooted in the occult. By doing so, it hopes to further support the notion that Blackwood should be seen as a primary literary representative of (re)enchantment, since his tales are overflowing with the occult concepts that prevailed in the period.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. The weird

The weird as a concept referring to a distinct type of supernatural fiction might sound familiar to a great number of people, yet it would be a fairly hard task to provide an unequivocal definition of it. When James Machin writes that weird fiction is "intrinsically problematic for critical discourse," one cannot help but agree with his statement.[24] Nevertheless, two things can be taken for granted. First, as already touched upon in the introduction, there is a consensus among scholars that the majority of Blackwood's stories, without doubt, have their place in the canon of the weird. Second, even though his "Supernatural Horror in Literature" (the essay that popularised the concept) was first published in 1927, Lovecraft is still considered as one of the foremost critics of the field, since it is virtually impossible to find any critical literature dealing with weird fiction that does not make at least a passing mention to his treatise. It seems appropriate, therefore, to start discussing the weird by taking a look at his original remarks.

According to Lovecraft, the emergence of the Gothic novel should be seen as the inception of the weird tradition in the second half of the eighteenth century, the work of his compatriot Edgar Allan Poe as the most important milestone of its development in the nineteenth century, and the stories of the aforementioned quartet of British writers as its zenith in the first decades of the twentieth century. In an oft-quoted passage, he declares that "[t]he true weird tale has something more than secret murder, bloody bones, or a sheeted form clanking chains according to rule."[25] Instead—and this is the only criterion he offers—the necessary effect has to be achieved by building "a certain atmosphere of breathless and unexplainable dread of outer, unknown forces" that often results from "a malign and particular suspension or defeat of those fixed laws of Nature which are our only safeguard against the assaults of chaos and the daemons of unplumbed space."[26] Lovecraft's definition is noticeably vague, but it has still managed to stand the test of time, as evidenced by the fact that most scholars of the weird formulate their own definitions based on his. Joshi, for instance, calls the weird tale "inherently philosophical," because "it frequently compels us to address directly such fundamental issues as the nature of the universe and our place in it."[27] Another example is Jeff VanderMeer, who, in his introduction to a relatively recent anthology, describes the weird in an even more obscure manner than Lovecraft does, claiming it to be "the sometimes supernatural or fantastical element of unease"

[23] Algernon Blackwood, "Old Clothes," in *The Lost Valley and Other Stories* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1917); Algernon Blackwood, "The Man Whom the Trees Loved," in *Pan's Garden: A Volume of Nature Stories* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1912); Algernon Blackwood, "The Sea Fit," in *Pan's Garden: A Volume of Nature Stories* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1912); Algernon Blackwood, "A Descent into Egypt," in *Incredible Adventures* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1914).

[24] James Machin, *Weird Fiction in Britain 1880–1939*, Palgrave Gothic (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 19.

[25] Lovecraft, "Supernatural Horror in Literature," 426.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Joshi, *The Weird Tale*, 11.

in literature.[28] The reason for the persistence of Lovecraft's definition, as Machin argues, is that it abstains from "any inaccurately reductive rendering of weird fiction as a rigidly prescribed genre."[29]

Indeed, as it ultimately turns out, weird fiction cannot be recognised as a genre at all, at least not as a genre proper, because there are a multitude of stories that exhibit the qualities of the weird, but otherwise meet the requirements of precisely defined genres, too. Partly contradicting Lovecraft's initial concept, this overlap is not restricted to the subtypes of horror. Joshi provides a list of the most common of such genres (fantasy, supernatural horror, non-supernatural horror, quasi-science fiction, as well as the combinations and subsets of these), while Machin singles out the Gothic as the one which the weird tale is the most intimately intertwined with (that also explains why Blackwood is often labelled as an author of Gothic fiction, like in the case of Punter and Byron).[30] Consequently, weird fiction is more often conceived as a literary mode—Machin, for example, clarifies the relationship between the weird and the Gothic in accordance with this sentiment, stating that "[the former] is a *mode* closely identified with [the latter] *genre*."[31]

The most conspicuous characteristic feature of the weird mode, as already accentuated in Lovecraft's seminal essay, is that it prioritises the story's atmosphere over its plot. The work of Blackwood illustrates this aspect particularly well and it does not escape the attention of Lovecraft either: "Plot is everywhere negligible, and atmosphere reigns untrammelled," he writes in "Supernatural Horror in Literature," alluding to those of Blackwood's narratives that he holds in the highest esteem.[32] As for the atmosphere the weird tale creates, Lovecraft seems adamant that it has to be characterised by an intense sense of horror, which is somewhat puzzling, in light of his inclusion of Dunsany, who barely wrote anything horrifying, as one of the most outstanding representatives of the tradition. Recent scholarship has sought to eliminate this inconsistency by arguing that the mode is inclined to evoke a sense of awe instead. Miéville, who insists that an "obsession with numinosity under the everyday" is a fundamental trait of weird fiction, is a good example for this tendency.[33] On an interesting side note, he makes a connection between this awe-inspiring quality and the various traumas associated with modernity that the weird writers experienced, so it would be an interesting research topic to examine the extent to which the tradition as a whole can be interpreted as a form of (re)enchantment.

Miéville's remark about weird fiction's link with modernity calls attention to another significant issue concerning the mode—its periodisation. There is a widespread misconception among lay readers that the weird refers exclusively to the body of work written by Lovecraft and his friends (such as Clark Ashton Smith, Robert E. Howard, and August Derleth, to name a few), most of which was published in the pulp magazine *Weird Tales* in the 1920s and 1930s. Scholars, however, all agree that Lovecraft's circle should be seen only as the peak of a tradition reaching back to the end of the nineteenth century. In the introduction to *The Evolution of the Weird Tale*, Joshi, who is arguably the pre-eminent contemporary researcher of the field, identifies two major periods within the history of the mode. He distinguishes between a "Golden Age" spanning approximately from 1880 to 1940 and a "Silver Age" beginning after the Second

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[28] Jeff VanderMeer, "The New Weird: 'It's Alive?,'" in *The New Weird*, ed. Ann VanderMeer and Jeff VanderMeer (San Francisco: Tachyon Publications, 2008), ix.

[29] Machin, *Weird Fiction in Britain*, 3.

[30] Joshi, *The Weird Tale*, 6–10; Machin, *Weird Fiction in Britain*, 14–16.

[31] Ibid., emphasis in original.

[32] Lovecraft, "Supernatural Horror in Literature," 503.

[33] Miéville, "Weird Fiction," 510.

World War and still continuing today.[34] Lovecraft and the "modern masters" are the most notable "Golden Age" authors, while the "Silver Age" (which, as Joshi's terminology implies, does not come without a "marked falling-off of quality and richness") includes such writers as Shirley Jackson and Ramsey Campbell.[35] What is important here is that the high phase of weird fiction more or less coincides with the occult revival of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (discussed in the next subchapter), so there is indeed a strong possibility that the two developments are different manifestations of the same dissatisfaction with modernity.

Turning back to the idea that awe is the feeling the weird tale conjures up, Blackwood's work is no exception in this regard either. Joshi proposes a tripartite typology to categorise his writings—"stories of awe," "stories of horror," and "stories of childhood"—and determines that the bulk of them falls into the first group.[36] "The Willows," Blackwood's most widely anthologised tale, definitely belongs to that category. In this atmospheric short story inspired by the author's Danube trip, two travellers stop for the night in a swampy area of the river, but unpleasant weather conditions extend their stay on the island they are camping on. Essentially cut off from the outside world, they experience several bizarre phenomena, but it is up to the reader to decide whether they really encounter something supernatural or merely the isolation gets the better of them. One of the most notable scenes occurs in the middle of the first night, when the narrator wakes up and peeping out of the tent, unsure whether he is dreaming, witnesses strange human-like shapes ascending from the trees, which elicits a potent sense of the numinous: "Yet the figures still rose from earth to heaven, silent, majestically, in a great spiral of grace and strength that overwhelmed me at length with a genuine deep emotion of worship. I felt that I must fall down and worship—absolutely worship."[37] In his in-depth analysis of "The Willows," Anthony Camara clearly shows why it should be thought of as a quintessential weird tale, so Lovecraft's fondness for the short story is completely understandable.[38] Even though the titular creatures might bear a slight resemblance to the elemental spirits that feature heavily in the beliefs of certain occult currents, "The Willows" is not a narrative that is overtly influenced by occultism. This thesis focuses on stories in which occult ideas are unmistakably present, but before discussing a few of those, first it needs to be clarified what is meant by the occult.

2.2. The occult

The occult is a greatly similar term to the weird in the sense that both of them are relatively well-known but easily misconceptualised. In colloquial use, the occult has diminished to "an unhelpfully broad umbrella term," as Partridge fittingly observes, "under which is collected a constantly recycled hodgepodge of spiritual, paranormal and transgressive beliefs and practices, many of which are widely dismissed as perverse, profane, ephemeral, irrational, or childish."[39] In the academic context, however, the occult has become a seriously researched area since the last decades of the twentieth century, because scholars have recognised its significance in the fields of religion, philosophy, science, as well as literature and the arts. For a period of time, the occult was (and sometimes still is) used interchangeably with the esoteric, but while the two

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[34] S. T. Joshi, *The Evolution of the Weird Tale* (New York: Hippocampus Press, 2016), Kindle.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Joshi, *The Weird Tale*, 90.

[37] Blackwood, "The Willows," 154.

[38] Anthony Camara, "Nature Unbound: Cosmic Horror in Algernon Blackwood's 'The Willows,'" *Horror Studies* 4, no. 1 (2013).

[39] Christopher Partridge, "Introduction," in *The Occult World*, ed. Christopher Partridge, Routledge Worlds (New York: Routledge, 2015), 2.

terms are closely related, current scholarly conventions restrict the former to a specific period, whereas the latter denotes a wide range of topics from the Antiquity to the present day. These topics, as Wouter J. Hanegraaff specifies, are "those worldviews, practices and ways of knowing that have not succeeded in becoming dominant and have therefore been marginalized as 'rejected knowledge' since the age of Enlightenment."[40] These systems of beliefs and practices were, in the words of Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, "kept in epistemological quarantine lest they cause a relapse from progressive rationalism."[41] While simply defining the esoteric as "rejected knowledge" is a practical way to collectively identify these trends, claiming that anything rejected by mainstream epistemology belongs to the realm of esotericism would be a mistake—what all of them have to have in common, according to Arthur Versluis, is an endeavour to acquire *gnosis* (or spiritual knowledge) by particular techniques of reading, both in the literal and in the figurative sense of the word.[42]

In his *Western Esotericism: A Guide for the Perplexed*, Hanegraaff outlines the three most common concepts of the esoteric, which are the following: first, "an 'enchanted' pre-Enlightenment worldview with ancient roots but flourishing in the early modern period;" second, "a wide array of 'occult' currents and organizations that emerged after the Enlightenment as alternatives to traditional religion and rational science;" and third "a universal, 'inner' spiritual dimension of religion as such."[43] The current, narrower meaning of the occult in scholarly understanding is based on the second model and it refers, therefore, to those specific forms of esotericism that emerged in the nineteenth century and have pervaded Western culture ever since. As stated by Hanegraaff, these traditions have "ideas and worldviews inherited from pre- and early modern periods," but they were radically transformed "under the impact of new cultural and intellectual developments in secular society."[44] It was this modernist version of the occult that came to be an integral part of Blackwood's life. Although he himself remained extremely secretive about the subject, there is ample evidence to support this claim.

An amusing anecdote in *Episodes Before Thirty* recounts how Blackwood discovered the occult.[45] Owing to his father's strong commitment to the Methodist Church, he had a strict religious upbringing, but he himself could not find solace in the Christian faith. When a friend of the family visited with a copy of Bhagwan Shree Patanjali's *Yoga Aphorisms*—as proof for Satan's infiltration of the Western world under the guise of Eastern philosophy—the teenage Blackwood stole the book and skimming through it was a revelation-like experience for him. From then on, he always paid close attention to what his father's circle was preaching against, thus compiling a reading list for himself. This list included, among others, *Magic, White and Black* by Franz Hartmann, *The Perfect Way* by Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland, *Esoteric Buddhism* by A. P. Sinnett, and the *Bhagavad Gita*, and reading them had a considerable effect on him during his formative years. It is not surprising, then, that he eagerly turned to organised occultism as soon as he could, partly in the hope of gaining access to similar books and hence the wisdom transmitted in them.

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[40] Wouter J. Hanegraaff, *Western Esotericism: A Guide for the Perplexed*, Bloomsbury Guides for the Perplexed (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), vi.

[41] Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *The Western Esoteric Traditions: A Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 4.

[42] Arthur Versluis, *Restoring Paradise: Western Esotericism, Literature, Art, and Consciousness*, SUNY Series in Western Esoteric Traditions (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004), 1–7.

[43] Hanegraaff, *Western Esotericism*, 4–5.

[44] Ibid., 8.

[45] Blackwood, *Episodes Before Thirty*, 27–33.

The first occult institution that Blackwood came into contact with was the Society for Psychical Research. This British establishment was founded in 1882 by well-renowned scientists and scholars who, to quote Egil Asprem, "set out to bring the torch of science to the dim region of the occult."[46] Indeed, they used legitimate scientific methods to study a wide variety of previously dismissed paranormal concepts, such as communication with spirits, apparitional experience, and telepathy (a term coined by founding member Frederic W. H. Myers). Their main aim was to introduce these topics to a broader audience, and they successfully did so, for many intellectuals became interested and joined them in their efforts. Though Blackwood was not an official member, he carried out investigations of haunted houses on behalf of the society. Ashley relates some examples in his biography—they all ended in disappointment, but they might have inspired some of Blackwood's ghost stories from the beginning of his writing career.

The next organisation that has to be mentioned is the Theosophical Society, the teachings of which Blackwood "swallowed whole."[47] Launched in New York in 1875 by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Henry Steel Olcott, the association quickly gained international following and was in large part responsible for popularising such concepts in the West as reincarnation, karma, and ancient knowledge being passed down through the ages. Goodrick-Clarke describes the ideas of modern Theosophy—propagated in books like *Isis Unveiled* and *The Secret Doctrine* by the charismatic Blavatsky, published in 1877 and 1885 respectively—as an amalgamation of Neoplatonism, Renaissance magic, Kabbalah, Freemasonry, Egyptian and Greco-Roman mythology and religion, Buddhism, and Hinduism.[48] The various iterations of Theosophy also had a manifold impact on literature and culture in the twentieth century, of which an article by Olav Hammer (mentioning, among others, Blackwood) gives a concise account.[49] Blackwood learned about the Theosophical Society during his years in Canada and did not hesitate to apply for membership first in the Toronto Branch, then in the London Lodge soon after moving back to England. In addition, he acquainted himself with the leading Irish promoters of the Theosophical movement, most notably George William Russell (or Æ, as he was called) and William Butler Yeats. Blackwood occasionally quoted from the poems of Yeats in his own prose, and it was the Irish poet who eventually introduced him to the most illustrious occultist collective of the period—the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn.

The groundwork of Golden Dawn was laid down in 1887 by three members of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia, namely William Wynn Westcott, Samuel Liddell Mathers, and William Robert Woodman. In a succinct sentence, Goodrick-Clarke summarises the origins and agenda of the organisation as follows: "The Rosicrucian tradition of initiatory societies coupled with Freemasonry interacted with Eliphas Lévi's promotion of Western magic to generate a lively succession of English occultists involved in ceremonial magic from the end of the nineteenth century."[50] Blackwood proved to be an enthusiastic student, but Ashley speculates that he treated the order primarily as a social hub that enabled him to meet like-minded people for discussion of occult topics. There was at least one member of the Golden Dawn, however, with whom he could not get along well—the notorious Aleister Crowley. The antagonism between the two became evident in a very unfavourable review of *The Human Chord* by Crowley, which in turn might have been a reaction to the fact that Philip Skale, the novel's villain, appears to

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[46] Egil Asprem, "The Society for Psychical Research," in *The Occult World*, ed. Christopher Partridge, Routledge Worlds (New York: Routledge, 2015), 266.

[47] Blackwood, *Episodes Before Thirty*, 32.

[48] Goodrick-Clarke, *The Western Esoteric Traditions*, 211–12.

[49] Olav Hammer, "The Theosophical Current in the Twentieth Century," in *The Occult World*, ed. Christopher Partridge, Routledge Worlds (New York: Routledge, 2015).

[50] Goodrick-Clarke, *The Western Esoteric Traditions*, 196.

show similarities with Crowley, a divisive figure even within the order. According to Goodrick-Clarke, the major goal of the organisation's rituals was "to evoke powers on the inner or higher planes of reality," and the whole story of *The Human Chord* is built around Skale's attempt at one such ceremony, though with strongly questionable motives.[51] Crowley was undoubtedly an enigmatic figure and many are of the opinion that it was his machinations that ultimately led to the fragmentation of the Golden Dawn. After the separation, Blackwood joined A. E. Waite's offshoot of the order, but around this time he seemed to have lost some of his fervour.

Although Ashley notes that Blackwood's involvement in the activities of these organisations decreased proportionally as his success as a writer increased, occultism remained an essential facet of his life. He was already in his fifties when he learned of new developments in the field, like the theories of Gurdjieff, P. D. Ouspensky, and J. W. Dunne, but he still embraced them keenly, so occultism was certainly more than just a youthful rebellion in his case. Since the four short stories discussed in the next chapter had already been published at the time he encountered these fresh waves of occult thought, the analysis is restricted to those notions that could have influenced him during the writing process of these specific narratives. As for a brief summary of this chapter on theoretical background, the weird is understood in this thesis as a literary mode that evokes a sense of awe by challenging the everyday conception of reality, while the occult as an idea that can be connected to any of the modern esoteric currents.

3. Occult concepts in Algernon Blackwood's weird stories

3.1. Reincarnation in "Old Clothes"

The fact that Blackwood could succeed in becoming a well-established author can be ascribed to his skilfulness in writing ghost stories, a genre that was immensely popular in the Edwardian period. Actually, the majority of his early tales—that is, every single short story in his first two collections apart from a few exceptions, most notably "The Willows"—are traditional ghost stories to the core. For these, a great amount of inspiration came from his involvement with the Society for Psychical Research, but it was not necessarily the stories themselves, but the way they were presented that gained him acclaim. A contemporary reviewer of *The Bookman* magazine had the following praise for the contents of *The Empty House and Other Ghost Stories*, his first volume published in 1906:

> They are written so vividly and with such plausibility of circumstance that these most supernatural incidents wear a matter-of-fact vesture of reality and are the more ghostly and the more grimly impressive because of their every-day surroundings.[52]

Blackwood's distinct style is indeed commendable, but his talents were not at full display until he started to write about non-conventional topics, which fundamentally resulted from his occult teachings finding their way into his fiction. "Old Clothes," first collected for *The Lost Valley and Other Stories* in 1910, nicely illustrates this shift in his career, since it is a story that initially appears to be a typical tale of a haunted house (like many of his earlier works), but eventually turns out to be one built around a concept that featured heavily in the occult discourse of the period—reincarnation, or the rebirth of the soul. The theory that a soul can return to life in a different body has its origins in the Antiquity, but has been popularised by Blavatsky, who, after her travels to places like Tibet and India, introduced an Eastern understanding of rein-

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[51] Ibid., 207.

[52] Quoted in Ashley, *Starlight Man*, 171–72.

carnation to the Western audience via the teachings of the Theosophical Society. Blackwood, understandably fascinated by the idea as an eager Theosophist, uses the concept very cleverly in "Old Clothes."

The central character of the short story is Aileen, an eight-year-old girl who has an unusually vivid imagination. She not only seems to see and hear things that other people cannot, but she also accepts them as reality without any reservations. What is more concerning, however, is that these experiences often terrify her to such a degree that it is beginning to have a detrimental effect on her health. Theresa, the child's mother, is seriously worried and summons George, her brother (who narrates the story), for a visit, hoping that he, relying on his knowledge in psychology, can provide some advice concerning her daughter. When the siblings are privately discussing the subject for the first time, Theresa hints that what she is truly afraid of is not that Aileen might have a mental disorder, because she does not display any symptoms that would indicate such a condition apart from her colourful fantasies, but rather the possibility that she sees and hears these things for real, concluding that their house may be haunted. Believing that a change of atmosphere would surely be beneficial for the child, they temporarily move to an old family mansion in Norfolk near the sea, but this achieves the opposite effect, as her fits dramatically intensify in the new location. In addition, she develops a habit of drawing figures in costumes worn centuries ago, her general distaste for wearing a belt grows into a phobia, the doctor's suggestion that she should go on a diet triggers a hysterical reaction in her, and she is obsessed with a particular patch of wall in one of the unused rooms. Consequently, the theory that the disturbances are caused by ghosts is quickly abandoned, but the adults are still puzzled by the origins of Aileen's strange behaviour.

George remains determined to investigate Aileen's case and spends most of his time with the child in order to gain a more accurate understanding of the nature of her delusions. He learns that there are several characters populating the girl's imagination, but she is especially interested in and talkative about one named Philip, and when George asks further questions about this Philip, he is utterly shocked by his niece's answers—according to the child, he ought to know everything better, since he and Philip are, in fact, the same person. Aileen continues to talk about her imagined world openly, even revealing a few macabre details that are very surprising from someone of her age, and from this point forward, her fantasies have a palpable effect on the narrator, too. For instance, he starts to feel a pain in his wrists every time he is in the presence of the child and on one occasion he even mispronounces the name Aileen as Helen. George is even more perplexed than before, since he cannot explain these bizarre occurrences with the help of his psychological theories anymore.

The truth is finally discovered one night when they catch the child sleepwalking and George, via hypnotic suggestion, manages to extract the full story from the girl's subconscious. Apparently, Aileen's condition is caused by her remembering one of her past lives centuries ago, when she was Lady Helen, wife to the lord of the very same Norfolk manor they are currently staying on. Lady Helen had an extremely unhappy marriage with an infamously cruel ancestor of the narrator's family and secretly started an affair with a knight from the neighbouring lands called Sir Philip Lansing. The knight was about to elope with the lady across the sea, but the wicked landlord had learned about their plan and intervened just in time. As a punishment, he immured his wife alive in the walls of the house with an iron band fastened around her waist and left her to die either of starvation or of suffocation, while he ordered her lover's hands to be chopped off, so he was unable to set her free. Since Aileen's story is supported by official family documents as well as local folklore, George and Theresa cannot help but accept that the child can really recall these memories from a previous life. As a final piece of evidence, the skeletal remains of a woman are found between the walls when renovation work is undertaken

on the house some time later. Despite this grim reveal, the short story has a happy ending—George successfully uses hypnosis to make Aileen forget these disturbing events and takes the child for a holiday overseas, thus fulfilling a promise made centuries ago.

If reincarnation were not brought into the picture, "Old Clothes" would probably play out just like the rest of Blackwood's ghost stories, but since it is, the result is an unconventional narrative that is characterised by a definitely weird atmosphere, central to which is Aileen's portrayal as a "queer, wayward, mysterious little being."[53] Because of her ability to recollect the memories of a past existence, her presence always evokes a curious feeling in those around them. As the narrator explains:

> She was not eerie, bless her little heart of queerness and mystery, but she had a way of suggesting other ways of life and existence shouldering about us that made me look round in the dark and wonder what the shadows concealed or what waited round the next corner.[54]

This description is a perfect example for weird fiction at its most conspicuous, because it corresponds well to Miéville's notion about the mode's primary distinctive feature—its tendency to show the sense of the numinous operating hidden under the surface of the quotidian experience of everyday life. In this specific case, the source of the weird is a very un-childlike child, and the source of her extraordinariness is the fact that she has a reincarnated soul.

In fact, even before the adults figure out that they are dealing with a true case of reincarnation, George considers such a possibility, though he does not take it seriously. In the passage where the title of the short story comes from, he expresses his suspicions about the child in a quite poetic way:

> Were I a painter I might put her upon canvas in some imaginary portrait and call it, perhaps, "Reincarnation"—for I have never seen anything in child-life that impressed me so vividly with that odd idea of an old soul come back to the world in a new young body, a new Suit of Clothes.[55]

Joshi takes notice that Blackwood—with his choice of words for the title--plays with a traditional metaphor—the eternal soul inhabits different bodies from time to time, just like the body is constantly dressed in different attires.[56] The quotation is also interesting from an autobiographical point of view, as it contains an allusion to an important element of Blackwood's personal worldview. In *Episodes Before Thirty*, he writes at some length about how he likes to categorise his acquaintances as either "old souls" or "young souls."[57] According to this distinction, the "old souls" are those people whose souls have been reincarnated many times (whether they are aware of it or not) and who, as a consequence, are wiser, more empathic, and less interested in worldly matters, as opposed to the "young souls" who only pursue wealth, power, fame, and the like. Blackwood, unsurprisingly, finds the former group more appealing, while he considers "the Napoleons of the earth" the "youngest souls" of them all.[58]

Although Blackwood became somewhat sceptic towards the end of his life, he had been an ardent believer in reincarnation for the most of it, including the years prior to and during the Great War, when he wrote the majority of his fiction. The esoteric books he encountered as an

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53 Blackwood, "Old Clothes," 133.
54 Ibid., 150.
55 Ibid., 141.
56 Joshi, *The Weird Tale*, 99.
57 Blackwood, *Episodes Before Thirty*, 259–61.
58 Ibid.

adolescent, including those of Blavatsky, were filled with plenty of theories about reincarnation, which was probably one of the most influential factors in his decision to join the Theosophical Society. Later, when he was already a member of the organisation, he could gather even more information at the meetings, so it is plausible to say that he had a well-developed view on the subject. It is no wonder, then, that "Old Clothes" is not the only Blackwood narrative that features this occult concept. Ashley, for example, though describing it as one of the better short stories in the corpus, sees this one merely as a "practice run for [his] major novel of reincarnation *Julius LeVallon*."[59] Joshi also identifies reincarnation as one of the two central themes in the author's work, but he spends more time discussing the previously mentioned novel, too. It should also be mentioned, that the other theme Joshi mentions—nature—appears to be the more dominant of the two.[60]

3.2. *Anima mundi* in "The Man Whom the Trees Loved"

Nature was arguably Blackwood's biggest inspiration—not only for his writing career, but also for his life in general. Even from a very young age, he embarked on long walking trips, took multiple rowing and paddling journeys down the Danube and other rivers, explored the Canadian wilderness and the Caucasus Mountains, and remained an able skier well into his seventies. Michelle Poland compares Blackwood to William Wordsworth on the basis of their shared fascination with walking, a practice she argues to be similar to writing.[61] There is a further commonality between the two men—Blackwood, just like Wordsworth, was at the height of his creativity while he was in nature, so he often took a notebook with him for his strolls to pen down sketches that he finished on his typewriter in the evenings. His love for nature manifested in a large number of his stories and, since many of them contemplate about the relationship between humans and nature, it seems perfectly logical that his fiction has become a point of interest in the context of ecocriticism. In the early 1910s, he produced enough of these narratives to compile a book titled *Pan's Garden: A Volume of Nature Stories*, which was published in 1912 (though it should also be noted that the collection includes a few non-nature stories as well). Ashley neatly sums up Blackwood's affinity with the natural world in a sentence stating that he "sold his soul to Nature," and something remarkably similar happens to the titular character of the opening tale in the volume—"The Man Whom the Trees Loved."[62]

The person whom the title refers to is David Bittacy, an elderly man who, for most of his life, worked as an arborist in the forests of India. At the beginning of the story, he is already spending his retirement years in a secluded cottage somewhere in the Hampshire countryside, living in an idyllic marriage with his wife Sophia. They love and respect each other, but there are two minor discords between them. In Mrs Bittacy's subconscious, after long periods of separation due to his husband's service in India, the woods and anything that may be connected to them have become associated with danger, so she cannot share his unusually strong enthusiasm for excursions in the forest. Mr Bittacy, in turn, can at times get slightly irritated by the religious zeal of Sophia, who thinks of the Bible as a "Baedeker for earth and heaven" and lives

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[59] Ashley, *Starlight Man*, 202. The novel, along with its sequel *The Bright Messenger*, is discussed in Graf, *Talking to the Gods*, 89–95.

[60] Joshi, *The Weird Tale*, 99.

[61] Poland, "Walking with the Goat-God," 56.

[62] Ashley, *Starlight Man*, 133.

her life accordingly.[63] The *status quo* of the couple's relationship is brilliantly encapsulated in the following two sentences: "*She* loved her God and him. *He* loved the trees and her."[64]

Their bucolic existence is disturbed by the appearance of Arthur Sanderson, a painter who cannot paint anything but trees, but he can paint them in a way that they seem to come alive on the canvas. During one of his lengthy conversations with the Bittacys, he reveals that he holds animistic beliefs, which arouses the curiosity of David, who is open to the idea that every single thing in nature is alive in its own way, but goes against the Christian values of Sophia, who views the soul as a gift by God to humanity—and to humanity alone. Even though Sanderson is noticeably careful about his choice of words regarding the subject, there are moments when his well-formulated worldview becomes obvious, like in the following utterance from him about the life of plants:

> They breathe, they eat, they digest, they move about, and they adapt themselves to their environment as men and animals do. They have a nervous system too... at least a complex system of nuclei which have some of the qualities of nerve cells. They may have memory too. Certainly, they know definite action in response to stimulus. And though this may be physiological, no one has proved that it is only that, and not—psychological.[65]

Mr Bittacy is easily convinced by the painter's arguments and begins to feel an even stronger attraction towards the natural world, more specifically towards the forest that surrounds their house. Mrs Bittacy, on the other hand, cannot comprehend Sanderson's line of thought and automatically dismisses it as blasphemy. The painter also posits a theory as to why his host has been under the impression lately that the woods, in a strange way, seem to welcome his presence. Trees, as Sanderson speculates, not only have some sort of consciousness of their own, but also a collective one that connects them all around the world. This allows them to be aware of Mr Bittacy's lifelong work benefiting their kind and, as a form of expressing their gratitude and appreciation, they seek two merge his life with theirs. In other words, they invite him to share their own mode of existence.

What follows in the rest of the short story can be best described as a strenuous battle for the soul of Mr Bittacy between his wife and the forest. He spends more and more time among the trees and, at least in the eyes of Sophia, resembles less and less his former self. Fearing that she is going to lose her husband, Mrs Bittacy's dislike for the woods increases dramatically—she even starts to have nightmares about trees, in which the forest appears as an enormous wave of destruction, much like the great flood that destroys the world in the Old Testament. Even their annual holiday has to postponed, because Mr Bittacy says that he is unable to leave their home (meaning his trees); he claims, with a subtle play of words, that his life is "deeply rooted in this place."[66] Blackwood develops the metaphor even further by constantly portraying David in a way that he resembles a tree, describing, for instance, his movement as swaying and tree-like. This leads up to the most grotesque scene in the short story, which occurs when Mrs Bittacy, bravely conquering her fears, decides to follow her husband into the woods, though she is completely unprepared for what she is about to witness. After wandering for a while through the forest paths in search of him, she comes across "a man, like a tree, walking," whom she recognises as Mr Bittacy:

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63 Blackwood, "The Man Whom the Trees Loved," 11–12

64 Ibid., 53, emphasis in original.

65 Ibid., 31.

66 Ibid., 60.

> With hands behind his back, and head uplifted, he moved quite slowly, as though absorbed in his own thoughts. Hardly fifty paces separated them, but he had no inkling of her presence there so near. With mind intent and senses all turned inwards, he marched past her like a figure in a dream, and like a figure in a dream she saw him go. Love, yearning, pity rose in a storm within her, but as in nightmare she found no words or movement possible. She sat and watched him go—go from her—go into the deeper reaches of the green enveloping woods.[67]

At this precise moment, Sophia realises with horror that David has terminally succumbed to the temptation of the natural forces, and that she has lost the struggle to save her husband's soul. All that remains of Mr Bittacy by the end of the tale is an empty shell that has only the outward appearance of a human being, since his soul now forms a spiritual communion with the forest.

Punter and Byron praise Blackwood's "thrilling depiction of natural forces which are only partially transmutable into words," and this narrative nicely illustrates their point, since what principally makes it weird is evidently the author's portrayal of the woods, which is based on two main components.[68] First, as Poland rightfully observes in her essay, the implications that the title of the short story has with its passive construction—it is "The Man Whom the Trees Loved," not "The Man Who Loved the Trees"—should not go unnoticed.[69] Blackwood's choice for the title cleverly forebodes that his intention is to challenge the generally accepted perception of the natural world, or in this case, that of a single forest. Beyond any doubt, he does so successfully, because, as Poland takes notice, the readers are not faced with a familiar, "quantifiable mass of wood," but with "a supernaturally powerful, communicative, unpredictable and nurturing character."[70] Second, Blackwood endows the woods with an unmistakable quality of the sublime. For example, it is pointed out that Mr Bittacy's forest is an ancient one that has been standing there—unaltered by modern civilisation—for several centuries, at least since the eleventh, when it already formed a part of the hunting grounds that belonged to William the Conqueror. As a result, this primeval forest has an "august, deep splendour" that puts it in sharp contrast with plant life governed by humans, such as parks and gardens, for it is confidently more alluring, but not without a terrifying aspect.[71]

The former point about Blackwood's depiction of the forest can be nicely connected to an occult concept that is included in the teachings of both the Theosophical Society and the Golden Dawn, though in the author's case it predates his involvement in organised occultism, This concept is the *anima mundi*, or the soul of the world, that refers to a spiritual dimension that links together all things alive on the planet (and even beyond), and which can be accessed by attaining a higher, more expanded state of consciousness. It is this world soul that makes the spiritual union between Mr Bittacy and the forest possible. In the beginning of the short story, Sanderson explains the idea to the Bittacys in a simplistic but effective way, thus opening the eyes of his host to such a prospect: "The universe [...] is all one, really. We're puzzled by the gaps we cannot see across, but as a fact, I suppose, there are no gaps at all."[72] Blackwood, too, could glimpse into this wholeness from a surprisingly young age. In *Episodes Before Thirty*, he claims to have developed his perception of the *anima mundi* as a child—he would often climb out of the window of his room at nights only to be alone and undisturbed on the family estate, for he had

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67 Ibid., 79.
68 Punter and Byron, *The Gothic*, 90.
69 Poland, "Walking with the Goat-God," 60.
70 Ibid., 63.
71 Blackwood, "The Man Whom the Trees Loved," 11.
72 Blackwood.

discovered that his perception of the spiritual realm is heightened in such a serene setting, and he brought this habit into adulthood:

> Forests, mountains, desolate places, especially perhaps open spaces like the prairies or the desert, but even, too, the simple fields, the lanes, and little hills, offered an actual sense of companionship no human intercourse could possibly provide. In times of trouble, as equally in times of joy, it was to Nature I ever turned instinctively. In those moments of deepest feeling when individuals must necessarily be alone, yet stand at the same time in most urgent need of understanding companionship, it was Nature and Nature only that could comfort me. When the cable came, suddenly announcing my father's death, I ran straight into the woods... This call sounded above all other calls, music coming so far behind it as to seem an "also ran." Even in those few, rare times of later life, when I fancied myself in love, this spell would operate—a sound of rain, a certain touch of colour in the sky, the scent of a wood-fire smoke, the lovely cry of some singing wind against the walls or window—and the human appeal would fade in me, or, at least, its transitory character become pitifully revealed. The strange sense of a oneness with Nature was an imperious and royal spell that overmastered all other spells, nor can the hint of comedy lessen its reality. Its religious origin appears, perhaps, in the fact that sometimes, during its fullest manifestation, a desire stirred in me to leave a practical, utilitarian world I loathed and become—a monk![73]

The previous passage is quoted at length, because it shows really well how strongly nature and spirituality are connected in Blackwood's mind. *Anima mundi*, too, appears in other stories, most notably in *The Centaur*, which is perhaps his most acclaimed novel. In a chapter discussing the world soul in the context of the novel, Graf argues that the concept is comparable with the collective unconscious of Jung, which is interesting, because there is an allusion to the Jungian theory in "The Man Whom the Trees Loved" as well.[74] What is certain, however, is that nature and spirituality are important themes for Blackwood, and he explores their interaction in different ways.

3.3. Neopaganism in "The Sea Fit"

"The Sea Fit" is contained in the same collection as the previously discussed narrative, so it should not be surprising at all that it, too, elaborates on the nature theme that permeates Blackwood's literary output. Even though this tale cannot be specifically linked to any of the occult organisations in which he is known to have had a membership, it demonstrates that the author had a well-informed vision of the occult's place in the culture of modernity, which is by no means restricted to organised forms of occultism. In this particular short story, Blackwood is again addressing the relationship that can be observed between the forces of nature and the spiritual capabilities of humans, but this time from a different approach. Drawing on the presence of and the possibilities offered by elemental worship in the modern age, "The Sea Fit" might be considered as the author's acknowledgement of the widespread pagan revival emerging in the Western world.

These modern forms of pagan beliefs and practices are collected under the umbrella term Neopaganism in the scholarly context. Most of them have emerged as a reaction to the noticeable dissatisfaction with Christianity as the dominant religion of Europe or as an expression of the yearning for the ancient, pre-Christian past of specific cultures, and some of them are widely popular even today. In the introduction to her thorough article on the subject, Joanne E. Pearson claims that these currents are "often inspired by the practices of indigenous peoples and the paganisms of the ancient world revealed through archaeology, classics, myth and history,"

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[73] Blackwood, *Episodes Before Thirty*, 35.
[74] Graf, *Talking to the Gods*, 96.

and adds that the practices and beliefs of the proponents of Neopaganism are "revived or re-created in the context of modern-day life in a continual creative process."[75] In addition, Pearson identifies Wicca, Druidry, Heathenism, and Baltic Neopaganism as the four most common manifestations of the phenomenon. The events chronicled in "The Sea Fit" correspond to the ideas expressed by the third group, which refers to the revival of pre-Christian tradition and ancient concepts associated with the Germanic people in the northern parts of Europe, especially Scandinavia.

The story is set in a seaside bungalow at Poole Harbour. In its descriptive introduction, Blackwood alludes to the world soul again, but in the case of this story, it is not used as a plot device, but serves merely to set the mood of the narrative:

> For through that moonlight, through that roar of surf, there penetrated a singular note of earnestness and meaning—almost as though these common processes of Nature were instinct with the flush of an unusual activity that sought audaciously to cross the borderland into some subtle degree of conscious life.[76]

It is on such an atmospheric evening that three old friends gather to spend the Easter weekend together. Unbeknownst to them, however, this holiday is going to be centred around not the resurrection of the Christ, but the resurgence of an unexpected divinity. The three characters are Major Reese, a military man; Dr Malcolm Reese, his half-brother, and Captain Erricson, their host. "Big Erricson" is described as "Norwegian by extraction, student by adoption, wanderer by blood, a Viking reincarnated if ever there was one," but more importantly as a somewhat "primitive man in whom burns an inborn love and passion for the sea that amounts to positive worship."[77] Worship and Erricson's Scandinavian ancestry are going to be the vital factors in this short story

The entire tale is one long conversation that quickly intensifies once the course of it shifts to Erricson's views about religion. He firmly believes that the gods (apparently pagan ones) are not dead, but merely withdrawn from the modern world, still accessible to honest worshippers, which might as well be interpreted as Blackwood's provocative nod to the advocates of Nietzsche. As to provide evidence for his claim, Erricson declares to have seen several terrifying rituals during his sea journeys all around the world. He also beliefs that sacrifice is the ultimate form of worship and that "[t]he devout worshipper [...] should go to his death singing, as to a wedding—the wedding of his soul with the particular deity he has loved and served all his life."[78] In the meantime, an ominous storm is approaching the harbour and Erricson's "sea fit" gets more intense in accordance with it. Father Norden, Erricson's nephew joins them in the bungalow, summoned by the Norwegian's worried body-servant, and claims that on his way there, he "almost expected to hear old Triton blow his wreathèd horn," which alludes to a Wordsworth poem about the yearning for an earlier age when humans lived in closer contact with nature.[79] What is hinted at in the Wordsworth poem is going to actually happen in this Blackwood story, as Erricson's inspired speech seems to have caught the attention of the sea deity he worships. When the storm is at its hardest around the bungalow, he suddenly jumps out of the window

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[75] Joanne E. Pearson, "Neopaganism," in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, ed. Wouter J. Hanegraaff (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 828.

[76] Blackwood, "The Sea Fit," 115

[77] Ibid., 116.

[78] Ibid., 118.

[79] Ibid., 127.

with a loud cry and starts to run towards the waves. The others are unable to catch up with him, but are close enough to witness the completion of the Scandinavian's sacrifice:

> The next instant, curving over like a falling wave, he swept along the glistening surface of the sands—and was gone. In fluid form, wave-like, his being slipped away into the Being of the Sea. A violent tumult convulsed the surface of the tide near in, but at once, and with amazing speed, passed careering away into deeper water—far out. To his singular death, as to a wedding, Erricson had gone, singing, and well content.[80]

It remains an open question whether they have truly witnessed a religious sacrifice and the appearance of an elemental deity, or only Erricson's passionate talk has had an effect on their nerves and their eccentric host has just committed suicide by drowning himself. Considering it is a Blackwood story, the former option seems more probable.

By synchronising the intensity of the storm and the intensity of the conversation, Blackwood uses a technique that can be often found in Gothic fiction, so "The Sea Fit" makes it easy to see why the Gothic and the weird, as it has been pointed out in reference to Machin, are intimately intertwined. But this narrative also demonstrates what has been established as the major characteristic feature of the mode, its ability to undermine the conventional understanding of reality through atmosphere building. In "the Sea Fit," this quality is the most palpable in the following quotation:

> It was really a little bit beyond comprehension how the wild words of this old sea-dog in the full sway of his "sea-fit" had altered the very air of the room as well as the personal equations of its occupants, for an extraordinary atmosphere of enthusiasm that was almost splendour pulsed about him, yet vilely close to something that suggested terror! Through the armour of every-day common sense that normally clothed the minds of these other two, had crept the faint wedges of a mood that made them vaguely wonder whether the incredible could perhaps sometimes—by way of bewildering exceptions—actually come to pass. The moods of their deepest life, that is to say, were already affected. An inner, and thoroughly unwelcome, change was in progress. And such psychic disturbances are hard to arrest.[81]

As this excerpt clearly shows, "The Sea Fit" is a very illustrative short story of how the weird atmosphere should look like. Interestingly, Lovecraft does not mention this story in his "Supernatural Horror in Literature," but it is quite probable that he read it at some point prior to or early in his writing career, because its core idea can be spotted in a large number of his own works. Old gods, who lie hidden at the bottom of the sea, waiting for their time to come, as well as their worshippers who eagerly anticipate their return—these are all found in some of his best-known stories, such as "Dagon," "The Call of Cthulhu," and "The Shadow over Innsmouth."

3.4. Egyptomany in "A Descent into Egypt"

"In modern times, ancient Egypt has inspired many works of literature, music, and art," writes Antoine Faivre, and it is true for the writings of Blackwood, too.[82] For the last couple of centuries, the country has not only been a popular destination for tourists, but it has also attracted a lot of people invested in the occult. According to Faivre, two factors are responsible for this phenomenon that is usually referred to as Egyptomany (or Egyptophilia): the fact that Egypt

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[80] Ibid., 131–32.

[81] Ibid., 125.

[82] Antoine Faivre, "Egyptomany," in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, ed. Wouter J. Hanegraaff (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 328.

"differs widely from the common European heritage of Greco-Roman culture, thus readily lending itself to mystery and appealing to a taste for exoticism," and that "its antiquity has caused it to appear in the Western imagination as the cradle or depository of a buried primordial or 'traditional' knowledge."[83] In the context of occultism, the remnants of the country's ancient civilisations (which are among the earliest ones known on the planet) are full of concealed wisdom ready to be accessed through specific means. For the Theosophists, Egypt is a hotspot of ancient knowledge, while the magicians of the Golden Dawn use various Egyptian elements in their ceremonies.

Blackwood visited the country several times during his life, though only as a tourist on every occasion, unlike his fellow Golden Dawn member Crowley, who performed various rituals in the Egyptian desert and *The Book of the Law*, the central text of his Thelema, was allegedly dictated to him there by an ancient spirit. Blackwood, nevertheless, was certainly captivated by the qualities of Egypt. In his article published in *Country Life* magazine shortly after his first visit, he writes the following about the experience:

> Its scale has stupefied the ability to measure, appraise, estimate; and this balance once destroyed, wonder and awe capture the heart, going what pace they please. Size works half the miracle, for it is size including a quality of terror—monstrous; and, but for the glorious beauty that thunders through it, this sheer size might easily work a very different spell—dismay. The modern mind, no longer terrified by Speed, to which it has grown contemptuously accustomed, yet shrinks a little before this display of titanic and bewildering size.[84]

Blackwood's fascination with the North African country made its way into several of his stories, each of which would demonstrate well what has been discussed so far about Egyptomany. The most notable among these, perhaps, is "A Descent into Egypt," which is included in the 1914 collection *Incredible Adventures*. Just like the author's other Egyptian tales, it reads like his love letter to the country and almost everything he mentions in the above quoted excerpt can be found in it one way or another.

The story focuses on a middle-aged man named George Isley, an acquaintance of the unnamed narrator. When they meet for the first time in years in a small hotel in Helouan, the first impression of the narrator is that Isley has changed in a remarkably bizarre way. Even though he appears to be in a perfect physical and mental shape, his vitality seems to have somehow disappeared entirely. The narrator recounts how Isley used to be an energetic person with a number of successful enterprises behind him and how he generally enjoyed all things modern life could offer. This distinct attribute of his, however, has mysteriously and completely vanished. In the words of the narrator:

> George Isley to-day is a picture with no meaning in it that charms merely by the harmonious colouring of an inoffensive subject. He moves undiscovered in the little world of society to which he was born, secure in the groove first habit has made comfortably automatic for him. [...] He is an admirable, perfect automaton.[85]

The reason for this extraordinary change is soon revealed through a series of conversations between the two. In the last couple of years, Isley has become interested in archaeology, but the secrets of ancient Egypt have proven to be too much for him, because what he has been doing is not archaeology in the traditional sense of the word.

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[83] Ibid.
[84] Quoted in Ashley, *Starlight Man*, 236.
[85] Blackwood, "A Descent into Egypt," 244.

As it turns out, Isley has not been alone in his endeavours—he has formed a partnership with an enigmatic figure called Moleson, who, appearing later as a character in the story, introduces himself as "a speculative archaeologist [...] and an imaginative Egyptologist."[86] While they were excavating a tomb in the nearby valley, they unearthed several artefacts which had been used by the Egyptian priests of old for ceremonial purposes. The narrator learns that Moleson's dubious intention is to recreate a ritual of sun worship that was practiced in the period of Aknahton. He and Isley have been experimenting with that for a while, and it has already had a serious effect on the latter's soul. Isley is so overwhelmed by the glimpses into the ancient splendour that is still contained in the ruins and sands of Egypt that he is unable to exist in the present anymore, hence his reduction to what is described by the narrator as an automaton. Unwillingly, the narrator witnesses their latest attempt at the ceremony, but claims that he cannot give a credible account of it, stating that "[t]he incredible adventure was literally true, but, being spiritual, may not be told in terms of a detective story."[87] The Egyptian element combined with the possibilities opened up by the ritualistic use of sound show the unmistakable influence of Blackwood's involvement in the ceremonies of the Golden Dawn.[88]

Throughout the short story, ancient Egypt is compared with the modern world in a way that the former dwarves the latter in every possible aspect. In the very beginning, the narrator points out that what he is about to tell will be meaningful only "to the handful who realise that trains and motors are not the only means of travel left to our progressive race," alluding to the fact that the whole narrative is the description of a spiritual journey.[89] The destination of this journey—ancient Egypt—has the capacity to render the present meaningless: "The whole of modern life, indeed, seemed suddenly reduced to a paltry insignificance that produced a longing for the pageantry of those millions of vanished souls."[90] Furthermore, Egypt is personified in a way that when the characters become aware of its greatness, they feel overwhelmed:

> It seemed a third had silently joined our little table in the corner. Something intruded, evoked by the power of what our conversation skirted but ever left unmentioned. It was huge and shadowy; it was also watchful. Egypt came gliding, floating up beside us. I saw her reflected in his face and gaze. The desert slipped in through walls and ceiling, rising from beneath our feet, settling about us, listening, peering, waiting. The strange obsession was sudden and complete.[91]

Since this short starts to build the weird atmosphere at the very beginning and maintains it throughout in the form of lengthy descriptive passages, it is hard to pick a single episode in which the weird is the most clearly visible.

Ashley briefly summarises the story by stating that "[i]t translates 'The Man Whom the Trees Loved' to Egypt," and he is right, since David Bittacy and George Isley lose their souls to something beyond the borders of consensus reality in a remarkably similar way.[92] While Joshi acknowledges the merits of "The Willows" and agrees with Lovecraft on the story's significance, he considers "A Descent into Egypt" the author's "finest single work."[93] In addition, Joshi

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86 Ibid., 317.
87 Ibid., 275.
88 *The Human Chord* also depicts sound used in rituals, see Graf, *Talking to the Gods, 85*.
89 Blackwood, "A Descent into Egypt," 242.
90 Ibid., 271.
91 Ibid., 258–59.
92 Ashley, *Starlight Man*, 250.
93 Joshi, *The Weird Tale*, 103.

thinks that *Incredible Adventures* is "the premier weird collection of this or any other century."[94] Unfortunately, when it was published, the Great War had already been raging on and Blackwood's flow of creative writing was put to a halt.

4. Conclusions

This thesis has aimed to show that the stories that can be seen as the products of Blackwood's most creative period—some of which are in a great deal responsible for cementing his place in the canon of weird fiction—demonstrate the undeniable influence of the author's background in occultism. Four short stories have been analysed to establish that the weird atmosphere that characterise them can be closely related to specific occult concepts the writer is known to have been familiar with, primarily through his involvement in the most notable occult organisations of his age. First, it has been examined how the notion of reincarnation, one of the central beliefs of the Theosophical Society, is used to put a twist on the traditional haunted house tale in "Old Clothes" by depicting a child whose young body is possessed by an old soul. Second, the *anima mundi*, the world soul in the occult thought, has been explored as it is manifested in "The Man Whom the Trees Loved," a narrative that is reminiscent of a bizarre love triangle between a man, his wife, and the forest surrounding their home. Third, "The Sea Fit" has been discussed, a story that capitalises on ideas that are associated with Neopaganism, the re-emergence of pagan rituals in modern times, and shows one such ritual successfully carried out by a worshipper of the sea. And fourth, Egyptomany, the occultists' obsession with ancient Egypt, has been the focus of analysis in "A Descent into Egypt," a short story that gives an account of how a series of rituals comparable to those of the Golden Dawn results in the disappearance of a man's vitality.

It has also been indicated that occultism and weird fiction have some more general points of intersection, not only those that are detectable in the stories of Blackwood. The most notable among these is a certain dissatisfaction with the experiences offered by modernity. The occult, if understood in the narrower sense of the word, refers to those specific forms of esoteric thought that have emerged in the nineteenth century to serve as alternatives to dominant forms of religion, philosophy, and science. Weird fiction, having emerged in roughly the same period, seeks to underpin the generally accepted notions about the perception of reality, thus invoking an intense sense of awe. Bearing all these in mind, it would seem reasonable to investigate on a wider scale whether both the occult and the weird are rooted in the same aversion to modernity.

What can be taken for granted, as this thesis has argued, is that both the occult and the weird are unmistakably present in the stories of Blackwood. Given that the corpus of the author is very extensive, a thorough study of it would have exceeded the confines of a master's thesis, but this analysis of four carefully selected short stories might provide a sufficient starting point for further research. Finally, since Blackwood's fiction can definitely be categorised under the label of (re)enchantment, as this thesis has hoped to prove, it is perhaps high time to reconsider the significance of his contributions to literature.

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[94] Ibid., 131.

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Kiyotaka Sueyoshi

Walt Whitman's Common Sense*

Abstract

This thesis intends to show how Walt Whitman's olfactory metaphors reflect his democratic idea of America. Whitman's usage of olfactory metaphors and its relation with Whitman's democratic idea has been so far a neglected research area. Whitman's poetic experiment, consisting of its new form and contents, reflects his distinctive idea of the relationship among America, democracy, and poetry. In Whitman's poetry the democratic ideals America represents for him are connected to his imagery related to the human body. His usage of corporeal metaphors, particularly olfactory metaphors, intends to bolster the American Experiment by turning upside down the two dichotomies of the soul and body and of the Old and the New world. In his personalization of his ideas about democracy and America through those metaphors, Whitman shows that before a spiritual existence, we are endowed with a corporeal existence and that Americans shall turn not to the Old World but to what is unique to America. From those ideas, the American common emotional backbone should be derived. Whitman's poetry is language experiment to search for self-expression of America, and it is through olfactory metaphors that air and leaves of grass transform from an inactive "what is always there" to active agents, symbols of eternal egalitarianism. This finer reconfiguration of daily experiences through the sense of smell makes the ordinary extraordinary. Whitman did not attempt to depict representative American individuals to be modeled after, but a poetic mindset by which what unfolded in America could be understood as a grand event of human destiny, and it is this mindset that makes particular details of daily life poetic as well as grand. In turn, his democratic idea revolves around this poetic possibility, which enables people to form emotional ties.

1. Introduction

For Whitman, sense has a double meaning: first, it refers to Whitman's idiosyncratic conception of the senses and his language to express them; second, it refers to Whitman's democratic sense, the mainspring of his attempt to connect his poetry and his democratic idea and of calling for people's action, like Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* did. This thesis intends to show how Walt Whitman's olfactory metaphors reflect his democratic idea of America.

In Whitman's time, democracy was not the well-established norm but rather an exception. Europe was engulfed in revolution and counter-revolution, oscillating between aristocracy and democracy. Democracy, and Union were in a more fragile state than nowadays.

Through his poetry, Whitman tried to heighten the individual and collective consciousness of democratic equality, which is one of the cornerstones of his idea of democracy. In so doing, he also disseminated anew the idea that each individual's active commitment and participation are an integral part of the U.S. distinctive democratic process.[1] With these goals in mind, he criticized the traditional hierarchy of the body – soul dichotomy; Whitman put the body above the soul because he thought that all creatures, including human beings, are equal and even inter-

* MA Thesis. Supervisor: Ágnes Zsófia Kovács

1 Stephen Mennell, *The American Civilizing Process* (Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2007), 38.

changeable in terms of corporeal existence.[2] Furthermore, with the intention of emphasizing both corporeal existence and the non-hierarchy among senses, Whitman forefronted the olfactory sense.

As Louise Vinge has argued in *The five senses: Studies in a literary tradition*, among senses, sight and hearing, considered solely related to reason and civilization, have enjoyed primacy over other sense of smell, taste and touch, and literal representations of senses have reflected this hierarchy among senses.[3] It is against the background of this view of senses that Whitman took an iconoclastic stance and, in his poetry, placed the sense of smell in the positive light in order to signify a clear break with the influence of Europe and create something distinctive to America, not just the adaptation of the Old World. Indeed, Whitman's forefronting of the sense of smell is a part of his "language experiment."[4] He searched for self-expression of America with his "barbaric yawp,"[5] and olfactory metaphors are often used to express Nature's (and Democracy's) "invisible process,"[6] which I will show in the following chapters.

In Whitman's early poetry the democratic ideals America represents for him are connected to his imagery related to the human body. In particular, the roles assigned to olfactory metaphors in his poems indicate his debasement of conventional hierarchies of value connected to the body.

2. Three formal and social readings of Whitman's works

There are numerous critics who have dealt with Walt Whitman, and their approaches are richly varied. Those critics have tried to interpret his works from various perspectives: Whitman's linguistic features, political ideas, personal background including his homosexuality, and so on.[7]

From the vast body of Whitman's reception, I focused on readings that discuss his language and investigate his political ideas. First, Kenneth Burke's *Policy Made Personal* is on Whitman's language in his personalization of his ideas and second, Enikő Bollobás's *Tradition and Innovation in American Free Verse: Whitman to Duncan* is on Whitman's prosody, form, content, and language examined through 'grammertrical' analysis, whose task is "to describe an intricate coalescence of sound and meaning, of meter and grammar, of aesthetic and cognitive impulses."[8] Thus, the factors in the act of Whitman's poetization are holistically highlighted. Third, Shira Wolosky's *Poetry and Public Discourse, 1820–1910* foregrounds the relationship between his works and the society at the time.

Burke here is the formalist, Bollobás moves from grammar and form towards the reader's cognition, and Wolosky performs a contextual reading that explains the formal changes in their cultural political setting. These multiple viewpoints throw into sharp relief the relationship between Whitman's language and his sociopolitical ideas. His personal sense is on one axis, his democratic sense on another, where the personal and the political Whitman alternates in the space filled with corporate metaphors, especially olfactory ones.

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[2] Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass* (New York: Walt Whitman. 1855), 56.

[3] Louise Vinge, *The five senses: Studies in a literary tradition* (Paris: LiberLaromedel, 1975), 25,157.

[4] Horace Traubel, *An American Primer by Walt Whitman with facsimiles of the original manuscript* (Boston: Small, Maynard and company, 1904), viii.

[5] Whitman, 1855, 57.

[6] Walt Whitman, *Specimen Days & Collect* (Philadelphia: Rees Welsh & Co., 1882), 197.

[7] Edwin Haviland Miller, *Walt Whitman's "Song of Myself": A Mosaic of Interpretations* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1989), XV.

[8] Enikő Bollobás, *Tradition and Innovation in American Free Verse: Whitman to Duncan* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986), 55.

Most of this thesis is about the first half of Whitman's career as a poet, not about his latter half, in which he became more and more unwilling to use corporeal metaphors because of the changes in both the U.S sociopolitical situation and his own physical and mental condition, especially after he suffered paralytic stroke in 1873. Even before this stroke, Whitman himself, in the preface of the 1872 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, acknowledged the difference between the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* and later ones:

> The impetus and ideas urging me, for some years past, to an utterance, or attempt at utterance, of New World songs, and an epic of Democracy, having already had their published expression, as well as I can expect to give it, in "*Leaves of Grass*," the present and any future pieces from me are really but the surplusage forming after that volume, or the wake eddying behind it. [...]Having from early manhood abandon'd the business pursuits and applications usual in my time and country, and obediently yielded myself up ever since to the impetus mention'd, and to the work of expressing those ideas, it may be that mere habit has got dominion of me, when there is no real need of saying any thing further.[9]

Whitman's awareness of the change in his works makes sense since he considers them as a part of Nature, in its essence, change. As regards the change in Whitman's works, the critics' opinions differ, and they will be looked at closely in chapter 2.3.

2.1. Kenneth Burke's *Policy Made Personal*

Kenneth Burke paid attention specifically to olfactory metaphors in his *Policy Made Personal: Whitman's Verse and Prose-Salient Traits* (1955) with the focus on the process in which Whitman's policy became personalized through language. In his prefatory note Burke stated that "a better subtitle would be On Interrelations Among Key Terms in Whitman's Language,"[10] illustrating the central point of the essay: Whitman's signification of his ideas through his usage of language. The essay is divided into three parts: Vistas (*Democratic Vistas*), Leaves (*Leaves of Grass*), and Lilacs (*When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd*). He claims:

> The plan here is to consider first Whitman's statement of policy in *Democratic Vistas*. Even there his views of history, society, and nature are personalized somewhat. But the full job of personalization is done in his *Leaves of Grass*, which is to be considered in a second section. And finally, since both of these sections are general in their approach, a third section will put the main stress upon one poem, "*When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd*."[11]

This essay of Burke on Whitman was "conceived and written within the context of Burke's dramatistic poetics."[12] Burke's objective is to illustrate his own theory that all great literary works are symbolic acts for the author, and thus Burke's focus is on Whitman's symbolic acts, the process of Whitman's ideas being personalized through traits of his language, and not on Whitman's vision in itself.[13]

Part II of Burke's essay *(Leaves of Grass)* has direct relevance to my research. Here Burke classifies olfactory metaphors as "the scent theme:"

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[9] Whitman, 1882, 275, 276.

[10] Kenneth Burke, "Policy Made Personal: Whitman's Verse and Prose-Salient Traits." In Harold Bloom, ed., *Bloom's Modern Critical Views: Walt Whitman* (New York: Chelsea House, 1985), 27.

[11] Ibid.

[12] William H. Rueckert, *Kenneth Burke's Encounters with Walt Whitman*. 1988, 4. available: http://ir.uiowa.edu/wwqr/vol6/iss2/2, 62

[13] Ibid.

> "Leaves" and "grass" cross over into the scent category, in the reference to roots and leaves as "perfume," or in lines such as "The prairie-grass dividing, its special odor breathing," and "The sniff of green leaves and dry leaves ... and of hay in the barn"—or the reference to "words simple as grass" that are "wafted with the odor of his body or breath.[14]

After grouping "Leaves" and "grass" into the scent category, he scrutinizes the features of each and the relation between them. "Leaves" are a part of "Grass," which signifies the relationship between individuals and the whole. With the ubiquity of "Grass," it is inferable that "Leaves of Grass" represents both vertical and horizontal expansion. Simultaneously, "Leaves of Grass" also have temporal dimension. For Whitman, they represent the everlasting cycle: birth, death, and life, in-between of them. These spatio-temporal dimensions of "Leaves of Grass" illustrate the momentum of life. "The smallest sprout shows there is really no death," Whitman wrote in section 6 of *Song of Myself*. This die hard spirit, a strong hold on life, signifies a distinctive Americanness; the unique and irregular entities coexist in America; all walks of life are on an equal footing. Furthermore, olfactory metaphor's permeating power reinforces spatial, temporal and social inclusiveness. *Leaves of Grass* are literally and figuratively pages of "The Book of Nature." Whitman wants readers to associate these significations with the democracy of the U.S.

Burke's categorization of olfactory metaphors is applied into this research. Indeed, Whitman's olfactory metaphors play a key role in his personalization of his ideas about democracy and America. In his signification of those ideas, olfactory metaphors serve as a symbol of all inclusive equality, a social adhesive. Through this symbol, especially the above mentioned "Leaves of Grass," he sought to describe the indescribable: the possibility of both the existence of the tension arising from the unique identity of individuals as well as the possibility of the harmony of the whole. This possibility derives from Whitman's faith in America's capacity of challenging what other nations could not do.

The part III of Burke's essay deals with *When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd*, which he called "the poem of his in which policies and personalizations came most nearly perfectly together."[15] "*Lilac*" is a President *Lincoln's* funeral dirge, in which Whitman commemorates the death of the democratic hero at the final journey of his coffin. This poem is not about Whitman's futuristic idealizing like that in *Song of Myself*, but about a trial for him in that what he had invested so far in his poetry, democracy, was at risk in the Civil War and the subsequent assassination of Lincoln. However, at the end of "*Lilac*," "Lilac and star and bird twined with the chant of my soul"[16] with Whitman's emotional state shifting from despair to reconciliation. And in his doing so, "the lilac with mastering order"[17] plays the pivotal role. About these three symbols, which respectively represent scent, sight, and sound, Burke asserts that it is clear that the star stands for the dead hero and that the bird denotes Whitman himself, and moves to refer to the role of lilac, saying "it is better understood if approached through an inquiry into the subject of scent in general, as it figures in Whitman's idiom."[18] Burke continues:

> And what of the third image, the scent of lilac? It fits the occasion in the obvious sense that it blooms in the springtime and is a proper offering for coffins. And though it is from a realm more material, more earthy, than sight or sound, it has a strong claim to "spirit" as well, since scent is

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[14] Burke, 1985, 42.

[15] Burke, 1985, 49.

[16] Gay Wilson Allen, ed., *Leaves of Grass With an Introduction by Gay Wilson Allen* (New York: Penguin Books USA, 1980), 265.

[17] Allen, 1980, 268.

[18] Burke, 1985, 50.

> *breathed*. [...] references to breathing can be secondarily in the scent orbit, and often are in Whitman's idiom.[19]

In this poem of death, the scent of lilac signifies "spirit," which can reconcile death and its opposite, life or birth, which, in turn, relates to maternity. This maternity is strengthened by love, expressed in both "the perfume strong I love"[20] and "lilac with heart-shaped leaves."[21] Whitman, in *Democratic Vistas*, describes maternity as "that charm, that indescribable perfume of genuine womanhood attends her, goes with her, exhales from her..."[22]

Burke states that "in imagining death as maternal, the poet has imagined a state of ideal infantile."[23] In section 7 of "*Lilac*," Whitman wrote:

> But mostly and now the lilac that blooms the first,
> Copious I break, I break the sprigs from the bushes,
> With loaded arms I come, pouring for you,
> For you and the coffins all of you O death.[24]

This "loaded arms" brings to mind section 6 of *Song of Myself*:

> A child said, What is the grass? fetching it to me with full hands;
> How could I answer the child? ... I do not know what it is any more than he.[25]

Paying tribute to Lincoln, Whitman claims to "break a sprig with its flower,"[26] "give you my sprig of lilac"[27] and "perfume the grave of him I love,"[28] and eventually, "Lilac and star and bird twined with the chant of my soul."[29]

This is the process of Nature's healing power, in which the scent of lilac plays a central role, and one of the examples of the expression of Nature's "invisible process" I mentioned in Introduction. Burke's interpretation of "*Lilac*" through Whitman's concept of scents illustrates the centrality of olfactory metaphor in his poetry and the possibility of further semantic exploration in this field. Also, it can be added that both *Song of Myself* and *When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd*, both rich with olfactory metaphors, are landmarks of Whitman's career as a poet. Paul Zweig, in his *Walt Whitman: The Making of the Poet* states that "After *Lilacs*, there was not silence but sporadic effort, sparse and diminished. ... His great work was done." [30]

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19 Burke, 1985, 53.
20 Allen, 1980, 265.
21 Allen, 1980, 271.
22 Walt Whitman, *Democratic Vistas* (Washington, D.C. 1871), 45.
23 Burke, 1985, 56.
24 Allen, 1980, 266.
25 Whitman, 1855, 20.
26 Allen, 1980, 265.
27 Allen, 1980, 266.
28 Allen, 1980, 267.
29 Allen, 1980, 271.
30 Paul Zweig, *Walt Whitman: The Making of the Poet* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 345.

2.2. Enikő Bollobás's *Tradition and Innovation in American Free Verse: Whitman to Duncan*

In Bollobás's book, *Part I: Walt Whitman's alternative organic form* covers the extensive areas of Whitman's works: his prosody, form, contents, and language. Thus, here, the topics are limited to ones related to Whitman's ideas about senses and American democracy.

Bollobás states, "In this part of my study, I should like to elaborate something like a poetic grammar of *leaves of grass*, a "description, [...] all the important features of *Leaves of Grass*—phonological, syntactic and semantic (semantic in the broader sense to include figures too)—derive from its being a modern American epic in an oral tradition. These four features (modern; American; epic; oral) have an equal share in the building of the complex phenomenon of *Leaves of Grass*."[31]

What Bollobás calls "four features" translates into American democracy in the making. Whitman's thought is not on exclusive completeness of the past but inclusive wholeness of the present and future. Whitman, in *To a Historian*, wrote, "I project the history of the future."[32] In the preface of *Leaves of Grass* in 1855, he also wrote, "He learns the lesson ... he places himself where the future becomes present."[33]

As regards the senses in Whitman's works, Bollobás states, "It is clear that Whitman began communication at the basics: at the senses, thereby he could act as "mate and companion of people" ('Song of Myself,' sec.7)."[34] About the sense of smell, she remarked "Touch and smell establish contact with other humans."[35] Although these are ones of her remarks related specifically to the senses, her ideas about Whitman's language examined through her own *organic* approaches are applied to my research.

The concept of "organic," as the title shows, runs through Bollobás's investigation into Whitman's prosody, form, content and language. She said, "He (Whitman) wanted to capture his tumultuous world alive; [...] this is only possible in organic form."[36] She also asserts that "Whitman's attitude to language clearly stems from his extreme organicism."[37] Whitman's organicism of his "kosmos" is not confined to the semantic contents but extends to the form of his poetry. Just as every creature is autonomous and not substitution of the other, so his poetic structure is devoid of "a stepping stone" to achieve premeditated effects according to the pre-structured rules like the occurrences in aristocracy. In his anonymous review of *Leaves of Grass*, Whitman wrote:

> The style of these poems, therefore, is simply their own style, new-born and red. Nature may have given the hint to the author of the "*Leaves of Grass*," but there exists no book or fragment of a book, which can have given the hint to them [sic].[38]

Bollobás points out what she calls "additive structuring"[39] in which "Whitman presents reality bit by bit, additively, openly, without pre-structuring it."[40] Thus "adding new meanings leads

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31 Bollobás, 1986, 59.
32 Allen, 1980, 32.
33 Whitman, 1855, 8.
34 Bollobás, 1986, 102.
35 Ibid.
36 Bollobás, 1986, 73.
37 Bollobás, 1986, 68.
38 Walt Whitman, *Walt Whitman and His Poems* (*The United States Review* 5, 1855) available: https://whitmanarchive.org/criticism/reviews/lg1855/anc.00176.html. 3.
39 Bollobás, 1986, 88.
40 Bollobás, 1986, 90.

to altering previous ones."[41] These are expedited by his "catalogue" and "parallelism," the literary devices that play the role of "associative links,"[42] the clue to getting the meaning of his works, including what borders on a taboo such as bodily function, through symbolic manifestation.[43] About catalogue and, by extension, parallelism, she states, "it is nothing else but playing with constants and variables, where the constants are the 'functions' (social as reflected in the grammatical) and the variables are those elements which take on the functions."[44] In this connection, she also states, "the descriptive image, (indirect documents), of mid–19th century social history is the Whitmanic catalogue, while the structural image, (organic way arranged documents), of New World democracy lies in the most prominent of Whitman's grammatical structures: parallelism."[45]

Hence, the enactment of the social panorama is expected to be achieved both within and outside of his poetry. These interchangeable variables have no hierarchy, with the help of the structure, lowering threshold for readers' various imaginative experiences. In this way, the task of understanding his works falls on the self agency of readers. In *Slang in America*, Whitman states:

> Language, be it remembered, is not an abstract construction of the learned, or of dictionary-makers, but is something arising out of the work, needs, ties, joys, affections, tastes, of long generations of humanity, and has its bases broad and low, close to the ground. Its final decisions are made by the masses, people nearest the concrete, having most to do with actual land and sea.[46]

It is inferable from "close to the ground" and "final decisions are made by the masses" that his ideas about language have a tight bearing on his idea about democracy, *grassroots* democracy, about which I mentioned related to the meaning of "Leaves of Grass" in chapter 2.1. Decision-making power is in the hands of masses. This bottom up, rather than top down, approach is one of the main features of Whitman's works, corresponding to Bollobás interpretation of Whitman's work through her organic approach.

Finally, Whitman's open-end structures, namely "additive structuring," catalogue and parallelism, which Bollobás points out, are the quintessential part of his "language experiment." The New World America, "a teeming nation of nations,"[47] is a fertile field of the mixture of various cultures and its concomitant expressions. As regards English, Whitman remarked, "Viewed freely, the English language is the accretion and growth of every dialect, race, and range of time, and is the culling and composition of all."[48] The combination of these two made Whitman's poetry a breeding ground for neologism represented by "barbaric yawp." In section 17 of *Song of Myself* Whitman wrote, "These are the thoughts of all men in all ages and lands, they are not original with me."[49] Whitman was aware that he served as a midwife to conceptualizing and spreading American national language.

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41 Bollobás, 1986, 98.
42 Bollobás, 1986, 93.
43 Bollobás, 1986, 98.
44 Bollobás, 1986, 92.93.
45 Bollobás, 1986, 87.88.
46 Walt Whitman, *Slang in America* (*The North American Review*, Volume 141, 1885), 432
47 Whitman, 1855, 4.
48 Whitman, 1885, 431.
49 Whitman, 1855, 28.

2.3. Shira Wolosky's *Poetry and Public Discourse*

The shift of Whitman's works from being experimental to more conventional interests many critics.[50] On the one hand, most critics thought of his career as a poet in his later life negatively: for example, Holloway states, "Whitman had a bad habit of using what he had published for one purpose as a means to the accomplishment of quite a different purpose;"[51] Bailey states that Whitman writes, like "merest prose cut into lengths and printed as verse;"[52] So there is a general sense of disillusionment as to his achievement as a poet in later life.

On the other hand, some critics are more positive because of an increased attention to form. About the revisions Whitman made in his earlier poems, Bollobás states that "The internal structuring of '*Song of myself*,' became more and more explicit: in the third edition stanzaic grouping is emphasized by numbers; in the fourth edition sections are also numbered. In such a way the cycles of emphasis are more clear; the crescendo structure of the stanzas and sections point to explicit pitch-points of oral emphasis."[53] Asselineau states that "Whitman, inspite of his illness and suffering, continued to celebrate the joy of living."[54] In sum, his experimental tendency in his poetry decreased with his rewriting of his earlier poems, which affects Whitman as a visionary poet since doing so is considered as more contrived and less spontaneous.[55] He became more conventional, and his own debilitating body made him less "the poet of the body."[56]

However, taking into account the political and moral upheavals before and after the Civil War, the change in Whitman looks different. Shira Wolosky states that "Walt Whitman figures as the outstanding example of poetry as participating in American public and cultural life. [...] Poetry is conceived as actively participating in the national life; and this also profoundly shapes the poet's conception of himself and herself and his and her role in society."[57]

Formal issues of Whitman's work are connected to not only political but cultural phenomena. Form and content, both liberated from the traditional rules, began to affect and reflect each other.

Whitman actually admitted the influence of the *Zeitgeist* on his poetry in *A Backward Glance Over Traveled Roads*, a prose epilogue to *Leaves of Grass* in 1889:

> I know very well that my "Leaves" could not possibly have emerged or been fashion'd or completed, from any other era than the latter half of the Nineteenth Century, nor any other land than democratic America, and from the absolute triumph of the National Union arms.[58]

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[50] Benjamin Lee, *Whitman's Aging Body*.1999, 38.
available: https://ir.uiowa.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2277&context=wwqr

[51] Emory Holloway, *Whitman: An Interpretation in Narrative* (New York: Knopf, 1926), 240.

[52] John Bailey, *Walt Whitman* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1926), 189.

[53] Bollobás, 1986, 109.

[54] Roger Asselineau, *The Evolution of Walt Whitman an expanded edition* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999), 259

[55] Lawrence Buell, *Literary Transcendentalism: Style and Vision in the American Renaissance (New York: Cornell University Press, 1974), 324*

[56] Whitman, 1855, 30.

[57] Shira Wolosky, "Poetry and Public Discourse, 1820–1910." In Sacvan Bercovitch, ed. *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), vol.4, 148.

[58] Walt Whitman, *A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads.* 1889, 429
available: https://whitmanarchive.org/published/LG/1891/poems/399

Poetry and society were connected to each other closer than they are nowadays. Whitman addressed overarching questions facing American society[59] and considered the sociopolitical trend in the U.S. and his poetry as inseparable.

In *Democratic Vistas*, dealing with the dichotomy between materialism and spiritualization of it, Whitman wrote his disillusion of the U.S. after the Civil War:

> Never was there, perhaps, more hollowness at heart than at present, and here in the United States. Genuine belief seems to have left us. The underlying principles of the States are not honestly believ'd [...]We live in an atmosphere of hypocrisy throughout.[60]

From these, it is deducible that Whitman's experiment in his writings changes according to the change in the nature of the American Experiment. Whitman's focus shifted from the dualism of body and soul to that of materialism and spiritualization of it, and correspondingly, the formal changes in his works ensued. Nevertheless, his shift from poetry to prose is about the difference of degree and not of kind. Bollobás states, "line-length was now determined by cognitive factors inherent in the writer's thought pattern."[61] Whitman's shift in his later years corresponds to the changes in the contents of discourse.

Also, originally, he realized the limit of the efficacy of free press and association, two safeguards of democracy, in both of which he had actively participated. He wrote, "backward I see in my own days where I sweated through fog with linguists and contenders."[62] These experiences helped turn Whitman into a poet. From this it can be inferred that his early experimental style and contents are reflection of his reactionary attitude to conventional ways in order to secure democracy. Interestingly, in section 21 of *Song of Myself,* Whitman wrote "I chant a *new* chant of dilation or pride"[63] but later the term "*new*" is deleted. In 1855, he felt a need to emphasize the innovativeness of his poetry, but later his felt need seems to weaken.

3. The democratic sense: The conceptual background for Whitman's sense of democracy

Whitman's strong sense of America and its democracy is the lifeblood in his poetry, of which American democratic experiment, especially the ideas of Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson, and American transcendentalism are the key elements. Straddling both areas, the relationship between the individuals and the society as a whole is one of Whitman's thematic preoccupations. As Betsy Erkkila points out, "Whitman experienced the political and capitalist transformation of America firsthand, on the level of the body and the senses."[64] Whitman saw through the false dichotomy of the body and the soul and expressed in his poetry that in soul, we could divide ourselves between private and public, but in body we cannot do so. Hence, it is natural for Whitman's public, democratic ideas to come to revolve around corporeal metaphors.

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59 Wolosky, 2007, 149.
60 Whitman, 1871, 64.
61 Bollobás, 1986, 72.
62 Whitman, 1855, 20.
63 Whitman, 1855, 30.
64 Betsy Erkkila, *Whitman the Political Poet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 11.

3.1. American Democracy: "Common Sense" by Paine and Whitman

Erkkila points out that "By 1840 Whitman had become convinced not only of the need to enlighten the people in the ideals of the revolutionary founders but also of the personal role he might play in this enlightenment."[65] What he chose to do was to recommit himself and readers to the spirit of "the haughty defiance of '76."[66] She also asserts that "For Whitman as for Jefferson, the revolt against King George represented a relocation of sovereignty in the individual rather than the state. It was this translation of power from the political authority of the state to the inalienable rights of the individual that burst the chains of the past and made the American Revolution both a change of regime and the basis for a Novus ordo seclorum."[67]

According to a quote popularly attributed to Thomas Jefferson, "When government fears the people, there is liberty. When the people fear the government, there is tyranny."[68] The American democratic experiment revolved around this dualism of tyranny of the government and that of people, namely, what Jefferson called liberty and what his opponent, Federalists, called anarchy. With each side stuck in their own rhetorics, an unsurpassable wall seems to stand in this dualism.

However, in his personalization of his ideas about democracy through corporeal metaphors in his poetry, Whitman sought to tear down the opposition between the tyranny and liberty in the U.S. by praising both unchecked individualism and the unity of the whole. The tension resulting from this seemingly difficult coexistence, especially the association of anarchy with animalism, he took in stride with his headlong exuberance expressed through his corporeal metaphors.

The idea of self-government, one of the pillars of American democracy, ran through Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, and Walt Whitman. In *Common Sense*, Paine, to argue for the independence of America, expresses his intense feeling toward it; "The cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind"[69]; "We have it in our power to begin the world over again."[70] *Common Sense* helped undecided colonial people decide their fate to become independent from British rule.[71] Paine asserted, "It is not in the power of Britain or of Europe to conquer America, if she do not conquer herself by delay and timidity [sic]."[72] For Paine, the independence of America is not the matter of whether but that of when; the present time is the best to become independent.[73] Paine enumerated the reasons for his position; above all, the youth of colonies was suited for easier unification than later.[74] He stated, "It is not in numbers, but in unity, that our great strength lies; yet our present numbers are sufficient to repel the force of all the world."[75]

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65 Erkkila, 1989, 22.

66 Whitman, 1855, 5.

67 Erkkila, 1989, 26.

68 *"When government fears the people, there is liberty... (Spurious Quotation)"* in *Thomas Jefferson's Monticello*, available: https://www.monticello.org/site/jefferson/when-government-fears-people-there-liberty-spurious-quotation, access: 12 November 2018.

69 Thomas Paine, Common Sense. 1776. available: https://www.learner.org/workshops/primarysources/revolution/docs/Common_Sense.pdf. 1.

70 Paine, 1776, 30.

71 Pat McCarthy, *Thomas Paine: Revolutionary Patriot and Writer* (Berkeley: Enslow Pub Inc, 2001), 42.

72 Paine, 1776, 14.

73 Paine, 1776, 24.

74 Ibid.

75 Paine, 1776, 20.

Paine showed the blueprint of new country, saying, "If there is any true cause of fear respecting independence, it is because no plan is yet laid down. Men do not see their way out."[76] *Common Sense* endorsed the republicanism of self-government and active citizenship, quintessential in American Democracy. Paine stressed, "I mentioned the necessity of a large and equal representation; and there is no political matter which more deserves our attention. A small number of electors, or a small number of representatives, are equally dangerous."[77] This related both to the equality of people and to the attack on the monarchy in England. Paine, referring to the British monarchy, said, "For all men being originally equals, no one by birth could have a right to set up his own family in perpetual preference to all others for ever."[78] Hence, Paine asserted that democracy is better than monarchy. Furthermore, Paine called the government "a necessary evil;"[79] it is "a mode rendered necessary by the inability of moral virtue to govern the world."[80] By putting moral virtue above government, he sanctioned the possibility of overthrow of the latter.

The American Revolution was carried out, and the American democratic experiment was set in motion. Erkkila points out, "Whitman stressed the powerful role that *Common Sense* (1776), *The Rights of Man* (1791), and *The Age of Reason* (1794) had played in the birth and growth of the American nation."[81] Whitman, in *Specimen Days*, said, "I dare not say how much of what our Union is owning and enjoying to day—its independence—its ardent belief in, and substantial practice of, radical human rights—and the severance of its government from all ecclesiastical and superstitious dominion —I dare not say how much of all this is owing to Thomas Paine, but I am inclined to think a good portion of it decidedly is."[82]

With regard to the nature of democracy and the existence of it in the US at the time, Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, "a representative account of U.S. civil society,"[83] shows, "Democracy has self-corrective capacity; it tends to make a mistake but has flexibility to amend it."[84] In Jefferson's famous *Dialogue of the Head and the Heart*, the letter to Maria Cosway, referring to the American Revolution, he states that "If our country, when pressed with wrongs at the point of the bayonet, had been governed by it's heads instead of it's hearts, where should we have been now?" [sic][85] Thus, by "Hearts" America avoided its death possibly caused by the decision made by "Heads."

Jefferson's emphasis on morality relates to that of education. He said, "Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves therefore are its only safe depositories. And to render even them safe their mind must be improving to a certain degree."[86] Hence Jefferson emphasized that in order for self-government to take root and become able to support itself, self-enlightenment of the average people is indispensable.[87] He

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[76] Paine, 1776, 18.
[77] Paine, 1776, 25.
[78] Paine, 1776, 8.
[79] Paine, 1776, 2.
[80] Paine, 1776, 3.
[81] Erkkila, 1989, 15.
[82] Whitman, 1882, 97.
[83] Donald E. Pease, *The New American Exceptionalism (Critical American Studies)* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University Of Minnesota Press, 2009), 99
[84] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*. 1835, 1840, 257. available: http://seas3.elte.hu/coursematerial/LojkoMiklos/Alexis-de-Tocqueville-Democracy-in-America.pdf.
[85] Peterson, 1977, 409.
[86] Peterson, 1977, 198.
[87] Mennell, 2007, 37.

hoped that self-government and self-enlightenment became inseparable and expected to be mutually reinforcing.

With regard to the influence of Jefferson on Whitman, Erkkila mentions, "Whitman owned a nine-volume set of The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, which was published in 1853–54, but his primary Jeffersonian document was the Declaration of Independence, which became the sacred text of his political philosophy and the mythical text of his poems."[88] Furthermore, Jefferson's view on the power of literature could have an impact on Whitman in his opting to become a poet. In a letter about the collection of books, Jefferson wrote, "A little attention however to the nature of the human mind evinces that the entertainments of fiction are useful as well as pleasant. [...] I answer, every thing is useful which contributes to fix us in the principles and practice of virtue."[89]

As seen in chapter 2.3, Whitman's poetry is inseparable from the sociopolitical situation at the time. The actual operation of American democracy, how Americans reacted to it, is documented in Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, and indeed, from it, we can understand that Whitman's characteristics of form and contents derived from the necessity of the time as well as from his own choice. Tocqueville states:

> As the men who live in democratic societies are not connected with each other by any tie, each of them must be *convinced individually*; whilst in aristocratic society it is enough to convince a few – the rest follow.[90] (Emphasis mine)

Also referring to the primacy of association over press, he states:

> Men have the opportunity of seeing each other; means of execution are more readily combined, and opinions are maintained with *a degree of warmth and energy which written language cannot approach*.[91] (Emphasis mine)

The equality of conditions in America cut both ways; without the experience other than democracy nor apprenticeship for it, people thought and acted after their own fashion. People felt both independent and powerless. They enjoyed more opportunities but faced more limitations.[92]

Whitman's experience both as a journalist and a party member brought home to him the importance of the right of free press and that of association. Whitman, an obscure man who self-published an experimental poetry and sought to reach readers through a channel alternative to conventional ones, must have considered the ideas like above quotes and proceeded to write, in not written words but colloquial words, including slang, about the common denominator: life, death, and in-between of them, body. About slang, Whitman remarked in *Slang in America*, "Slang not only brings the first feeders of it, but is afterward the start of fancy, imagination and humor, breathing into its nostrils the breath of life."[93]

Furthermore, as Erkkila points out, Whitman's self-naming of "Walt Whitman," without middle name, like Ralph *Waldo* Emerson, is a breach of literary decorum and reflects his insistence on a familiarity and intimacy with his audience.[94] For Whitman, this self-naming signifies

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88 Erkkila, 1989, 19.
89 Peterson, 1977, 349.
90 Tocqueville, 1835, 1840, 717.
91 Tocqueville, 1835, 1840, 215.
92 Tocqueville, 1835, 1840, 494, 607.
93 Whitman, 1885, 435
94 Erkkila, 1989, 5.

a distinctive American attitude. Whitman, in *An American primer*, said, "In words of names, the mouth and ear of the people show antipathy to titles, misters, handles. They love short first names abbreviated to their lips: Tom, Bill, Jack. —These are to enter into literature, and be voted for on political tickets for the great offices."[95]

Whitman wanted readers to share his poetic experience both within the sphere of his poetry and outside of it, and his language expressed through slang and corporeal metaphors serves as a conduit between these two. Whitman wanted his poetry to become "a means of both communication and communion,"[96] the place of the enactment of his democratic ideas. Whitman's poetry assumes both one-to-one and one-to-many relationships with readers, and he hoped that the interplay of these relationships would lead to the amplification of his ideas about the U.S. and its democracy.

Whitman's employment of corporeal metaphors relates to his emphasis on "contact with other humans" about which Bollobás points out in chapter 2.2. Whitman expresses his concern about the lack of the terms which express friendship. In *An American primer*, he states, "This is to be said among the young men of These States, that with a wonderful tenacity of friendship, and passionate fondness for their friends, and always a manly readiness to make friends, they yet have remarkably few words of names for the friendly sentiments."[97] It is inferable that the aim of Whitman's employment of corporeal metaphors, especially that of smell and touch, is to fill this gap.

In *So long!* Whitman wrote, "This is no book, Who touches this, touches a man."[98] Whitman, through his language rich with corporeal metaphors, sought to meet the requirement that "*each of them must be convinced individually*" and make up for the lack of physical touch, namely "*a degree of warmth and energy which written language cannot approach*."

In *Chants democratic and Native American*, Whitman wrote (and later deleted):

> What I tell, (talking to every born American,)
> requires no further proof than he or she who
> will hear me, will furnish, by *silently meditating alone*;[99] (Emphasis mine)

Whitman wants to convince readers individually and hopes, like he does, that they themselves engage in "silently meditating alone."

At the time of Whitman, when the Civil War was on the horizon, this kind of reflection was certainly needed. About 80 years after the Revolutionary War, the American democratic experiment faced a crisis: disintegration caused mainly by the slave issue, which complicated in the process of the growth of the nation's territory, which at first served as a safety valve for society but later turn into the source of an inextricable problem: the slavery issue. The antagonism over the slavery between North and South went beyond the point of no return. They became irreconcilable factions, and the hostility shook the very foundations of the Constitution, and attacked the fundamental principles of legislation.[100]

Believing in the literature's power of unifying people through the emotional attachment, Whitman wrote his own version of "*Common Sense*," that is, "*Leaves of Grass*," and put into words

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95 Traubel, 1904, 22.
96 Bollobás, 1986, 64.
97 Traubel, 1904, 15.
98 Allen, 1980, 384.
99 Bollobás, 1986, 64.
100 Tocqueville, 1835, 1840, 469.

his ideal of the U.S. For Whitman, democracy begins at each and every individual's mind, and he hopes that, through his poetry, those individuals feel the emotional bond with each other and act on it. In so doing, sensuous metaphors, especially those of olfactory, play a vital role in getting his ideas, emotionally and cognitively, to readers.

In the preface of the first edition of *Leaves of Grass*, Whitman refers to his idea about America, its people and poetry, especially his free verse:

> The Americans of all nations at any time upon the earth have probably the fullest poetical nature. The United States themselves are essentially the greatest poem. [...] For such the expression of the American poet is to be transcendant and new [sic]. It is to be indirect and not direct or descriptive or epic. [...] The poetic quality is not marshalled in rhyme or uniformity or abstract addresses to things nor in melancholy complaints or good precepts, but is the life of these and much else and is in the soul.[101]

Whitman said, "The United States themselves are essentially the greatest poem,"[102] and later in *Democratic Vistas*, he said "I shall use the words America and democracy as convertible terms."[103] From this, it is deducible that, for him, democracy is the greatest poem. This relationship among America, democracy, and poetry led to what was unprecedented: the coexistence of lofty grandeur and daily individual sensations in his poetry, what Bollobás calls "individual lyric pieces building up an epic dimension."[104] In so doing, Whitman adopted an untraditional style independent of conventional poetry formulas of poetry, about which I will show later in chapter 3.2. Even though he met both acceptance and denial in his time, his poetry has stood the test of time and is still popular and influential not only in the U.S. but also in the world.[105]

Whitman did not attempt to depict representative American individuals to be modeled after, but a poetic mindset by which what unfolded in America could be understood as a grand event of human destiny, and it is this mindset that makes particular details of daily life poetic as well as grand. In turn, his democratic idea revolves around this poetic possibility, which enables people to form emotional ties.

Whitman gave birth to poetry without meter or rhyme, becoming the father of modern poetry. His "catalogue" and "parallelism" which, I mentioned about in chapter 2.2, depict various aspects unique to America makes the readers feel like watching an infinite number of American television programs with each character, regardless of social class, mostly rank and file Americans, having equal allotment. Whitman, in his anonymous review of *Leaves of Grass*, said that "He gives to each just what belongs to it, neither more or less."[106] Whitman sought to be inclusive as much as possible and give a voice, not as a given benefit but as an inherent right, to each individual, including slaves, Native Americans, and social outcasts such as a prostitute in section 15 of *Song of Myself*.

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101 Whitman, 1855, 4–9.

102 Whitman, 1855, 4.

103 Whitman, 1871, 4.

104 Bollobás, 1986, 60.

105 Gay Wilson Allen, and Ed Folsom, ed., Walt Whitman & the World (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1995), 2.

106 Walt Whitman, *Walt Whitman and His Poems* (The United States Review 5, 1855) available: https://whitmanarchive.org/criticism/reviews/lg1855/anc.00176.html. 3.

3.2. American transcendentalism: Whitman and Emerson

The egalitarian nature of transcendentalism is another wellspring of Whitman's democratic sense. Yet, stretching the potentiality of transcendentalism, Whitman equated Nature with democracy with the emphasis on our corporeal existence, which other transcendentalists tended to downplay. Thus made Whitman's Kosmos can accommodate the ambiguous coexistence of body and soul on a personal level and also that of individual and the whole on a social-political level. Before touching on the relationship between Whitman and transcendentalism, first let us trace back his personal history.

Whitman's life has intrigued numerous critics, and their focus has been on the sudden advent of a genius: what happened, between 1850 and 1855 when he published *Leaves of Grass*, to Walter Whitman, who until then, with limited formal education, had led an ordinary life of typesetter, school teacher, and journalist. To this question, there seems no definite answer. However, a closer look shows that forces were gathering and waited to take shape. To name a few of sense related ones:

Firstly, "his father was freethinker and a friend of Thomas Paine, and had no regard for formality in dress and manners,"[107] contributing to Whitman's seemingly easygoing lifestyle, in which he developed his own world. Also, in his formative years, "his companions were outdoor men, especially uneducated herdsmen, farmers, pilots, and fishermen."[108]

Secondly, "Whitman liked to interact with Nature; especially he loved to bathe in the East River of New York."[109] "This immersion into Nature enhanced all his senses as well as made him conscious of his own body."[110] "His friends recorded the exceptional acuteness of his powers of hearing and smell."[111]

Thirdly, Whitman was always curious and read a lot. "He was eager to welcome assistance from science, any science, in his effort to pierce the conventional surface of life that he might discover its inner spirit."[112]

Last not but least, Emerson's example and work acted like a catalyst for him. Whitman said that "I was simmering, simmering, simmering; Emerson brought me to a boil."[113] Especially Emerson's *Nature* and *The Poet* had direct influence on Whitman's perspective and style. In *Nature*, Emerson, who puts children above adults because children are free from preconceptions, states:

> The sun illuminates only the eye of the man, but shines into the eye and the heart of the child. The lover of nature is he whose inward and outward senses are still truly adjusted to each other; who has retained the spirit of infancy even into the era of manhood. [114]

It is "inward and outward senses" that make possible the understanding of the meaning hidden from the surface. Men, while growing up, tend to lose the balance of these two senses and fail as "the lover of nature." Emerson's partiality of child to adult leads to a child questioning "What

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[107] Gay Wilson Allen, *The Solitary Singer: A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,1985), 34.

[108] Allen, 1985, 16.

[109] Holloway, 1926. 5.

[110] Allen, 1985, 16.

[111] Bailey, 1926, 211.

[112] Holloway, 1926, 25.

[113] Allen, 1985, 242.

[114] George Herbert Perris, ed., *Masters Of Literature EMERSON* (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd, 1910), 3.

is the grass?" in section 6 of *Song of Myself*.[115] Furthermore, in *The Poet*, Emerson, who maintains that the thought should be placed above the form in the consideration of style of a poem, states:

> For it is not metres, but a metre-making argument, that makes a poem, --a thought so passionate and alive, that, like the spirit of a plant or an animal, it has architecture of its own, and adorns nature with a new thing. The thought and the form are equal in the order of time, but in the order of genesis the thought is prior to the form. The poet has a new thought: he has a whole new experience to unfold... [116]

When making a poem, the content should be prioritized over the form, not vice versa. In temporal terms, the content comes first and the form should follow it.

Whitman is indebted to Emerson whose works helped motivate Whitman to write his own innovative poems. Emerson, himself, tried to put his ideas into action but never completely let go of meter and rhyme. However, his delighted response to Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* shows that he was perfectly willing to see someone else do so.[117] Emerson states in his letter to Whitman;

> I greet you at the beginning of a great career, which yet must have had a long foreground somewhere, for such a start. I rubbed my eyes a little to see if this sunbeam were no illusion; but the solid sense of the book is a sober certainty.[118]

From the tone of the letter, we can see how elated Emerson was. Needless to say, Whitman, too, went into raptures over this remarkable letter. He carried it around in his pocket all summer of 1855.[119]

As Lawrence Buell argued in *Literary Transcendentalism: Style and Vision in the American Renaissance,* transcendentalists insisted that all men have direct access to the deity and can experience divine transcendence. This claim led to the egalitarianism of every human being, and by extension, that of every particle of the universe. From here, in turn, a democratic vision of unity-in-diversity brings forth.[120]

However, transcendentalists themselves actually had no experience of this transcendence and could not pinpoint the transcendence.[121] Their interest was in the overpowering joy of the rich mysteriousness attached to transcendence. Therefore, they focused on their literature, describing the process of how to attain the transcendence and the possible impact of it on them. In so doing, they tried to find their original language suitable to express their ideas. These attitudes induced them to think that their literature belonged to high art with the connotation of moral elitism. Simply put, this is a case of one riddle leading to another, like drifting without the anchor of a clear answer to these riddles. [122]

In this context, Whitman sought to make a breakthrough by bringing to the fore an open secret: the secret of the body. With corporeal metaphors' direct appeal to human consciousness, Whitman, with his goal of democracy on his mind, sought to turn upside down the conven-

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115 Whitman, 1855, 20.

116 Perris, 1910, 70.

117 Barbara Packer, "American Verse Traditions, 1800–1855." In Sacvan Bercovitch, ed., *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), vol.4, 102.

118 Allen, 1985, 152.

119 Ibid.

120 Lawrence Buell, *Literary Transcendentalism: Style and Vision in the American Renaissance (New York: Cornell University Press, 1974), 149,156.*

121 Buell, 1974, 62.

122 Buell, 1974, 273.

tional way of thinking about the dichotomy of body and soul. To the other transcendentalists, including Emerson, Whitman seemed to destabilize what they considered the proper order of things, with the result of their disintegration into chaos. However, Whitman views the power of this instability in a positive light. This way of Whitman's interpretation of the saying that *all things are in a state of flux* is crucial to the understanding of his works. Whitman said, "What is Nature but change, in all its visible, and still more its invisible processes?"[123] In his *Kosmos*, what appears to be disintegration is a new beginning. The awareness that it is Nature that is in charge is a necessary step to unlearn to learn anew.

From these, it is concluded that Whitman's democratic and poetic project evolved from transcendentalism but that he eventually ventured farther away from initial Transcendentalist tenets than any other contemporary poets. Whitman had a stronger faith in the possibility of the U.S; that it can accommodate what other countries cannot: the ambiguous coexistence of body and soul on a personal level and also that of individual and the whole on a social-political level.

Self-publishing *Leaves of Grass* in July 4th 1855 is both Whitman's exercise of the free agency of man and patriotic act. From "self-made man" journalist, he, although actually 36 years old, turned into a "self-made adolescent" poet. In this exchange of "self-made man" for "self-made adolescent," he metamorphoses into an experimental poet. His goal to do so was to save America through his poetry, typical of an adolescent approach, but for him there was no alternative in the face of the dismemberment of the nation by the thoughts and deeds of "self-made men." He believed that his unpractical endeavor outweighs or at least counts as much as undertakings of "self-made men." He knew that there exists something only "self-made adolescent" could do but "self-made man" could not. In section 5 of *Song of Myself*, Whitman wrote "I mind how we lay in June, such a transparent summer morning"[124] Here, June, early summer suggests adolescence. (Whitman's birthday is the last day of May, 1819, the fact which connotates his rebirth.)

About adolescence, a moratorium before adulthood, Tocqueville states, "In America there is, strictly speaking, no adolescence: at the close of boyhood the man appears, and begins to trace out his own path."[125]

Thus, in America at the time, "self-made" man abounded but no "adolescent" was there. Yet, considering America itself was young and adolescent country, its citizens being "adolescent" can be considered a natural state. Whitman wrote in section 4 of *Song of Myself*:

> Looks with its sidecurved head curious what will come next,
> Both *in and out of the game*, and watching and wondering at it.[126] (Emphasis mine)

This borderland between "*in and out of the game*" is a luxury afforded only to the adolescent. His becoming adolescent is the first step towards his numerous metamorphoses in his poetry. Lowering threshold for his polymorphous existence, Whitman alternates between a child and an adult, becoming an unusual authority of life and dealing with the issues too obvious to need explanations and too subtle to be touched by "self-made men."

Whitman's rebirth came with an additional benefit: the heightened sensitivity of his bodily existence, enabling him to become "the poet of the body,"[127] and breathing in the open air in itself became the best stimulant; no need for artificial stimulant any more. In turn, thus augmented sense of smell gives a boost to the conceptualization of adolescent, originally redolent

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123 Whitman, 1882, 197.
124 Whitman, 1855, 20.
125 Tocqueville, 1835, 1840, 655.
126 Whitman, 1855, 20.
127 Whitman, 1855, 30.

of bursting buds which emit vigorous scent. These can be one of the reasons why Whitman often employs olfactory metaphors.

The absence of adolescents in America relates to the lack of meditation there. "Self-made men" were so busy that they could not afford to engage in meditation. Only "self-made adolescents" could do so. Tocqueville states:

> Nothing is more necessary to the culture of the higher sciences, or of the more elevated departments of science, than meditation; and *nothing is less suited to meditation than the structure of democratic society*. We do not find there, as amongst an aristocratic people, one class which clings to a state of repose because it is well off; and another which does not venture to stir because it despairs of improving its condition. *Everyone is actively in motion: some in quest of power, others of gain*.[128] (Emphasis mine)

Tocqueville asserts that meditation is best suited to the structure of democratic society but none did so in America. The establishment of democratic principle is one thing and what ensues from it is another. It takes time for democracy to grow and in the process meditation is necessary.

Whitman, "withdrawn to muse and meditate in some deep recess,"[129] made possible by his becoming a "self-made adolescent," considered all unfolded in front of him as the grand event of the destiny of mankind, and this perspective, which runs through the whole his works, which can be called "progressive epic" not narratives of the past.

Whitman's loafing is his gateway to "self-made adolescence." He reduces himself to corporeal existence and enjoys feeling all of his organs functioning in synchrony with Nature. In Donald. E. Pease's words, Whitman gains access to "the will of nature, enabling him to act with nature's energies and purposes."[130] In this receptivity, he raises himself to the point of higher contemplation, and tries to see where America and its people stand on the earth, and, by extension, on the whole universe. He begins his quest for the meaning of America and its people with this framework including mind, body, and Nature.

As regards the concept of five senses, it originated as one of the conventions in the formulation of understanding the world. According to Louise Vinge, "The five senses" was one of several concepts consisting of categories with a defined number of elements, all somehow covering life or the universe: "the four seasons," "the four elements," "the four temperaments," "the seven arts," "the seven deadly sins," "the twelve months" etc."[131] This approach to "elements covering life or the universe" concurs with that of Whitman, his view of the universe.

Therefore, originally, there is no hierarchy among senses, as among seasons. Each sense is different but its value is equal to any other senses. Later generations of thinkers have attached various meanings to senses according to their own preference. For example, Leonardo da Vinci asserted that sight is the most reliable and least treacherous sense.[132]

Against the conventional idea of prioritizing the soul and the mind to the senses by thinkers such as Lactanitius, who asserted that the pleasures of the five senses must be subdued by virtue,[133] Whitman insists on going back to the fundamentals of the body/soul division by way of Nature. Only so doing, could we see the proper relationship between our senses and Nature, which, in turn shows us the relationship between Nature and the form of our society. In *Democ-*

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128 Tocqueville, 1835, 1840, 522.

129 Allen, 1980, 39.

130 Donald E. Pease, *Visionary Compacts: American Renaissance Writings in Cultural Context* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 120.

131 Vinge, 1975, 11.

132 Vinge, 1975, 73.

133 Vinge, 1975, 35,36.

ratic Vistas, he asserts that "Nature, true Nature, and the true idea of Nature, long absent, must, above all, become fully restored, enlarged, and must furnish the pervading atmosphere to poems, and the test of all high literary and esthetic compositions."[134]

For Whitman, various human activities and systems, including political systems, must belong to the cosmic evolution, and democratic America is in harmony with it the most. Democracy is the younger brother of Nature. In *Democratic Vistas*, Whitman states that "We have frequently printed the word Democracy. [...] It is, in some sort, younger brother of another great and often-used word, Nature, whose history also waits unwritten."[135] Democracy and Nature is inseparable. Whitman also states, "I conceive of no flourishing and heroic elements of Democracy in the United States, or of Democracy maintaining itself at all, without the Nature-element forming a main part."[136]

In this way, Whitman's idea of the world, America, democracy and senses are connected and presented in a synthesis in his poetry.

4. The sense of smell: Olfactory metaphors and the body in Whitman's poetry

4.1. *Song of Myself* and olfactory metaphors: The Educational Engineering

Song of Myself is the first poem after the preface of *Leaves of Grass*, being a touchstone for the whole of his poetry. Putting into practice the idea he espoused in the preface, he introduces himself, utilizing olfactory metaphors. He makes the most of them; they are both direct, because they are sensuous, and indirect, because they can sugarcoat radical propositions as well as avoid a didactic imposition. The opening of *Song of Myself* becomes a beacon of the American Enlightenment. Whitman wrote:

> I celebrate myself,
> And what I assume you shall assume,
> For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you.
> [...]
> Houses and roof *perfumes* ... the shelves are crowded with *perfumes*,
> I *breathe* the *fragrance* myself, and know it and like it,
> The *distillation* would *intoxicate* me also, but I shall not let it.
> The *atmosphere* is not a *perfume* ... it has no taste of the *distillation* ... it is *odorless*,
> It is for my mouth forever ... I am in love with it,[137] (Emphasis mine)

Bear in mind: this is the scene of a poet's birth and Whitman's poetic experiment just began. This opening is the starting point of his "additive structuring," which I mentioned in chapter 2.2. With olfactory metaphors that stir our imagination, Whitman personalizes his idea about the enlightenment for Americans, including himself, and expects us, too, to personalize and put it into action: unlearn artificial "*distillation*" to learn anew; reconsider our "common sense." In this respect, concrete corporeal metaphors, unlike that based on abstract and artificial ideas, we can easily digest and apply. Yet, our socially and culturally prescribed "common sense" becomes an obstacle because we are conditioned by it. Thus, this opening of *Song of Myself* is like a wake-up call: before a spiritual existence, we are endowed with a corporeal existence. Through these, Americans' emotional backbone can be strengthened; human mind and energy inside become

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134 Whitman, 1871, 64.
135 Whitman, 1871, 37.
136 Whitman, 1882, 200.
137 Whitman, 1855, 18.

set free in the realization that every atom, a basic unit of life, flows into and out of body ("every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you"[138]) and that the sum of those experiences is life itself. Thus, everyone becomes the powerhouse of energy, and the true enhancement of life, both individually and collectively, becomes possible.

Once we accept this seemingly apparent concept, naturally the change in our attitude toward the at the time widespread idea of enlightenment follows. Later in another poem *Thou Mother with Thy Equal Brood*, these olfactory metaphors make sense to us with more clarity; Americans turn against the influence of the Old World and appreciate the overflowing power of life vernacular to America, which is always there and waits to be discovered and explored.

> The conceits of the poets of other lands I'd bring thee not,
> Nor the compliments that have served their turn so long,
> Nor rhyme, nor the classics, nor *perfume* of foreign court or indoor library;
> But an *odor* I'd bring as from *forests of pine in Maine*, or *breath* of *an Illinois prairie*... [139] (Emphasis mine)

Here the meaning of "perfumes" becomes lucid. Whitman rejects "perfume of foreign court or indoor library" and instead brings to readers what is spatially and figuratively at hand, opening up our mind to sensations arising from smelling something unique to America, such as "an odor from forests of pine in Maine." Whitman asserts that this kind of common sensation unique to the U.S., not ideas from foreign land, should be an emotional backbone among Americans.

In section 47 of *Song of Myself*, Whitman declared:

> I swear I will never mention love or death inside a house,
> And I swear I never will translate myself at all, only to him or her who privately stays with me in the open air. [140]

This is Whitman's educational engineering. As a poet, Whitman applies it to his own act of composing poems and the actualization of life in them. As I.A. Richards points out, "Poetry is the supreme form of emotive language. There can be no doubt that originally all language was emotive."[141] Olfactory metaphors, the least "contaminated" by other usage than emotive one, can both literally and figuratively breathe life into language. Bollobás states, "As a poet, he felt responsible to the communal property of language. [...] For language to become a means not only of communication but of communion too, it had to regain its primeval magic power."[142] Whitman wrote in *Had I the choice*:

> Had I the choice to tally *greatest bards*,
> To limn their portraits, stately, beautiful, and emulate at will,
> Homer with all his wars and warriors—Hector, Achilles, Ajax,
> Or Shakspere's woe-entangled Hamlet, Lear, Othello—Tennyson's fair ladies,
> Metre or wit the best, or choice conceit to wield in perfect
> These, these, O sea, all these I'd gladly barter,

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138 Ibid.

139 Allen, 1980, 351.

140 Whitman, 1855, 55.

141 I.A. Richards, *Principle of literary criticism* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co Ltd. New York. Harcourt, Brace & Company, Inc, 1930), 273.

142 Bollobás, 1986, 64.

Would you the undulation of one wave, its trick to me transfer,
Or breathe one breath of yours upon my verse,
And leave its odor there.[143] (Emphasis mine)

Here, abovementioned "perfume" of the Old World corresponds to the works and the devices of "great bards," which Whitman would willingly exchange for "the undulation of one wave" and in so doing, he hopes, "sea breathe one breath of it upon his verse, and leave its odor there." Thus, language's primeval magic power can be restored to its original place, and to express that, Whitman uses olfactory metaphors. In *An American primer*, Whitman said, "Out of Christ are divine words—out of this savior. Some words are fresh-smelling, like lilies, roses, to the soul, blooming without failure."[144] Whitman expresses his intensity of feeling toward words through olfactory metaphors. We perceive words through sight and sound but Whitman asks more for our appreciation of the power of words, and in order to exemplify it, he employs olfactory metaphors.

4.2. Air and Leaves of Grass: refreshing and delightful shock

Our world consists of aerial, terrestrial, aquatic parts, and in expressing this wholeness of the world, Whitman chose air and leaves of grass, about the latter I mentioned in chapter 2.1. It is through olfactory metaphors that air and leaves of grass transform from an inactive "what is always there" to active agents, symbols of eternal egalitarianism. This finer reconfiguration of daily experiences through the sense of smell makes ordinary extraordinary. This change in the focus of mind transforms the perception of even up to our social fabric. In section 16 and 17 of *Song of Myself*, depicting the operations of living creatures, including human beings, Whitman wrote:

I resist anything better than my own diversity,
And breathe the air and leave plenty after me,
And am not stuck up, and am in my place. (Section 16)
[...]
This is the grass that grows wherever the land is and the water is,
This is the common *air* that bathes the globe. (Section 17)
This is the *breath* of laws and songs and behaviour,
This is the tasteless water of souls . . . . this is the true sustenance, ...[145]
(Section 17 of *1855 Song of Myself*, later deleted)
(Emphasis mine)

Whitman writes about his transcendentalistic view of the order of things, different from the conventional idea such as *the great chain of being*. Using the enumerative rhetoric, he expresses the egalitarianism among every particle of the universe, including every human being, plus the harmony between each and the whole. "The true sustenance," which makes possible this egalitarianism, where we breathe in oxygen and breathe out carbon dioxide countless times, does not concern the artificial distinction of the Old World perfume, which is not beneficial but rather detrimental to the organic power of life. In the New World, with "the true sustenance" in mind, it is possible that each and all have its way without getting into another's way.

The olfactory metaphors, by bypassing the interpretation systems like those of sight and sound, help readers enter directly into a vivid sensation, both individual and common experience, which can lead to a formative imagination to become a social bond.

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143 Allen, 1980, 388, 389.
144 Traubel, 1904, 18.
145 Whitman, 1855, 28.

(About aquatic, Whitman said in *An American Primer*, "Sea words, coast words, sloop words, sailor's and boatman's words, words of ships, are numerous in America. —One fourth of the people of these states are aquatic—love the water, love to be near it, *smell it*, sail on it, swim in it, fish, clam, trade to and fro upon it."[146])

4.3. Life, death and the in-between, the body

In section 24 of *Song of Myself*, Whitman pries open a secret of our body:

> I believe in the flesh and the appetites,
> Seeing hearing and feeling are miracles, and each part and tag of me is a miracle.
> Divine am I inside and out, and I make holy whatever I touch or am touched from;
> The *scent of these arm-pits* is *aroma* finer than prayer,
> This head is more than churches or bibles or creeds.[147] (Emphasis mine)

In Whitman's time, talking about the body was not the sensible thing.[148] There was a general bias against the body and it was not considered as a proper subject of poetry. Even nowadays people tend to trivialize the essential part of our corporeal existence. Whitman, on the contrary, praises it, and negates the dualism of body and soul. He insists that our life is a miracle, and in this sense every operation of our organs, including the scent of arm-pits, becomes as sacred as the spirituality of human beings. He sheds light on our physiology and calls into question the socially expected response to it: cover up things that smell bad. We need not to feel ashamed at all of our physiology, including what is considered as social taboo like the scent of arm-pits. About Whitman's touching on a taboo, I mentioned the efficacy of "catalogue" and "parallelism" in chapter 2.2.

For Whitman, as "the poet of the body,"[149] death also is one of the main poetic themes. In his personalization of death in his poetry, olfactory metaphors again play a key role, as I have shown in chapter 2.1. In section 49 of *Song of Myself*, he treats death as one of the cycle of all-encompassing life, eulogizes the death, and celebrates regeneration. The human corpse becomes stinky manure, which, in turn, leads to a life of fragrant rose or another plant, whose fruit becomes our body again. For Whitman, the repetition of this cycle is what life is all about, and death and life alternate in attaining sublimity, and in communicating this secret process of Nature, he uses olfactory metaphors;

> And as to you corpse I think you are good manure, but that does not offend me,
> I *smell* the white roses *sweetscented* and growing,
> I reach to the leafy lips .... I reach to the polished breasts of melons.
> And as to you life, I reckon you are the leavings of many deaths,
> No doubt I have died myself ten thousand times before.[150] (Emphasis mine)

Here, Whitman, in front of manure, smells imaginary sweet-scent of white roses. This versatility of smell corresponds to "what I assume you shall assume"[151] in the first section. Additionally,

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146 Traubel, 1904, 25.
147 Whitman, 1855, 33.
148 Wendy J. Katz. *Lilly Martin Spencer and the Art of Refinement*. available: https://journals.ku.edu/index.php/amerstud/article/download/3092/3051, 11.
149 Whitman, 1855, 30.
150 Whitman, 1855, 56.
151 Whitman, 1855, 18.

in the last part, Whitman is aware that he, himself, is in the cycle of life, and the same holds true for us. This cycle transcends time and place, and thus the difference in the appearance of each phenomenon is just a matter of from where to look at it. Individual death is a part of the immortality of the whole.

Whitman expands on this theme, in *Pensive on Her Dead Gazing*. He writes about mothers mourning the death of soldiers in the Civil War. They are wondering what would become of their beloved ones. He consoles those mothers, referring to the promise of endless life. In so doing, olfactory metaphors serve like a melody from lamentable tone to positive one; death connotating "the scent of the powder-smoke"[152] turns into life symbolizing "aroma sweet." [153] Whitman says that a dead human body, which consists of atoms that belong to the earth, leads to a different appearance of life. Based on the interchangeability of different forms of lives, his holistic world view consists in endless continuity of life.

Also, in *Over The carnage rose prophetic a voice*, olfactory metaphors serve as the medium for making peace between former enemies, which resembles the role of reconciliation, which I mentioned in chapter 2.1.

> Over the carnage rose prophetic a voice,
> Be not dishearten'd, *affection shall solve the problems of freedom* yet,
> [...]
> If need be a thousand shall sternly immolate themselves for one.
> One from Massachusetts shall be a Missourian's comrade,
> From Maine and from hot Carolina, and another an Oregonese,
> shall be friends triune,
> More precious to each other than all the riches of the earth.
> *To Michigan, Florida perfumes shall tenderly come,*
> *Not the perfumes of flowers, but sweeter, and wafted beyond death.*[154] (Emphasis mine)

Whitman, through the olfactory metaphors, communicates his hopes about both the reconciliation between the North and the South and the reconstruction of the U.S after the Civil War. The exchange of goodwill between the North and the South, *"perfume sweeter than that of flower that wafted beyond death,"* helps to reunify the divided country. He presupposes that "affection shall solve the problems of freedom," and this affection is expressed by "sweet perfume," which doubles as the olive branch for the living and the solace for the dead.

4.4. Focus

Whitman's poetry with olfactory metaphors culminates in his poem *The Prairie-Grass Dividing*, best highlighting the way of olfactory metaphors and his democratic idea are connected. This correlation, Burke, with his focus on his own idea of symbolic action, omitted to mention. Whitman received the oracle from "The muse of prairies"[155]and put it into writing through olfactory metaphors, which show us the field spreading out infinitely. The prairie-grass odor represents all-inclusive democratic energy which resists any constraint.

As if to say "Smell the American spirit," Whitman wrote:

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[152] Allen, 1980, 379.
[153] Allen, 1980, 380.
[154] Allen, 1980, 257.
[155] Walt Whitman, *New Work by Walt. Whitman*. *The London Daily News* 11 March 1876: 5–6. available: https://whitmanarchive.org/criticism/reviews/rivulets/anc.00201.html

THE prairie-grass dividing, *its special odor breathing*,
I demand of it the spiritual corresponding,
Demand the most copious and close companionship of men,
Demand the blades to rise of words, acts, beings,
Those of the open *atmosphere*, coarse, sunlit, fresh, nutritious,
Those that go their own gait, erect, stepping with freedom and command, leading not following,
Those with a never-quell'd audacity, those with sweet and lusty flesh clear of taint,
Those that look carelessly in the faces of Presidents and governors, as to say Who are you?
Those of earth-born passion, simple, never constrain'd, never obedient,
Those of inland America.[156] (Emphasis mine)

Whitman relishes olfactory sensation and skillfully communicates it to us. This poem stunningly represents the trinity of Americanness, democracy, and olfactory metaphor. The fusion of the panorama of the prairie and of the egalitarianism covering it is captured through the olfactory metaphor. Whitman praises the prairie-grass odor as "special" and points to the fullness of life permeating spacious expanse of America, which overflows with the passion for self-government.

The undercurrent of Whitman's poetry is his passion for establishing a distinctive American language; "words to describe all American peculiarities,—the splendid and rugged characters that are forming among these states, or are already formed."[157] He also states, "These words are alive and sinewy —they walk, look, step with an air of command.—They will often lead the rest—they will not follow,"[158] the last part being the same expression used in *The Prairie-Grass Dividing.*

Additionally, Whitman has a strong liking for "Prairie." In an undelivered speech praising Prairie at Topeka, he wrote, "this favor'd central area of (in round numbers) two thousand miles square seems fated to be the home both of what I would call America's distinctive ideas and distinctive realities."[159] Whitman is so fond of Prairies that he even called a sea beach in a distinctive way: "flat and odorous sea prairies."[160]

Last not but least, *When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd* is one of Whitman's poems which are rich with olfactory metaphors; "*Lilac*" comprises "the perfume strong I love," "the lilac with mastering odor holds me," "the swamp-perfume" and so on. However, this poem is slightly different from Whitman's other poems I have touched upon so far, those that illustrate the relationship between olfactory metaphors and America and its democracy. First, it is different because "*Lilac*" is a poem more about the past tragedies of the Civil War and the death of Lincoln than about the futuristic idealization of America and its democracy. Second, related to the first reason, in "*Lilac*," olfactory metaphors play a special role, the ritualistic role of the acceptance of the past tragedies as well as ensuing reconciliation and, by extension, life and death in general (which I mentioned in chapter 2.1).

5. Conclusion

In Whitman's poetry, olfactory metaphors play a pivotal role in expressing his democratic idea of America. In his poetization of what unfolded in America as a grand event of human destiny, olfactory metaphors serve as the bond which connects Whitman's main themes: "The United States themselves are essentially the greatest poem,"[161] "I shall use the words America and de-

156 Allen, 1980, 123.
157 Traubel, 1904, 8,9.
158 Traubel, 1904, 11.
159 Whitman, 1882, 142.
160 Whitman, 1882, 94.
161 Whitman, 1855, 4.

mocracy as convertible terms," [162] and their corollary, "democracy is the greatest poem." Whitman's olfactory metaphors serve to communicate this hidden connectivity.

Thus, it is olfactory metaphors that makes ordinary extraordinary through the reassemblage of daily experiences. Through these metaphors, Whitman shows the possibility that each and all have its way without getting into another's way. Like sensations from his olfactory metaphors, American democracy means, to Whitman, all-inclusive earthborn energy of each "leading not following" individual and of the society as a whole. Democracy embraces all, and in it free men and women are both governor and governed. Because of this, self-enlightenment is the duty those individuals owe to each other.

Simultaneously, Whitman attains another goal: a clear break with the influence of Europe and the creation of poetry unique to America. His "language experiment," his search for self-expression of America, succeeded in heightening the awareness of distinctive Americanness. He broke new ground and planted the seeds for the future growth of American literature. In so doing, Whitman has become an American national poet. Like Paine's *Common Sense*, Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* has had an impact on the understanding of what makes America America, and both Paine and Whitman can be called self-fulfilling prophets in that their ideas are still valid today.

Investigating Whitman's poetry through the prism of olfactory metaphors gives us valuable insights into the understanding of his poetry; his idea of democracy revolves around Nature, especially the relationship between body and soul, and that of between the American Enlightenment and that of the Old World. In terms of this, Burke's categorization of Whitman's olfactory metaphors helps me gain a foothold on my research into the relationship between those olfactory metaphors and Whitman's idea of democracy. Bollobás's both intensive and extensive insight into Whitman's works heightened my sensitivity toward his works, leading to my elevated level of understanding of them. Wolosky's perspective goes a long way in understanding the relationship between Whitman's works and the society at the time.

The significance of Whitman's poetry increases. Nowadays we seldom have opportunities to take time to appreciate our senses, especially the olfactory sense. Likewise, we tend to take democracy for granted. However, as Whitman shows, we ourselves must continue to muse over the relation of democratic ideals and bodily identifications.

This research brings the need of further exploration home to me. This thesis intends to breathe a new life into the interpretation of Whitman's work like Whitman did so into the poetry. Yet, this thesis is just a scratch on the surface. His "kosmos" is so vast and enigmatic, which is all the more surprising considering that Whitman was an obscure individual with limited formal education and without the help of theoretical frameworks such as psychoanalysis available nowadays.

As regards Whitman's senses, this thesis focuses specifically on the olfactory sense. However, the process of arousing olfactory sensations through words, visual or audible signs, is itself "synaesthetic," the mechanism of the relationship between the senses, about which, including all five senses, further research will be done. Considering Whitman's prioritization of body over mind, such research has great potentialities. Albert Einstein said, "We can not solve our problems with the same level of thinking that created them."[163] It is interesting that after more than 150 years we still cannot reach the level of Whitman, whose works continue to challenge our mind.

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[162] Whitman, 1871, 4.

[163] Alice Calaprice, ed., *The Ultimate Quotable Einstein* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), 476

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Laura Mike

Kyd's Traumatic Passage to the Underworld – *The Spanish Tragedy* and Early Modern Crises*

Abstract

Symptoms of a cultural trauma are present everywhere in early modern English drama. This paper sets out to explore the complex and ambiguous relationship between a theatre of bloody spectacles and an underlying, fundamental cultural trauma of the post-Reformation religious transformations within the context of an oppressive, paranoid and terrorizing state apparatus. The age of Elizabeth saw an upsurge in the practice of torture and public execution, due to the nervousness of the authorities fearing a Catholic coup. To show how this trauma registers itself in literary writings in general, various histories will be discussed such as Machiavelli's *The Prince* and John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. Furthermore, it will be maintained, that the gory spectacles of the early modern stage are not simply a catering for the voyeuristic demands of the audiences but, in a paradox way, they also reflect true and thoroughgoing cultural trauma. In the last analysis, Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy,* one of the most popular and most published plays in the era, will be examined for signs of this cultural trauma, while always keeping in mind that ultimately its author also became victim of state violence. The protagonist in his tragedy will be considered as a voice from the wound which is personal (a wound in the psyche of the individual) and communal (a wound on the body of the contemporary religious society) at the same time – he is a mentally unbalanced father who cannot work himself through the violent death of his son. The investigation of Hieronimo's mourning based on Sigmund Freud's analytical procedure promises to yield valuable insights into the traumatic universe of the play. Finally, it will be shown how the multiple layers of witnessing and the intrinsic ambiguities of theatrical mimesis deprive the audience of the comfortable possibility of meaning-making and closure in the last scene of the tragedy: the final outbreak of violence happens in the total absence of coherent meaning, which fact also allows for the final conclusion of this paper.

1. Introduction

> There were others who were tortured, refusing to be released so that they might gain an even better resurrection. Some faced jeers and flogging, and even chains and imprisonment. They were put to death by stoning: they were sawed in two, they were killed by sword... the world was not worthy of them.[1]

The study of trauma has been in the focus of interest for many scholars currently, especially in the domain of history and literature. Formulated across multiple disciplines ranging from sociology, American studies, anthropology and cultural studies[2] and partly owing to Freud's investigations into the nightmares of battlefield survivors[3], trauma studies has developed into

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* MA Thesis. Supervisor: Attila Kiss

1 Hebrews 11: 35–38 (NIV)

2 *Oxford Bibliographies*, "Trauma Theory," April 7 (2019), http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo–9780199791286

3 Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 1.

a critical approach in literary studies on its own merit, with a substantial advance in the 1990s[4]. Its field of research so far has encompassed the accounts of 20th century post-war survivors, such as the Holocaust or Hiroshima, projecting their traumatic effects into the lives of later generations, and it is successfully used as a research tool for the study of post-colonialism as well. Nevertheless, history is riddled with humans suffering and trauma does not confine itself to the 20th century. As Dominick LaCapra suggests, while trauma should not be conflated with history, "it is astonishing how little historians recognize the significance of individual and collective trauma even when they write of events and processes in which it is prevalent."[5] The purpose of this paper is to investigate the applicability of the psychoanalytically informed trauma theory in the field of early modern revenge tragedies, and in *The Spanish Tragedy* specifically, as one of the most popular and most frequently staged plays in the late 16th century. Contemporary scholars of early modern literature, such as Peter Marshall, Margaret Owens, Stephen Greenblatt, Michael Neill, Katharine Eisaman Maus agree that the English Reformation (and the Counter-Reformation) caused considerable distress in society. It has long been debated by historians whether the English Reformation was a grassroots movement or a royal decision imposed from above, and recent historiographic research tends to underline the latter version[6], with the consequences of dismantling the Grand Narrative of the English Reformation, acknowledging its traumatic effects for the whole of society.

My assumption is that early modern men and women were traumatized by the successive and abrupt religious shifts (involving both Reformation *and* Counter-Reformation trends), the paranoia of their monarchs and the anxiety of the authorities leading to frequent public scenes of torment and executions, as well as the profound epistemological changes being underway in the 16th century. The traces of this overall cultural trauma are present everywhere in the dramas that were the basis for contemporary theatrical representations, and in this respect the plays designed for the early modern playhouses can be understood to function indirectly as witnesses because the direct, living witnesses were systematically silenced by the menace of an extended surveillance system and executions. A promising way to unravel and scrutinize symptoms of this cultural trauma is an alignment of New Historicism with trauma theory. In the following, I will summarize the workings of both methods, their usefulness for my purpose, along with some criticism of the former, and meanwhile I will illustrate by an example the benefits of the inventive approach of New Historicism.

New Historicists, with Stephen Greenblatt as the first prominent representative of the approach, use the demonstrative power of what he famously termed *counter-histories* in their scrutiny. Counter-histories are the silenced stories, those that have not been canonized (left out by the selective tradition), or seem irrelevant to literary studies according to approaches preceding New Historicism. The anecdote, the seminal source for the New Historicist, is the *other* of "normal history", as another advocate of counter-histories, Michel Foucault postulates. They are present "... in the historical archives as residues of the struggle between unruly persons and

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[4] Seminal works in the establishment of trauma studies: Paul Antze and Michael Lambek, eds. *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory* (New York: Routledge, 1996), Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992), Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography Narrative and Postmemory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), Dominick LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994).

[5] Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), x.

[6] Norman Jones, *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001).

the power that would subjugate or expel them."[7] The text studied in this sort of research "... is not a collection of portrays: they are snares, weapons, cries, gestures, attitudes, ruses, intrigues for which the words have been instruments... These existences have been effectively risked and lost in these words."[8]

The criticism directed at New Historicism includes arguments that it renders human subjects into captives of the social matrix out of which they can never quite emerge.[9] Another objection is that the selection of texts is very arbitrary, and the links between them are not substantiated well, thus lacking sufficient methodological foundation. Greenblatt simultaneously reads dramas, paintings, ecclesiastical documents, tax records, jurisdictional accounts, evoking the power of all these different social texts in order "to speak with the dead," as he famously claimed in the programmatic first paragraph of his book.[10] In my view, however, this method coincides with the stated goal of other literary scholars from as early as the beginning of the 20th century: to encompass all facets of *lived culture* and try to conduct an overarching research.[11] Obviously, this lofty and ambitious goal poses difficulties to laying out a rigorous methodological plan for research.

In *Hamlet in Purgatory,* for example, Greenblatt starts his study on Purgatory with citing an anonymous tract, addressed to Henry VIII, titled *A Supplication for the Beggars.*[12] Later, in the course of his book he scrutinizes Catholic anecdotes of all kind, along with miniatures, altarpieces, and of course early modern drama. As a result of this New Historicist approach a perennial literary riddle gained proper explanation, and Hamlet's procrastination to kill Claudius was put into a new interpretive context. By delving into the "poetry of Purgatory", as he terms it, so far concealed layers of meanings in the tragedy were revealed. The discovery was so significant that every major adaptation since Greenblatt heavily relies on the purgatorial subtext of the Ghost's appearances, in sharp contrast to earlier readings and adaptations where the oedipal impulse was overly emphasized without any contextual ground whatsoever.

The other critical angle for investigating early modern cultural trauma represented in revenge tragedies is that of trauma theory. The psychoanalytically informed trauma theory intersects with the New Historicist approach at the crucial point of the repressed stories (*counter-histories).* As Catherine Belsey puts it, "the main value of psychoanalysis to cultural critics is not so much in its conclusions and explanations as in its way of reading."[13] Freud in his analysis attended to the elements of a story that did not fit: the hiatuses, the silences, the slips of the tongue, ascribing to them subtle, repressed meanings. He then investigated these elements as intellectual problems to be solved. His original concept of trauma was later extended by Lacan, Cathy Caruth and other scholars. The most significant departure from earlier conceptualizations of trauma is a shifting focus from the *unspeakable, unavailable experience* towards its representations in literature and society, a culturally specific and pluralistic trauma model.

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[7] Stephen Greenblatt and Catherine Gallagher, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 68.

[8] Michel Foucault quoted in Stephen Greenblatt's *Practicing New Historicism,* 69.

[9] Robert V. Young, "Stephen Greenblatt: The Critic as Anecdotalist." *Modern Age* 51. 3–4, (2009): 263–264.

[10] Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England,* (University of California Press, 1988).

[11] Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (Penguin Books, 1961), 62.

[12] Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), 10.

[13] Catherine Belsey, "Textual analysis as a research method" in *Research Methods for Cultural Studies,* ed. Michael Pickering (Edinburgh: EUP, 2008), 174.

> Although the classic notion of trauma as a silent haunting or an absolute indecipherable is theoretically useful for certain ends, for example it underscores the damage done, the pluralistic approach highlights the ranging values and representations of trauma in literature and society, emphasizing not only the harm ... but also the main sources that inform the definitions, representations and consequences of traumatic experience.[14]

Besides, the pluralistic trauma model allows agency for the survivors, acknowledging the possibility of their knowledge of the experience. Psychological research proves that amnesia, dissociation and repression *may* be responses to trauma but there might be other kinds of responses as well.[15]

In an attempt to unravel and interrogate experiences of cultural trauma in early modern England, the voice of the witnesses must be heard. Balaev's pluralistic trauma model, which seems to be the most applicable for the purpose of my study, allows for a diversity of possible witnesses (representations), and the dominant voices in the present case are to be found in theatrical representations, more precisely in early modern revenge tragedies that constituted the basis for theatrical representations I am interested in. Their testimony of course cannot be deciphered without the underlying (counter) histories of a cultural trauma, such as anecdotes, minutes of trials, ecclesiastic documents, and personal diaries.

My aim is to scrutinize contemporary histories that underpin the traumatic effect of the successive religious shifts in society, and the concomitant persecution of heretics by both Protestants and Catholics. Indirect evidences, even geographically distant ones such as Machiavelli's case[16] will also be considered for *The Prince*'s literary peculiarity, but as a main source I intend to focus on early modern martyrologies, such as Foxe's *The Acts and Monuments*. After an attempt to reconstruct some of the histories of cultural trauma, I would like to turn to *The Spanish Tragedy.* When we observe the striking resemblances between the symptoms of a mourning father, Hieronimo and the mourning-melancholy dichotomy in Freud's analysis,[17] we are compelled to come to the conclusion that psychoanalytical universals exist, after all. Something repressed or rather irrepressible, already at work in the persona of a mourning father on Kyd's stage eerily coincides with Freud's analysis a couple of hundred years later. Hieronimo's trauma bears witness to the cultural and collective trauma of early modern society, losing ground due to the different antagonisms of the era. Thus, the method of this paper will be an alignment of the New Historicist approach, including its historical specificity, contextualization, decanonization, and critique of ideology, with the insights of trauma theory, fuelled by psychoanalytically informed methods of scrutinizing the witness: Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy.* In doing so, it will turn out that cultural representations in general, and *The Spanish Tragedy* in particular operate as witnesses to the repressed cultural traumas of early modern society, a latent and less-circumscribed

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[14] Michelle Balaev, *Contemporary Approaches in Literary Trauma Theory* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), 6.

[15] Balaev, *Contemporary Approaches,* 6.

[16] Alison K. Frazier, "Machiavelli, Trauma and the Scandal of *The Prince,"* in *History in the Comic Mode: Medieval Communities and the Matter of Person,* eds. Rachel Fulton and Bruce W. Holsinger (New York: Columbia Press, 2007), 192–202.

[17] Sigmund Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia"*,* in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, vol. XIV (1914–1916): On the History of the Psychoanalytic Movement, Papers on Meta-Psychology and Other Works,* edited by J. Strachey (1917), 237–258, April 14, (2019), https://www.free-ebooks.net/psychology-culture/Mourning-and-Melancholia

operation because of the social antagonisms, the censorship system, and the overall menace of living in what LaCapra would call a terrorized society.[18]

2. The Loss of Funeral Rites

> Religion permeated every aspect of English society in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The pattern of the cosmos, the history and destiny of the world, and the ordering of social, political and domestic relations were all explained in biblical and theological terms. .... Faith and ritual affected people at many different levels, making spiritual, intellectual, emotional and visceral appeals.[19]

The 1632 demolition of Saint Patrick's Purgatory[20] in Lough Derg was necessitated by the ongoing popularity the site had enjoyed, causing definite unease to both the secular and the church authorities. On rowing to the island the agents of the governor found "four hundred seventy one persons doing such fooleries as is not to be imagined could be done among Christians."[21] Admitting that all the efforts of erasing the pilgrimages to the island were in vain, the Privy Council decided to tear down the cave, and the order was duly carried out on 25 October 1632, by the bishop of Clogher. The incident also shows that the claims of the living for the connection with their dead relatives could not have been erased even in a hundred years. The following chapter attempts to circumscribe the collective trauma caused by the loss of Purgatory in post-Reformation England.

Early modern people conceived life and death not as binaries, but, unlike us, rather as a *continuum,* with "dying" as a middle stage between the two extremes along the same axis. Christianity's teaching on the immortal soul was one reason for that obviously. But the other significant reason why the dead were still *with us* was the doctrine of The Third Place. What Greenblatt straightforwardly terms as "the cult of the dead"[22] was an elaborate system established for the intercessory prayers in favour of the departed. The Purgatory-mechanism involved a range of institutions, crowds of clericals in its service, and artefacts and religious relics of all sort to invoke fear and reverence for Purgatory. The doctrine itself came very quickly into the crosshair of the evangelical polemics, not only because of its salient lack of scriptural foundations[23], but also because of the crude financial abuse it facilitated. The wealthier a citizen was, the shorter he was destined to suffer in Purgatory, because forgiveness (indulgence) could be purchased for money, or could be obtained by paying for masses, or founding monasteries. Nevertheless, it had one unquestionable psychological benefit for its believers: the links between the living and the dead were not severed with the funeral. By intercessory prayers the family felt

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[18] "Indeed, one way to define terrorism is the systematic traumatization of a subject population through acts of violence which may make people insecure..." Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), p. x, n. 3.

[19] David Cressy and Lori Anne Ferrell, *Religion and Society in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1996), 1.

[20] Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory,* 99.

[21] Cf. Henry Jones, *St.Patrick's Purgatory*, 128. in Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory,* 99.

[22] Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory,* 38.

[23] Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 53–54.

they could actively ease the pains of purgation[24] for their beloved. Thomas More's *A Supplication for Souls,*[25]among a plethora of other purgatorial writings, emphasized the need of the poor suffering souls for the prayers of the still living. Suffering purgatorial souls tended to pay visitations to the living, at least in the anecdotes written by clergymen, whether to check on a lecherous widow or simply to solicit intercessory prayers. Anecdotes of this sort were collected by Greenblatt in his book from all around Europe, but Catherine Belsey also mentions the significance of fireside ghost stories in contemporary folklore.[26]

The cult of the dead went as far in the sixteenth century that there are archeologic evidences of a convent in the Aragonese Ischia, Italy where the nuns were actually meditating in the company of the decomposing bodies of their dead fellows.[27] The bodies were placed on death-chairs, with holes in the middle, where the liquids of the decomposing bodies were collected, for further use. Although this example concerns the dead corpse, not the soul, it is still an apt illustration for the different and uncanny conceptualization of death in the Renaissance (and the entire medieval era). As for the corpses, they were not considered to be *ultimately* dead for three days following their last breath, but they were believed to retain some of the soul inside.[28] This complex understanding of the body in death, combined with the belief in the healing power of the human organs (including the elaborate cult of relics as well) resulted in a widespread use of corpse medicine, described in Richard Sugg's book in greater details. His research brings to light a set of intriguing and major findings, underlining how differently death and human corpses were conceived in the sixteenth century.

The implications for this study are that by the proscriptions on the doctrine of Purgatory the dead members became ultimately detached from the rest of the family. It must have struck as a double loss: losing the departed physically, but then cutting every spiritual link to their (eternal) soul as well. As Michael Neill puts it, "Each individual's death was now a painfully private apocalypse, whose awful judgement could never be reversed."[29] The collective trauma of such a transformation in funeral rites is difficult to assess. Personal diaries show that the dissolution of the chantries and the tearing down of funeral monuments was perceived as a "rage against the dead."[30] Even good Protestants, like the physician Sir Thomas Browne admitted that the loss was hard to work through, and he was tempted to pray for his dead friends whenever he had heard a bell ringing.[31] Priests and laymen all around England were ready to risk their lives for celebrating Catholic masses in private (because sustaining Popish practices was treason in Elizabethan times). At the dissolution of the chantries, noble families went at great lengths to transfer the bones of their ancestors into other chapels.[32] These transformations have evidently reached the magnitude of an overall cultural trauma. It is of particular importance to the study of English Renaissance drama that the only place where the purgatorial souls could live on was the early modern stage.

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[24] The aim of Purgatory was to cleanse, to purge the soul by means of physical suffering (tortures), thus making it eligible to heaven. The more the sins committed, the more the time spent in Purgatory.

[25] Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead,* 49.

[26] Catherine Belsey, "Shakespeare's Sad Tale for Winter: Hamlet and the Tradition of Fireside Ghost Stories," *Shakespeare Quarterly no.1* (2010): 1–27.

[27] *Atlas Obscura,* "Poor Clares Convent Cemetery," March 11 (2019), https://www.atlasobscura.com/places/poor-clares-cemetery

[28] Richard Sugg, *Mummies, Cannibals and Vampires* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 271.

[29] Michael Neill, *Issues of Death* (Clarendon Press, 1998), 38.

[30] Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead,* 30.

[31] Neill, *Issues of Death,* 39.

[32] Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead,* 98.

2.1. Memorial Arts and Trauma (the birth of the funeral industry)

In the light of the above, the following words on postmodern trauma and memorial are, I believe, peculiarly relevant to early modern trauma as well.

> How do we collectively grapple with trauma as it gnaws its teeth through the social field? How does culture answer to the memories that linger on in the wake of a trauma collectively experienced and the feeling that a community has been pushed to what it seems like the end of the world?[33]

The Elizabethans certainly felt that the end of the world came perilously close to them, and post-Reformation anxieties, losing connections with their dead was certainly one element of this traumatized state. Nevertheless, historians comment on the fact, how smoothly the change of religious practices went down on the surface.[34] Apart from the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, there was no major revolt against the religious changes. This enigmatic silence certainly could be understood in terms of repression, taking into account how easily one could be burnt at the stake for heresy. But what was the evangelical substitution for the requiems? In the Protestant funeral sermon the practice of *memoria* substituted for the earlier tradition of praying for the dead. Notwithstanding some didactical benefits of enumerating the exemplary attributes of the deceased, the *memoria* could not sufficiently compensate for the "radical discontinuity between life and afterlife"[35] that was experienced by the mourners. What ways of working through their loss was available then?

On reading further in our postmodern text, we find the following: "This challenge has been met (one of culture's response to trauma- my note) by the blossoming industry of memorialization – holocaust museums and memorials, holocaust remembrance day and so on."[36] The reason for the citation is to draw attention to the most intriguing analogy between early modern and postmodern ways of coping with trauma and loss. What kind of traumas could be considered in this comparison between the Renaissance and the postmodern, positioning themselves as analogous ones? Let it suffice to mention only three of them at this point. Firstly, the trauma of the mass grave had a deep impact on both early modern (successive bouts of plague in the 16th–17th century) and post-modern society, an erasure and complete shattering of identity, a complete impossibility of proper mourning. Second has to be, and partly as a consequence, the crisis of knowledge, or epistemological crisis, due to the shift from an organic towards a mechanic worldview. And the third one is a thoroughgoing crisis of truth. With Christianity at war with itself[37], the scientific and geographical discoveries, and the emerging social mobility resulting in a restructuring of the old hierarchies every certainty was unmoored for early modern people. It is no wonder that an apocalyptic atmosphere presided over the population by the end of the sixteenth century. It goes without saying how the same is/was relevant after World War II and the Holocaust. The Elizabethans found the same reassuring way of grappling with loss and death as their post-modern descendants: building funeral monuments. To counteract such traumatic experience, Protestants started to establish a memorial culture. On the one hand it consisted of a highly elaborate ceremony with monumental decorations. On the other hand, the dead person's memory had to be immortalized in every possible ways, beginning with the marble tombstones engraved with the portrait and the virtues of the departed, down to the emergence of the

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33 Adrian Parr, *Memorial Culture and Deleuze* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 1.
34 Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead,* 101.
35 Attila Kiss, *Double Anatomy in Early Modern and Postmodern Drama* (Szeged: JATEPress, 2010), 28.
36 Parr, *Memorial Culture and Deleuze,* 1.
37 Thomas Edward McAlindon, *English Renaissance Tragedy* (The MacMillan Press, 1986), 6.

enormous family mortuaries. "The more splendid their marble sculpture, the richer their gilding and painting... the more eloquently these shrines of memory spoke of the longing ... for immortality..."[38] Neill also remarks on the curious fact how these Protestant monuments were clearly retrospective in their nature, always recounting the past, the charitable deeds of the departed, as opposed to the Catholic mass' afterlife perspective.[39]

But the art of commemoration did not exhaust itself in the obsequies and the concomitant spectacles. With the gradual emergence of the early modern subject as the site of a new subjectivity in the Renaissance,[40] the notion of death came into somewhat different light. Representations of Death became more and more personified in the *ars moriendi,* and its workings were increasingly understood in terms of cancellation of identity, a "nullification of man."[41] Thus, as a means to counteract this blurring of distinction between king and beggar funeral monuments and memorials became more and more personal. Furthermore, in an uncanny way of artistic representation, and in the spirit of *ars moriendi,* individuals were commemorated after and before they died. In his book *The Art of Death,* Nigel Llewelyn presents a formidable collection of pieces of the funeral arts. Amongst them there are people represented as writing their last will, or deceased family members on their deathbed. It was laudable, if not obligatory in the early modern period to contemplate one's own death, among others by preparing objects attendant to a future funeral (e.g. samplers). In the similar vein, it was not unusual to portray couples in love, or being married juxtaposed with a corpse or a human skull, just as in *The Judd Marriage*, a particularly powerful example of *memento mori* images.[42] The purpose of the painting was clear as the inscription shows: to secure for the couple the immortalization in the descendants' memory. Being consigned to oblivion: this was the other side of the trauma, the greatest fear of the still living, who were obviously not at perfect ease with the intangible doctrine of salvation by faith, and the predestination of the probate. Thus, the commemorative act was designed to serve as a way to work through the trauma and anxiety of loss. In many instances, as the one mentioned above, the subjects of the art ordered the painting for themselves, expressing their desire to be remembered. But in numerous other cases it was the grieving parent, or spouse who initiated the creation of a memorial of some sort: a painting, a triptychon, a statue or even a song. Llewellyn claims that

> The Reformist laws seem to have given an impetus to images of the *memento mori* type, just when the state was actively discouraging about icons in their traditional Roman role as means of intercession. Images reminding people of their own mortality were to be found in all kinds of private and public situations: as furnishing, on the wall of buildings and carried about the person[43]

The abolishment of the Third Place caused a substantial psychological trauma of loss and bereavement in early modern society. Nevertheless, by turning to artistic representations of the deceased persons, and erecting funeral monuments, thus causing a new upsurge in the art of death by the seventeenth century, they successfully channelled their grief into non-destructive ways. The close connections between the rites of mourning and the early modern stage will constitute the following chapter.

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[38] Neill, *Issues of Death,* 41.

[39] Neill, *Issues of Death,* 40.

[40] Attila Kiss, "A koramodern szubjektivitás kialakulása," in *Az angol irodalom története*, eds. Bényei Tamás and Kállay Géza (manuscript before publication).

[41] John Donne quoted in Neill, *Issues of Death,* 12.

[42] *The Judd Marriage* (1560), in Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1991), 10.

[43] Llewellyn, *The Art of Death,* 19.

2.2. Rites of Mourning and the Stage

Susan L. Cole adumbrates in her book, *The Absent One,* how the origins of tragedy are to be found in the funeral ceremony. She argues, that

> ...tragedy is the performance of ambivalence, the kind of ambivalence which ghosts emblematize: what we fear in particular – the revenant, the ghost returning to haunt us – is also what we desire – the extending of life beyond the moment of death.[44]

While her study gives an overarching and, in her time, novel perspective on the origin of tragedy along this axis, later research into the complexities of religious change, such as the Reformation gave ample evidence that it is not only the absence of *the deceased person* that formulates the seminal topics of literature, for instance early modern tragedy, but the absence of *funeral rites* themselves. The ambivalence she frequently mentions in her study is not a mere binary between the living and the dead on the Renaissance stage, but something uncanny that penetrates even deeper: where is the place of the dead and dying in this new religious economy? By unravelling the poetry of purgatory (Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*) and scrutinizing the *cult of the dead* (Michael Neill, *Issues of Death)* just to mention two seminal pieces from the plethora of works, a whole new range of so far concealed meanings became available, all of which testify to the cultural trauma of absence of earlier religious rites. For lack of space, only two most important tragedies will be mentioned here as examples.

In *The Spanish Tragedy* the play itself begins with the problem of maimed rites: Don Andrea cannot pass the stream of Acheron, because his burial rites are not performed (1.1.19–21). The lack of obsequies deemed him to an uncertain place of residence, and the feeling must have struck a chord with early modern audience. The proscription on Purgatory was a difficult change to tackle, rendering the eternal fate of the deceased ones quite unfathomable and beyond the reach of the left behind. The other critical turning point in the tragedy, betraying symptoms of this cultural trauma is Horatio's death, and the sheer fact that Hieronimo does not bury his son. There is nothing that could reveal more eloquently a crisis of mourning than this element. Hieronimo keeps the corpse of his son unburied, as a constant reminder of his duty for revenging him. The unburied corpse of Horatio might be considered as the uncanny revenant haunting the tragedy with its presence all the time, something akin to ghosts. Normal mourning becomes impossible and Hieronimo's grief assumes pathological forms under the influence of the evil spirit of Revenge, resulting in a bloody butchering instead of consolation and peace.

In *Hamlet,* only two outstanding cases of early modern trauma of maimed rites and mourning will be mentioned here although the whole play revolves around the topos of the *ars moriendi.* The first one is the sudden death of the old King. Hamlet becomes horrified when he learns[45] from the Ghost that he (his Father) was murdered in his sleep, thus without the necessary consolatory rites that were offered by the priests for every dying person. The prayers and unction served the purpose of relieving the soul from sins, thus preparing their way to eternity, and in the absence of it, one gets "cut off even in the blossoms of (my) sin."[46] Thus, sudden death was one of the most terrifying possibilities for Renaissance subjects. The other important instance of maimed rites is at the death of Ophelia in the play. Suicide and despair were considered a sin against God both for Catholics and Protestants, resulting in "maimed rites"[47] of funeral, as it was

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[44] Susan L. Cole, *The Absent One* (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1985), 9.
[45] Shakespeare, *Hamlet* 1.5.77–80.
[46] 1.5.76.
[47] 5.1.219.

the case with Ophelia. Laertes gives a scathing criticism of this church practice when he says to the priest: "A minist'ring angel shall my sister be when thou liest howling."[48] By this he meant that Ophelia was so pure that she undoubtedly goes to heaven, even without ecclesiastical reckoning, as opposed to the "churlish" priest. This sentence placed the issue of suicide within the context of contemporary religious debate, expressing a very Protestant teaching, because in Reformed thinking the individual responsibility and sanctity were considered more relevant to one's eternal bliss than particular church rites carried out duly. But again, it reflected the uncertainties and anxieties of contemporary thinking concerning modes of dying and death.

In the following chapter, other elements of early modern traumatic experience will be underlined. I will examine the practice of torture and public execution as means of power demonstration and traumatization concealed under the pretence of sacred, legitimate violence.

3. Ritual Sacrifice, Torture and Trauma

Stephen Greenblatt imagines Shakespeare's first arrival in London as follows:

> But one sight in particular would certainly have arrested Shakespeare's attention: it was a major tourist attraction, always pointed out to new arrivals. Stuck on poles on the Great Stone Gate, two arches from the Southwark side were severed heads, some completely reduced to skulls, other parboiled and tanned, still identifiable. These were not the remains of common thieves, rapists and murderers... The heads on the bridge, visitors were duly informed, were gentlemen and nobles who suffered the fate of traitors. A foreign visitor to London in 1592 counted thirty-four of them: another in 1598 said he counted more than thirty.[49]

In this chapter the controversial interplay between public executions and a suspected collective trauma will be explicated. The assumption is that most of the Renaissance literary works are laden with traces of trauma, as the religious unrest, persecution and a constant threat of torture for blasphemy or treason left their marks on cultural representations. But there is a paradox here as well. While, on the one hand, people conceived spectacles of torture and violence as entertainment, being "nurtured on a steady diet of bear baitings, public executions and readings in Foxe's martyrology"[50], they were also traumatized by the subsequent religious changes, breeding anxiety, melancholy and pessimism. While there is ample evidence for the first part of this claim[51], to prove the prevalence of trauma there are only indirect witnesses at hand, because of the repressive measures and the ideologically charged canon formation that tends to conflate history with interpretations of history (see the debate on the Reformation between traditional and revisionist historians[52]). Nevertheless, based on the definition of Dominick LaCapra, I will straightforwardly call the intimidation of a society by acts of (public) violence *traumatization* or *terror*.[53] The overall *topos* of inwardness and concealment in society, the omnipresent practice of equivocation and the overabundant violence in the revenge tragedies will be considered as manifestations or, indeed, witnesses of the presence of a collective trauma.

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[48] 5.1.241.

[49] Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World* (W. W. Norton and Company, 2004), 173.

[50] McAlindon, *English Renaissance Tragedy,* 4.

[51] Molly Smith, "The Theater and the Scaffold: Death as Spectacle in *The Spanish Tragedy*," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* Vol. 32, No. 2, Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama (Spring, 1992): 217–232.

[52] Norman Jones, *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001)

[53] LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma,* x.

Cathy Caruth's original trauma model focuses on the repression of the traumatic event, how it is rendered unspeakable and unknowable in the first place. While repression has relevancy to this scrutiny of early modern trauma and tragedy, a more helpful approach is the extended model of trauma theory, postulated by Michelle Balaev.[54] She suggests a conceptualization of trauma where the victims are assigned agency, where trauma's potential unknowability does not impede the ways of representation

> Although the classic notion of trauma as a silent haunting or an absolute indecipherable is theoretically useful for certain ends, for example it underscores the damage done, the pluralistic approach highlights the ranging values and representations of trauma in literature and society, emphasizing not only the harm ... but also the many sources that informs the definitions, representations, and consequences of traumatic experience.[55]

In this vein, the traumatic counter-histories of early modern lives will be juxtaposed to some of the literary representations birthed on the soil of anxiety and menace. To avoid creating a "theoretical ghetto"[56], I will attempt to present the specific instances of early modern trauma along with the underlying concepts and motifs that create or rationalize them, and the way they manifest themselves.

John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* of 1563 was printed in several editions over the sixteenth and seventeenth century. A fundamental writing in the formulation of national protestant identity in England, it recounts the persecution of the Protestant Church during the Roman rulers, Henry VIII, and Queen Mary. Its influence was huge on early modern society. The woodprints illustrating the book were showing in vivid details the horrific executions the protestant martyrs suffered, young and old, women and children alike, inscribing the collective trauma on common memory. The stories about the execution of Anne Askew, or the "Oxford martyrs" Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley, among many others were circulated among the population, fuelling the imagination of common people and the playwrights as well. The book served as a written memorial to the martyrs, based on eye-witness accounts, one with a well-conceived purpose: to warn against the threat posed by Catholicism, now and ever. After Pius V excommunicated Queen Elizabeth in 1570, the persecution of the Romans became really intense in England. The fear of a possible return of Catholicism was so heightened by this time that Jesuit missionaries and Catholic recusants were executed with charges of treason without delay. For many, this was considered as an essential and legitimate means to fight back the old faith.

> That a man like Edmund Campion had been racked , dragged to Tyburn on a hurdle, hanged by the neck, mutilated, eviscerated while still alive, and then drawn and quartered was just, necessary and even, given the threat Campion's mission posed, moderate.[57]

Manifestations of state violence are brought home by the concept of the *ritual*, regarding the especially cruel ways of execution by torture. Girard in his seminal book, *Violence and the Sacred*[58] lays out the workings of ritual violence. Decades of anthropologic field research among indigenous tribes, combined with a thorough investigation into ancient Greek drama leads him to adumbrate the characteristic features of the universal cultural *topos,* the ritual sacrifice. In his analysis, while carefully considering the opposing claims of the modernist thinkers, he proposes

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54 Balaev, *Literary Trauma Theory Reconsidered,* 6.
55 Balaev, *Literary Trauma Theory Reconsidered, 6.*
56 Llewellyn, *The Art of Death,* 8.
57 David K. Anderson, *Martyrs and Players in Early Modern England* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), 3.
58 René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred* (London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1977)

a well-founded hypothesis of how sacrificial terms still underlie the (early) modern judicial system. For the scrutiny of a society being in the whirlwinds of thorough judicial and epistemological transformation, this theory seems extremely applicable. Furthermore, the institution of public execution, both in its forms and its purposes, resembles ritual sacrifices in great measures. Scholars of the early modern legal system emphasize how increasingly the civil law took the place of the Anglo-Saxon wergild system of private revenge[59], but since the contemporary tragedies are obsessed with the idea of private revenge, there is good reason to assume that revenge was not only a matter of the past yet. Girard explains how the social function of the sacrifice was to "quell violence within the community"[60], and to restore harmony. Before advocates of modernism would relegate ritual sacrifice back into the realm of the past with raging gods demanding blood, he proves how religious concepts underlie the judicial system. The significance of this argument merits a longer citation here.

> Religion, in its broadest sense, must be another term for that obscurity that surrounds man's effort to defend himself by curative or preventative means against his own violence. It is that enigmatic quality that pervades the judicial system when that system replaces sacrifice. This obscurity coincides with the transcendental effectiveness of a violence that is holy, legal and legitimate, successfully opposed to a violence that is unjust, illegal and illegitimate[61]

The authority and workings of the Law in civilized societies assume a transcendent nature insofar as it is irreproachable and unquestionable, and its mechanisms are concealed from the public eye. Whether we believe that Law was in high esteem in Renaissance England, or we side with the opposite opinions on the prevalence of the wergild system, the concept of state violence as sacrifice has significance in both cases. The horrible tortures meted out on the alleged Catholics, presented as traitors, were legitimized as "necessary" to prevent further spreading of the Popish belief, nevertheless, the public state violence was also a power-demonstration to intimidate population from furnishing Catholic beliefs. In this way, the traumatization of society ("it can happen to you as well") was concealed by the legitimization of cruelty, the holy workings of the Law. The meticulously executed and prolonged torturous death of Campion was a form of sacred, legitimate violence that could be excused by recalling John Foxe's protestant martyrs, and an imminent danger of history reiterating itself.

Scholars of early modern literature and history all agree that an overall atmosphere of surveillance and paranoia presided over society by the last decades of the sixteenth century, only aggravated by the above mentioned excommunication of the Queen in 1570, after which Elizabeth literally feared for her life. The government resorted to coercion and violence concerning religious issues. Dollimore comments on the fact that church attendance was obligatory but the inculcation of the new faith did not happen easily.[62] There was an ever rising tendency for scepticism, even atheism among intellectuals and the lower orders as well. The atheism of intellectuals, "like Marlowe, Raleigh, Thomas Harriot and others has been well documented albeit in terms of reaction to it rather than first hand testimonies."[63] The lack of direct evidence is not surprising since blasphemy was punishable by death. Playwrights especially had to learn

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[59] Derek Dunne, *Shakespeare, Revenge Tragedy and Early Modern Law* (University of Fribourg, Switzerland: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), 20.

[60] Girard, *Violence and the Sacred,* 14.

[61] Girard, *Violence and the Sacred,* 23.

[62] Jonathan Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy* (Palgrave, 2010), 83.

[63] Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy,* 84.

"the need for discretion, concealment and fiction"[64] as did Shakespeare both in his private life (much of his biography is still based on speculations) and in his plays. Consequently, he lived long enough to create a substantial amount of plays. Thomas Kyd, a contemporary of Shakespeare, and the establisher of the revenge tradition was less fortunate. He eventually got ground up by the state machinery by the nuance of choosing his friends carelessly. In the course of some Privy Council investigation, atheistic tracts were found in Kyd's chambers in 1593. He maintained that the blasphemous papers belonged to Marlowe, with whom he had shared lodgings earlier. Nevertheless, he was imprisoned in Bridewell and tortured by the strappado,[65] the consequences of which were lethal and led to his death the following year. Ironically, and most disturbingly he became the victim of the same state violence that earlier he depicted in his tragedy (with no opposition from the censors).

Torture, as a means for extracting evidence was an elemental part of criminal prosecution on the Continent throughout the sixteenth century, but the English were proud that "torment or question which is used by the order of the civill law and custome of other countries to put a malefactor to excessive pain, to make him confesse him selfe, or of his fellowes or complices, is not used in England."[66] At least not until the Pope excommunicated Queen Elizabeth, because after 1570, incidents of torture rapidly increased, as the Anglican state put all its force into finding and fending off the Catholic enemy amongst its midst. And while lawyers were discouraged by the state to discuss the discourse of torture publicly, there is plenitude evidence given by Catholic victims to its widespread use during Elizabeth.[67] Nevertheless, it was not welcomed or embraced by society, even if directed towards the Other, not only because it was too easy to become incriminated, but also because victims confessed things they never did in their pain. One of the most prominent servants of the English Law, Sir Francis Bacon, lawyer and judge, received a bad reputation in later scholarship with allegedly advocating "the torture of nature"[68] in experiments and judicial practice, by implication. An extensive study of Bacon's work and his use of mythological parables give evidence to just the opposite. Peter Pesic points out how Bacon deliberately avoided the word *torture* in reflecting on experimentation, but rather used *vexation,* pertaining to conditions that are "troubling, afflicting or harassing."[69] He asserted that nature has to be forced out of her ways, to expose its underlying truth and to yield results, but he incessantly objected to even the metaphorical applications of the word *torture*: the investigation has to be lawful and chaste. [70]

Elizabeth Hanson claims that judicial torture "Like modern torture, (it) was a form of official terrorism, used to crush perceived dangers to the Elizabethan state..."[71] Even if it would be strained to call Elizabethan England a terrorist state, the analogy still stands, for terrorism is defined, according to a 1989 definition, "as the performance of violent acts against one or more persons intended by the performing agent to intimidate one or more persons, thereby to

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[64] Greenblatt, *Will in the World,* 173.

[65] James Saphiro, "'Tragedies naturally performed': Kyd's representation of violence" in *Staging the Renaissance: Representations of Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama,* ed. David Scott Kastan (New York: Routledge, 1991), 101.

[66] Elizabeth Hanson, "Torture and Truth in Renaissance England", *Representations* no. 34 (Spring 1991): 52.

[67] Hanson, "Torture and Truth," 59.

[68] Hanson, "Torture and Truth," 55.

[69] Peter Pesic, "Wrestling with Proteus: Francis Bacon and the 'Torture' of Nature," *Isis* 90, no. 1 (Mar 1999): 88.

[70] Pesic, "Wrestling with Proteus," 89.

[71] Hanson, "Torture and Truth," 53.

bring about one or more of the agents' political goals."[72] The bearings of a violent state are very important on Kyd's and his contemporaries' lives because just as modern terror works by dissemination and circulation of images, early modern terror was effective because of the wide publicity of the executions and tortures. The state inscribed its power on the bodies of its victims, in very spectacular ways. This is how Thomas Kyd, who was tortured by the strappado *after* his main work was written, and Niccolo Machiavelli, who was tortured by the same method *before* his main work, can be linked. Since the *sheer menace* of terror and trauma can restructure the subject just as terror itself, it is useful to contemplate a geographically distant story, Machiavelli's scandal for more insight.

Machiavelli's *The Prince* was received with "popular horror"[73] in England. Machiavelli dissuades the head of state from keeping faith, because this noble ideal has no political value, and the crowd only cares about pretence and appearances. Furthermore, he encourages the use of absolute power, thus contributing to the figure of the Machiavellian tyrant in early modern tragedies. For centuries now, *The Prince* has been celebrated and taught as the paragon of humanist writing and a fundamental piece in the birth of the modern political science, while at the same time deemed as amoral (Ernst Cassirer[74]) and devious. Alison K. Frazier dismantles the myth around the work, and points out that the interpretative incongruities concerning the motifs behind the work originate from the author's trauma, resulting from the ruin of both his social reputation and his bodily integrity (by means of torture).

> Machiavelli's most famous text is triumphant and servile, bleak and comic, exhilarating and tedious, because *The Prince* is a symptomatic – that is to say, an unintentional – bodying-forth of the author's oscillating crises of death and life[75]

In the March of 1513, when the Medicis returned to Florence assisted by a foreign military power, and defeated the republican government of Piero Soderini, Niccolo Machiavelli, Second Chancellor to the Republic was detained and spent three weeks as a political prisoner "without wrongdoing or reason"[76]. During this time he was interrogated by means of the *strappado,* a device for torture. Hung from the ceiling by the arms tied behind the back, the shoulder joints got dislocated, and then the torturers used to drop the victim several times, to intensify the pain. The agony was immense and the physical injuries could even result in death, as in Thomas Kyd's case. Frazier's argumentation is based on the challenges posed by the trauma hypothesis[77], because indirectness and silence *are* the evidences for a trauma, at least understood in a Caruthian sense, and a breech in the personality that can never be fully acknowledged. Thus, as she puts it, "Machiavelli is not fully in control of his text... *The Prince* enacts the psychic demands of 'an understanding at once urgent and inaccessible.'"[78] Inaccessible, because Machiavelli cannot, would not write about *torture.* He writes about Greek and Roman generals, great battles, floods, castles and instructions for governing, but never about interrogations or somatic expressions, however effective a tool torture was in the hands of a tyrant. As opposed to him, Kyd overtly places torture and public executions in the centre of *The Spanish Tragedy,* and one might infer from this fact that it is the lack of direct physical trauma that allows him to do this. He is under the

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72 Per Bauhn, *Ethical Aspects of Political Terrorism* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1989), 28.
73 McAlindon, *English Renaissance Tragedy,* 12.
74 Frazier, "Machiavelli, Trauma," 152.
75 Frazier, "Machiavelli, Trauma,"
76 Francesco Vettori's letter quoted in Frazier, "Machiavelli, Trauma," 153.
77 Frazier, "Machiavelli, Trauma," 157.
78 Frazier, "Machiavelli, Trauma," 156.

impact of a collective trauma nevertheless, as the ubiquity of torture and execution was a structuring force of the early modern subject,

> ...even for those without direct experience... It's ubiquity may thus have had an effect ... on the narrative self, which is to say, on our reading of the Renaissance individual... we glimpse a restless and fragmented subject, compulsively seeking unity (but never finding it) in flights of abjection and aggression[79]

Still, the direct agony of torture is yet unknown to him, in this way, representing trauma might have been easier for him as a playwright. *The Spanish Tragedy* does not lack in subversive and seditious meanings, and the impact might have amounted to a level, where authorities became increasingly suspicious towards Kyd. Scholars are unable to decide whether *The Dutch Church Libel* investigation, which ultimately caused the ruin of Kyd, was originally targeted at Marlowe, or him, because both became incriminated by written evidence.[80] Kyd in his play gambles with rather dangerous and subversive notions, ones that were carefully avoided or less direct in later contemporaries, for instance Shakespeare. First of all, the entire play hinges on an upside down predestination: as Revenge and a purgatorial Ghost reside over the tragedy all the while, the psychomachia is tilted from the very beginning. The metaphorical character of Revenge, this most evil of all passions influences every single character throughout the play. Virtually no other agency is allowed in the play because none of the humans can outdo the forces of the evil transcendent, however hard they try. They become puppets in Revenge's tragic universe, an image diametrically opposing the medieval Great Chain of Being, where God is enthroned over creation. The characters are predestined to fall and misery, as the audience knows from the very beginning, because there are no hints to the presence of a merciful Absolut. Secondly, Hieronimo comes dangerously close to blasphemy, a charge that quickly led to the torture chamber or the gallows in sixteenth century England. C.L. Barber for example, based on the nervousness of Elizabethan authorities, imagines a member of the Privy Council watching the play and concluding that Hieronimo must be dangerous, and on this train of thought: "How dangerous it is that this theatre goes loose!"[81] And thirdly, the Elizabethan state did not favour representations of public execution, yet Kyd did not eschew from staging the hanging of Pedringano. Staging the workings of the sacred law always involved a huge potential for subversion. As Saphiro cites Foucault: "'the public execution did not merely re-establish justice: it reactivated power... 'To permit the theatre to imitate state spectacle could undermine the terrible power of officially sanctioned violence..."[82] In "sporting" dangerous concepts, while receiving great popularity, Kyd doubtlessly contributed to his own demise, a trauma from which he could never recover, neither psychically nor physically.

Thus, the forces of terror and trauma were already at work in Kyd's life, even before he was imprisoned and tortured with the same means as Machiavelli. His revenge tragedy, *The Spanish Tragedy* betrays symptoms of early modern trauma in Elizabethan England. The elucidation of these *voices* in *The Spanish Tragedy* will constitute the next chapter.

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[79] Frazier, "Machiavelli, Trauma," 157.

[80] Arthur Freeman, "Marlowe, Kyd and the Dutch Church Libel", *English Literary Renaissance* 3, no. 1 (1973): 44–52.

[81] Ian McAdam, "*The Spanish Tragedy* and the Politico-Religious Unconscious," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 42, no.1 (Spring 2000): 40.

[82] Saphiro, "'Tragedies naturally performed,'" 100.

4. *The Spanish Tragedy* and Early Modern Cultural Trauma

In the previous chapters I have established that the fundamental transformation of religion and belief in sixteenth century England reached the magnitude of a cultural trauma. Signs of this trauma were the overall presence of concealment and equivocation, a sort of logorrheic overabundance of eloquent speech, without clear cut content. It was also laid down how the public executions and torture created a traumatized, terrorized society, where repression and silence were of great value. Traces of this cultural trauma are to be found everywhere in contemporary literature, but the most salient symptoms manifest themselves in early modern revenge tragedy. The excess of violence and bloodshed in revenge tragedies, and in *The Spanish Tragedy* specifically has long puzzled literary scholars. Margaret Owens concludes that

> The nightmare world of revenge tragedy is at least in part a nightmare produced by the Reformation's relatively abrupt suppression of consoling rituals associated with death... the loss of purgatory and prayers for the dead served to heighten existing anxieties about the integrity and security of the body and of the self after death.[83]

It has to be investigated what the remaining part was produced by, in contrast to the claim "at least in part" in the above sentence, although this paper focuses on the trauma-relatedness of revenge plays. T. McAlindon absolves early modern playwrights from charges of "melodramatic sensationalism"[84] by claiming that these plays are experiments into the destructive powers of passion, and thus the violence presented assumes "symbolic or quasi-symbolic status."[85] To underline his argument, he shows how acts of violence are always paired with their opposites: eloquent speech or friendly entertainment and the likes. Nevertheless, it is the traumatic bearings that this chapter deals with, and specifically in one revenge play: *The Spanish Tragedy.*

4.1. Cultural Trauma and its Witnesses in *The Spanish Tragedy*

Trauma needs witnesses in order to be known. Literature and art are "...precocious modes of witnessing – of accessing reality – when all other modes of knowledge are precluded..." write Shoshana Feldman and Dori Laub in the Foreword to their book, *Testimony.*[86] If novels and poems can be considered as testimonies, it even more pertains to drama, where, through the unrivalled mimetic processes of the genre, trauma can be *shown.* In what follows two sets of symptoms of early modern trauma will be shown in *The Spanish Tragedy*: first the salient ambiguities and clashing controversies of the play's religious economy. The second set of symptoms pertains to a thoroughgoing crisis of justice and truth, and both of these sets render the interpretation of the play impossible along clear cut binaries.

Obviously, in this case trauma registers itself consciously in the play. Kyd must have known exactly what he was writing about, and so did Shakespeare and the other contemporary playwrights. The paradox situation was that while early modern plays reflected real trauma of the era, the playwrights at the same intentionally pursued to cater for the voyeuristic demand of the

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[83] Margaret Owens, *Stages of Dismemberment* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 207.

[84] McAlindon, *English Renaissance Tragedy,* 4.

[85] McAlindon, *English Renaissance Tragedy,* 4.

[86] Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony – Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), xx.

crowds with staging different modes of dying, mutilation and the likes.[87] The intentionality of testimony does not reduce its worth nevertheless, all the more if it happens in the face of constant menace. Writing a play with controversial meanings involved an element of gambling, just as in Machiavelli's case, because nobody could exactly know what would be too much for the authorities. In Saphiro's account[88], no representations of state execution or torture were officially allowed, and blasphemy was punishable by death, nevertheless, assigning these elements to foreign authorities (the Spanish court) or to raging madmen (Hieronimo verges on blasphemy many times in the play) Kyd could successfully represent these traumatizing focal points without immediately getting into trouble.

How does trauma manifest itself in the polysemous text of the play? And how does it turn the audience into witnesses to the cultural trauma? First of all, the religious economy of the tragedy has to be scrutinized. *The Spanish Tragedy* foreshadows an unprecedented tragic universe from the onset. "It is not God's hand or the omnipotence of the Monarch that governs the events but a metaphorical representation of the most powerful passion in the human being: Revenge."[89] A purgatorial Ghost and Revenge preside over the events, from time to time relating their meta-perspective to the audience, creating tragic irony in the play.[90] Thus, the lack of an omnipotent, benevolent Absolute is registered throughout the play, as opposed to the medieval world picture of the Great Chain of Being, with God on the top of the hierarchy. Even the psychomachia is tilted, because Revenge influences and takes control over every single character, and they cannot help but rush to revenge. Additionally, the main character, Hieronimo, manifests a total loss of faith in the availability of God and his divine justice: both are main constituents of the early modern crisis of belief and religion.

> Yet still tormented is my tortur'd soul, With broken sighs and restless passions, That winged, mount: Beat at the windows of the brightest heavens, Soliciting for justice and revenge: But... I find the place impregnable: and they resist my woes, and give my words no way (3.7.10–18)

His disintegration is, nevertheless, a direct consequence of personal loss and trauma: conspirators murder his only son. Hieronimo's trauma will be elucidated later on.

As for the complexities of different layers of meaning, it is worth considering another reading of the religious economy of the play, one that focuses on the sacrificial iconography of the play. With all that is written about melancholy and God-forsakenness in the play being true, at the same time an abundant and rich imagery of the Feast of Corpus Christi plays has to be noticed and granted equal importance. In this manner, the play might be considered as a monument to the memory of the lost Catholic rites, a trauma the audience collectively underwent and remembered. This common memory of a Catholic past, rich in iconography and visceral rituals, was a foundation the early modern plays all built on. The sacrificial imagery is salient and abundant throughout *The Spanish Tragedy.* The passion of Christ could not be staged after the Reformation, but the textual analogies between Hieronimo the human father and his son, on one hand, and God the Father and Christ, who was hung on a tree, "through-girt" with wounds, on the other hand, are plenty and visible. Waldron convincingly claims that theatricality and theology are almost inseparable in early modern drama: "theatrical embodiment offers a live experiment

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[87] The comparison between early modern and postmodern methods of the commodification of trauma in mass entertainment would deserve further research.

[88] James Saphiro, "'Tragedies naturally performed'," 100.

[89] Kiss, *Double Anatomy,* 65.

[90] Kiss, *Double Anatomy,* 64.

in religious problems"[91] such as sacrifice, or justification. Another compelling iconographical allusion to Corpus Christi plays, according to Waldron, is the use of "the fruit of the tree" imagery. While the spectacle of Horatio being "erected" in the orchard might have been a bawdy allusion as well, considering the context of a secret affair with Bel-Imperia, it also can be considered as a more likely iconography: the tree as a symbol for the cross of Christ. When Hieronimo says that the tree in his orchard was wicked because it bore his son, he used the exact terminology with which Christians refer to Christ's redemption to this day and the audience most possibly recalled another sacrifice on another tree. Waldron points out how consistently the image of the "tree" was used in this sense.[92] The sacrificial iconography is insistently conflated with the bloody rites of revenge in *The Spanish Tragedy,* thus "the body of the actor offers a phenomenal territory for a struggle between human works and divine works"[93] suggesting that Hieronimo, caught in a Popish society conforming to the old Law, commits sacrilege in assuming the revenger's role, totally missing out on the point of a new dispensation of mercy, in the spirit of the Reformation. Waldron's insights show the play in a very different light as opposed to some earlier but influential explanations. She proves how a thorough investigation of the early modern anthropologies of Christianity and a deep knowledge of the theological context opens up so far hidden layers of meaning. These sacramental overtones constantly collide with the bawdy and ludic elements of the play ("these are the fruits of love" while Horatio is being stabbed in the second act), creating a fragmented, incoherent and ambiguous reading, resulting from an underlying cultural trauma that resists easy interpretations.

Another source of trauma, constituting the second set of symptoms in the play, is the profound crisis of justice and truth. Shoshana Felman brings into attention how important the role of testimony in crises of truth is.[94] The Oxford Dictionary defines truth, as "That which is true or in accordance with fact or reality". Thus, the crisis of *truth* is the crisis of reality, or the perception of reality, in other words epistemological and ontological crises. *The Spanish Tragedy* testifies to an early modern trauma of losing the anchors in faith and social order, both notions deeply attached to the concept of *truth.* Faith has to be invested into the *truth* (of religion), but the Reformation unsettled the moorings of this truth, or to be correct, replaced Catholic truth with Protestant ones. And not only that, but the State started to persecute with all of its force those who did not align themselves with the new order. The unity of Christendom thus ruptured, and Truth frayed, the sixteenth century saw the advent of personal *truths,* which later comes to be identified with subjectivity. This inward, personal truth was concealed from the outsider's look, and only known to God, according to contemporary thinking.[95] Torture was the means designated to extract this inner truth of the subject, as exemplifies Thomas Myagh's testimony, written on the wall of the Tower of London in 1581. "Thomas Miagh, which lieth her alone, That fayne wold from hens begon: By torture straunge mi trouth was tried, Yet of my libertie denied."[96] Torture was the power demonstration of the Elizabethan state, with the real impact of intimidation and traumatization of society, but it was not suitable to get closer to the *inner truth* of the human being. Victims tended to admit everything under the immense pain, even things they never committed, as critics of the system remarked. Furthermore, as

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[91] Kiss, *Double Anatomy,* 117.

[92] Jennifer Waldron, *Reformation of the Body* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), 139

[93] Waldron, *Reformation of the Body,* 119.

[94] Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony,* 6.

[95] Katharine Eisaman Maus, *Inwardness and Theater in the English Renaissance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 10.

[96] Thomas Myagh in Hanson, "Torture and Truth," 53.

Edward Coke wrote, it was "directly against the common laws of England."[97] This is one more reason to observe the practice of torture here, since it can be considered as one of the desperate measures in a crisis of justice (the practice of torture quickly declined with James ascending to the throne), and it is problematized in Kyd's play. The inner truth and its relation to the outward world is a central issue in *The Spanish Tragedy.* Hieronimo's inwardness is not for contemplation but, under the pretext of madness, he is plotting to avenge his son's death. As for torture, its practice is assigned to both the Portugese and Spanish courts in the play*,* to the images of the Other, nevertheless the implications were probably clear to the onlookers of the drama. Alexandro is ready to die as a martyr and his truth is vindicated in heaven.

> Not that I fear the extremity of death, But this, O this torments my labouring soul, That thus I die suspected of a sin, Whereof, as heavens have known my secret thoughts, So am I free of this suggestion.(3.1.39–46)

The approaching of his guiltless death also foregrounds the trauma of the inherent injustice in the Elizabethan system: torture was applied many times unjustly, without evidence of guilt (just like in Machiavelli's case), or on a religious basis.

The complexities around the question of revenge-justice in the play betray another traumatic focal point. Commentators of the tragedy do not agree whether Hieronimo seeks a private revenge, or justice. Elizabeth Waldron, for example, presents the concepts of revenge-justice as binary oppositions. In her thinking, Hieronimo *does seek* revenge as opposed to other argumentations (according to Dunne, he only wants justice), and this justification is juxtaposed with God's justification fulfilled in the sacrifice of His Son. In her reading, Hieronimo's justification is sliding back into the realm of "an eye for an eye", the Old Law, which Waldron equates with Catholic teaching, and which can never bring true salvation (because the Law only can deem men guilty with no hope for the capability of total fulfilment of its criteria). Waldron shows through examples how Kyd exploits the Post-Reformation epistemological and theological uncertainties in his play. For example, Hieronimo's problematization of "Vindicta Mihi", to whom revenge belongs, reflects the indeterminacy between human or divine agency, a crucial turning point of Post-Reformation theology. The requirement of "Sola Fide" heightened the responsibility (agency) of the individual for her/his own salvation, but the doctrine of predestination worked the opposite direction: it made every spiritual effort questionably vain in the face of an unfathomable divine will. As personal diaries testify, James I with time prohibited the proclamation of the Calvinian teaching on predestination, because the psychological effect was so detrimental to the population.[98]

As opposed to Waldron, Dunne asserts that Hieronimo is searching for justice *and* revenge because these two are not binaries. By one simple deduction he arrives from *private revenge* to Law, which he identifies with *public revenge,* citing René Girard on the matter.[99] By drawing on early modern texts and the Bible[100] as well, he points out how much the idea of revenge and retribution has always been an *integral part of* the Law, facilitating the restriction of private vengeance by containment. This argumentation is important for the analysis of the tragedy because on this train of thought he arrives at the conclusion that Hieronimo is searching for Justice above all, which would imply public revenge at the same time: "Justice, O, justice, justice, gentle king!"

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[97] Hanson, "Torture and Truth," 53.

[98] Elizabeth Hunter, "The Black Lines of Damnation: Double Predestination and the Causes of Despair in Timothy Bright's *A Treatise on Melancholy," Etudes Episteme* 28 (2015):4.

[99] Dunne, *Shakespeare, Revenge Tragedy and Early Modern Law,* 16.

[100] "Vengeance is mine..." Romans 12:19

(3.12.62). It was God, the ultimate judge to whom justice and vengeance belonged ("Vindicta Mihi") but he bestowed the right to punish sin onto the judicial system with the monarch as its head. This is why in the beginning Hieronimo wishes to speak to the king, demanding legal redress (public revenge), to no avail. The criticism of a corrupt legal system (the early modern law was undergoing profound changes in these decades, recent studies show[101]) is unmistakable here, with class-related overtones. The realization that as magistrate he must mete out righteous verdict, while he cannot expect the same (3.5.34–38), is one step down the abyss for him. As a result, he abandones his social and moral position as a judge for the sake of revenge (and hell): "And here surrender up my marshalship: For I'll go marshal up the fiends in hell..." (3.12.75–76). When he bites out his own tongue, he ultimately circumvents any effort for the extraction of *his inward* truth.

The Spanish Tragedy thus can be considered as a testimony to early modern trauma. In this respect, Kyd's revenge drama functions as communal element, where multiple layers of witnessing happen simultaneously: the members of the audience are elevated to a position of the witness as well, hearing out testimonies of theatrical live action, where the larger cultural context of religious polemics, martyrdom, ballads about persecutions and the overarching questions of social and divine justice are represented. In what follows, I will be more closely focusing on Kyd's psychologization of the protagonist, and I will read Hieronimo's personal trauma of losing his son as a case study based on Sigmund Freud's *Mourning and Melancholia*.

4.2. Hieronimo, Madness and Trauma

Cathy Caruth argues that: "If Freud turns to literature to describe traumatic experience, it is because literature, like psychoanalysis, is interested in the complex relation between knowing and not knowing."[102] Thus, the main value of the psychoanalytic approach for the present study lies not necessarily in its potential answers (the method of "decoding" literary works based on a discrete set of analytic formulations gave rise to much criticism and resulted in a marginalization of psychoanalysis in literary circles[103]) but in the questions it helps to articulate. Through the psychoanalytical perspective, the discrepancies, gaps and rhetorical excess of the play can finally be interpreted as symptoms that point towards an underlying meaning, hitherto unaccounted for. These are the symptoms of an overall cultural trauma.

In understanding *The Spanish Tragedy* as a testimony to this trauma, detailed in the previous chapters, Hieronimo's character will be perceived as a voice from this wound, and analysed accordingly. Hieronimo's main trauma is the violent death of his son, thus Freud's study on mourning and melancholia promises to be relevant to this scrutiny, and it will be used as an analytical tool for more insight. The melancholic condition is worth discussing in connection with trauma, because contemporary literary discourse tends to conflate melancholia and madness (an outcome of trauma), a crucial point in *The Spanish Tragedy.* The long lasting popularity of the play and the fact that it instigated the tradition of the revenge tragedy, furthermore the underlying socio-political context all indicate that Hieronimo can be discussed as a paradigmatic figure, whose actions and fate mirrored major aspects of early modern living and trauma. With a full awareness of the scholarly debate concerning the *additions*[104] to the tragedy, the play with the additions will be preferred in the discussion for two reasons. Firstly, whether Ben Jonson,

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101 Dunne, *Shakespeare, Revenge Tragedy and Early Modern Law,* 2.

102 Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience,* 3.

103 Benjamin H. Ogden, Thomas H. Ogden, *The Analyst's Ear and The Critics's Eye* (Routledge, 2013), 2.

104 Carol Thomas Neely, *Distracted Subject: Madness and Gender in Early Modern Culture* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2014), p. 35, n. 12.

or another apt playwright was behind the extra passages, he lived in the same cultural milieu, experiencing the same cultural trauma as Thomas Kyd. Thus, in this regard it does not matter that the additions probably were added after Kyd's death. Second, the important idea of the revenger's madness was originally conjured up, although less emphatically, by Kyd himself and the additions merely extend and emphasize this part. Madness later became a necessary element in the succession of following revenge tragedies, probably because it so profoundly impacts the whole play and its understanding. The success of the innovation is shown by the fact that "Hieronimo and his madness eventually became synonymous with the play"[105], the later editions came out with the title *Hieronimo's Mad Againe.*

The murder of Horatio triggers the whole machinery of revenge, from which no single character in the play will be exempt, for this reason this scene will represent the point of departure. Hieronimo has a most traumatic awakening: he wakes up from his dream at the sound of Bel-Imperia's cry for help. He dashes to the bower in his garden only to see his son, Horatio hung and stabbed to death. It is most peculiar, how Hieronimo does not recognize his son in the dead corpse at first sight.

> But stay, what murderous spectacle is this? A man hang'd up and all the murderers gone! And in my bower, to lay the guilt on me! ... Those garments that he wears I oft have seen – Alas, it is Horatio, my sweet son! Oh no, but he that whilom was my son! (2.5.9–15)

I would comment here on the curious fact how the magistrate precedes the father in the first reaction. Hieronimo's initial shock causes him such a trauma that it renders his own son's physical appearance unrecognizable, unknowable for him. His immediate thought is that of the judge's: if a dead body is found in his garden, he can be held accountable for the murder. It is only a few minutes later when he slowly begins to fully awake to reality: the uncanny corpse is Horatio, or something that *was* Horatio. There is a painful oscillation between knowing and not knowing: after the recognition he temporarily loses grasp of the outer world, denying what just happened. "I wonder how this fellow got his clothes... bid my son Horatio to come home: I and his mother have had strange dreams to-night." (2.5.60, 63–64) No matter what he has seen with his own eyes, trauma makes this knowledge temporarily unavailable for him. His condition could be described as an early and special form of post-traumatic stress disorder in today's terminology. The phases of his mourning represent a deviation from non-pathological mourning, and it will be maintained that its reason is not only the violent death, that calls for revenge – but on a more general level his grief is also symptomatic of the impossibility of proper mourning after the Reformation.

First of all, melancholia might be viewed as the threshold of madness. Hamlet, for example, admits that he is a melancholic type, and as such, more susceptible to being tempted by evil thoughts or by the devil himself:

> May be the devil, and the devil hath power, T'assume a pleasing shape. Yea, and perhaps Out of my weakness and my melancholy, As he is very potent with such spirits, Abuses me to damn me. I'll have grounds More relative than this. (2.2.561–566)

Nevertheless a clear dividing line between the two conditions is difficult to draw. When Oxford don Robert Burton attempted to put down an exhaustive list of the symptoms of melancholy in his *The Anatomy of Melancholy,* he came to the conclusion, that "the Tower of Babel never yielded

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[105] Thomas Neely, *Distracted Subject,* 33.

such confusion of tongues as this Chaos of Melancholy doth variety of symptoms."[106] Thus, melancholy will be treated as the first step towards madness. In fact, melancholy was a very frequent malady in Elizabethan England according to scholars. Jonathan Dollimore remarks on the paradoxes of the severer protestant theology:

> ... it is not difficult to see how Calvin's own graphic portrayal of adversity, his insistence on the incomprehensibility of providence and the extent of people's and nature's inherent corruption, actually fuelled despair, nihilism and, even, the censure of God.[107]

Treating melancholy in early modern society as a result of the fundamental spiritual and ontological crises the Reformation brought about, it is easy to see how Hieronimo's madness (melancholy) attests to cultural trauma. Furthermore, taking the widespread nature of this condition as a given, staging his character provided a perfect identification for audiences. The contemporary analyser of the phenomena, Robert Burton entails the symptoms of melancholy as loss of appetite, sleeplessness, nightmares, the loss of pleasure in normal pursuits, and most importantly, the illusion of the devil himself speaking to patients. "Melancholy persons are most subject to diabolical temptations and illusions, and most apt to entertain them, and the Devil best able to work upon them."[108] Thus, within the theological framework, where melancholia positioned itself in the early modern, it was all the more self-evident, that Hieronimo turns mad (melancholic) once he permits the evil spirit of Revenge overrule his own identity. To be sure he had no other option, with Revenge as the director of the play, as the pessimistic setup of the tragedy from the very beginning runs.

Another similarly important cause of melancholia mentioned in early modern sources was elicited by the loss of a beloved person. But what are the differences between pathologic and natural mourning? My suggestion is that *The Spanish Tragedy* is at least partly a play about the total impossibility of proper mourning after the Reformation. Carol Thomas Neely claims that the additions in the play serve the purpose of showing the process from melancholy to mourning. Her argumentation is convincing, apart from one uncanny fact: Hieronimo never buries his son. For my thinking this element of the play recontextualizes the entire issue of mourning in the play. It proves that normal mourning never really started for Hieronimo. Hieronimo's mourning is pathological, assumes forms of melancholia and madness, and a result of this he cannot bury his son. He needs the uncanny dead corpse to fuel his revenge on one hand, but also because he lives in a narcissistic identification with Horatio, the latter resulting in a pathological bonding with the dead. Freud describes the course of normal mourning as a process, in which, after reality testing makes clear that the loved object does not exist anymore, the libido attached to it is gradually withdrawn[109]. This process goes down step by step and "in the meantime the existence of the lost object is psychically prolonged."[110] Ian McAdam comments on the fact how Horatio is never shown in "affectionate exchange"[111] with his father preliminary to the murder. In fact, Hieronimo says to the King: "He never pleas'd his father's eyes till now, Nor filled my heart with over- cloying joys" (1.2.119–120). These lines betray a rather indifferent father, as opposed to the sentiments Hieronimo expresses after the murder. Sigmund Freud describes melancholy as the following: "The melancholic displays something else besides, which is lacking

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106 Burton quoted in Jeremy Schmidt, *Melancholy and the Care of the Soul* (Ashgate, 2007), 8.
107 Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy,* 104.
108 Robert Burton, *On Melancholy* (London: Hesperus Press Limited, 2013), 19.
109 Sigmund Freud, *Mourning and Melancholia,* 243.
110 Sigmund Freud, *Mourning and Melancholia,* 244.
111 McAdam, "*The Spanish Tragedy* and the Politico-Religious Unconscious," 50.

in mourning – an impoverishment of his ego on a grand scale." He further adds that melancholy is prone to fixate itself on the lost object and turn into *mania*, a state with opposite symptoms, showing great activity and excessive enthusiasm. It seems that Hieronimo arrived to a similar phase in his melancholy when he finally decided to stage the murderous plot. To be sure, no actors of his tragedy suspected anything, even Bel-Imperia was ignorant about the final outcome of the play.

Additionally, Neely perceives the Painter Scene as Hieronimo's reconciliation with the reality of his son's death, and a beginning of mourning, as opposed to Attila Kiss' argumentation, who points out how this scene reflects yet another contemporary crisis: that of representation in general. There is a sharp contrast between the two readings relating to the following lines: "Make me curse, make me rave, make me cry, make me mad, make me well again, make me curse hell, invocate heaven, and in the end leave me in a trance – and so forth... Oh no, there is no end: the end is death and madness!" (3.12.162–168) While Neely says that these words reiterate the trauma and thus serve as a work-through, the final lines suggest otherwise. Building funeral monuments and having paintings made about the beloved ones was an increasingly important practice for the Elizabethans after the loss of Catholic Purgatory, as it has already been put forward, but Hieronimo here does not seem to be accepting the death of Horatio. His words (before beating up the painter) are reflecting nihilism and disturbance, not a peaceful acceptance of reality. "... the end is death and madness. As I am never better than when I am mad... " (3.12.168–169) The explanation Kiss provides gives the fuller insight needed on this scene. He suggests that the protagonist is being sarcastic with Bazulto, showing him the gap between art and reality, which cannot be bridged.[112] "Hieronimo presents the painter with the fundamental representational problem: is it possible to depict, that is, to re-present perfectly the abjection of the tortured mind?"[113] This problematizing of the mimetic powers of art versus reality constitutes the main essence of the final scene with the murderous play-within-the play.

Hieronimo begins to plot his revenge after The Painter Scene. There is a significant turn in his attitude. What salient is that, although still having hallucinations, he becomes determined and cunning, focusing all his capacity on one ultimate goal: revenge. This sudden shift of mood, in my view, does not come from a peaceful mind that embraced the unchangeable. He still carries the handkerchief dipped in Horatio's blood in his pocket. I would approximate his condition based on Freud's analysis, to the symptoms of *mania.*

> The most remarkable characteristic of melancholia, ... is its tendency to change round into mania ... What has happened here is that, as a result of some influence, a large expenditure of psychical energy, long maintained or habitually occurring, has at last become ... available for numerous applications and possibilities of discharge...[114]

Then, Freud goes on to detail the main features of mania showing signs of enthusiasm, joyful spirits and "increased readiness for all kinds of action ... in complete contrast to the depression and inhibition of melancholia."[115] This description fits Hieronimo exactly. He is so determined that he even digs out a long-forgotten play that he had written in his youth, to use it as a script for his revenge. He has Bel-Imperia on his side as an accomplice although she does not have the slightest idea to what she consents, and neither do the members of the audience. The plot of the perfect murder is in Hieronimo's head (4.1.50). It is the perfect murder in which he creates

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112 Kiss, *Double Anatomy,* 66.
113 Kiss, *Double Anatomy,* 66.
114 Freud, *Mourning and Melancholia,* 252–253.
115 Freud, *Mourning and Melancholia,* 253.

multiple layers of witnessing. First of all, Hieronimo makes the audience of *The Spanish Tragedy* witness how his personal trauma amounts to mania and multiple murders. In this witnessing, the onlookers are traumatized, too, because they see acts of violence, without actually knowing what is going on.[116] The representation strives to blur reality with art. "The real audience must also reinterpret the signs of the actors' bodies in front of them: the feigned corpses onstage, without changing their appearance, suddenly change their meaning and become, in the fiction of the play, real."[117] This element underlines, more emphatically than any other parts of the play, the cultural trauma of the crisis of signification in the early modern.[118] Where is Christ if he is not corporeally or fully present[119] in the Eucharist? What is reality if we cannot believe our eyes?

The second layer of witnessing happens on stage: Hieronimo makes his enemies witness their own death, the worst of all traumas, with no amendments possible. They are at ease, not suspecting that representation of death will actually turn into reality. When it happens, it is already too late for them. Sudden death, the most horrifying to Renaissance men, befalls them, just as it happened to Horatio.

> Haply you think – but bootless are our thoughts – that this is a fabulous counterfeit, And that we do as all tragedians do,,- To die today, for fashioning our scene, ... And in a minute starting up again, Revive to please tomorrow's audience. No, princes... (4.4.79–86)

Kyd does not reconcile the end of the tragedy with the promise of a new order. The traumatic overtones are never resolved, the play ends with depictions of a torture place (supposedly purgatory) and although Antonio's friends will be placed "in ease", the Ghost of Revenge promises "endless tragedy" for all the other characters.

The trauma of a violent age, where religious, philosophical, and socio-political certainties are dispersed, left its mark on Thomas Kyd's tragedy, with one definite warning for generations to come: violence resists interpretation but it works in the absence of meaning as well. Just the same way as trauma does.

5. Conclusion

The bloody spectacles of early modern revenge tragedy have long been puzzling scholarly imagination. The voyeuristic demand of an audience, catered on a steady diet of violent spectacles, only partly explains the overall presence of butchering, blood and maimed bodies in the plays. The main argument of this paper was that the sociohistorical changes, the advent of natural sciences, the religious persecutions and the banishing of earlier forms of ritual, the extensive surveillance and executions birthed a heavily traumatized society, where the revenge tragedies, with their focus on the main epicentres of crises (knowledge, identity, justice, belief) served as communal opportunities for a working-through process. It was maintained that theatre and

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[116] William N. West, "'But this will be a mere confusion': Real and Represented Confusions on the Elizabethan Stage," 229.

[117] West, "But this will be a mere confusion," 229.

[118] Kiss, *Double Anatomy,* 25.

[119] The departure from the fully fledged Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation was a gradual and reasonably wary one, and as a result, The Church of England articulated its own „middle way", somewhere between full bodily presence and an entirely abstract act of remembrance. For further discussion of the topic see: Sophie Read, *Eucharist and the Poetic Imagination (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

early modern plays are the main witnesses to these traumas, although the presence of crisis in early modern culture is ubiquitous – it is manifested in funerary monuments, memorial artefacts and literature of all genres. Biographical data from Niccolo Machiavelli and Thomas Kyd were instrumental in understanding how the trauma of authors manifests itself in their work. The difference between the two cases lead to important conclusions concerning how directly trauma became available and representable in the works. Finally, *The Spanish Tragedy* was scrutinized for deeper insights. It was argued that the religious controversies, the juxtaposing of the bawdy and the sacred, and the logorrheic abundance in the play are all symptomatic of an overall cultural trauma, registering itself in the different elements, sometimes consciously sometimes unconsciously. Hieronimo, who was considered a voice from this wound, enacts early modern trauma in its every aspect. The impossibility of proper mourning, the unavailability of human and divine justice, and the Renaissance human subject who disintegrates under the blows of an indifferent universe – these all indicate crucial aspects of early modern cultural trauma. In Kyd's traumatic universe there is no reconciliation or restoration of order but the end is nihil and the promise of further suffering. The final scrutiny thus led to the conclusion that traumatic events result in the blurring of meaning, but they are able to construct and formulate their victims nevertheless.

Considering the ever widening scope of research in trauma-studies and its applicability to historical times of major crisis and transition,[120] the implementation of trauma theory in the re-interpretation of revenge tragedies seems an intriguing and new approach that deserves further critical attention.

[120] Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma,* 12.

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Erik István Papp

British and French Political Approaches to Hungary at the turn of the 20th century*

Abstract

The aim of the paper is to compare and find similarities between British and French political approaches to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, later Austria-Hungary focusing primarily on the Hungarian Kingdom. In addition, the study also provides additional information on the relation of British and French pro-Slav groups, thus it also contributes to the current historical debates with novelties. In the first part of the thesis, I present the activities of the major representatives of the pro-Slav, anti-Hungarian groups, mostly Robert William Seton-Watson and Henry Wickham Steed, but, in parallel, opinions differing from theirs are also voiced, such as Arthur B. Yolland and James Bryce. At the end of the first part, I also discuss the impact of Steed and Seton-Watson on French intellectuals, possibly on politicians and the public opinion. In the other part of the study, I investigate the French intellectuals focusing on the members of the pro-Slav group, including Louis Léger, Ernest Denis and Louis Eisenmann. To what extent these politicians impacted on French politics is not entirely known, but among these thinkers, Louis Eisenmann had the most considerable effect, as his works had been adopted as handbooks of the French delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. The opinions of those are also mentioned, who were not against the maintenance of Austria-Hungary, for example, Madame Edmond Adam or Hyppolyte Desprez. I hypothesize that British and French pro-Slav political groups had similar ideas about the future of Hungary. With the help of newspaper articles, I revealed that these groups were aware of each other's actions, furthermore, they also reflected on the activities and works of each other. Furthermore, I managed to systematise the most important British and French political views in terms of Hungary.

1. Introduction

The question of the First World War and peace treaties are still a relevant part of both today's public discourse and historical research. It is specifically valid for Hungary and for its neighbours as a reaction to the still existing revisionism promoted by certain groups of the Hungarian society. Hungarians have not coped with the trauma of the Treaty of Trianon, although there are initiatives on the side of historians to help the society do so, especially now as the 100-year anniversary of Trianon is close, such as the Trianon Lendület Kutatócsoport. I also focus on the historiography of Trianon, the major facts about it, the causes and the consequences of Trianon, which have already been investigated, including Mária Ormos' *From Padua to the Trianon 1918–1920*[1] or *Európa a nemzetközi küzdőtéren*[2] co-authored with István Majoros. These works examine the viewpoints and statements of governments. Nevertheless, there are gaps and missing connections among these major events. For example, in the case of my thesis, the comparison and systematisation of French and British political approaches of seemingly insignificant political activists and propagandists, such as Henry Wickham Steed, Robert William Seton-Watson, Louis Léger, Ernest Denis and Louis Eisenmann to the Habsburg Monarchy and the Hungarian King-

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1 Mária Ormos, *From Padua to the Trianon 1918–1920* (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1990).

2 Mária Ormos, István Majoros, *Európa a nemzetközi küzdőtéren* (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2003).

dom at the turn of the 20th century. It is true that there are works that deal with these political activists separately, most importantly Géza Jeszenkszy's *Az elveszett presztízs*[3] discussing the British ideologues or Ignác Romsics's *Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie? Le dilemme de la politique danubienne de la France au début du XXe siècle*[4] presenting the French think tanks. However, a large systematisation is missing, and with my study, I intend to contribute to the discussion of this aspect of the causes of Treaty of Trianon. As for the French authors, Antoine Marès' *Les slavisants français face à la Hongrie avant le traité de Trianon,*[5] Dany Deschênes' article, entitled *French Intellectuals and the Image of Austria-Hungary in France: Prelude to the Break-up of Historic Hungary*[6] are also worth noting, because these are the most valuable works that discuss the topic in detail.

In my thesis, I investigate the relation of French and British political approaches to the Central European region, focusing mainly on the Hungarian Kingdom. Furthermore, I investigate to what extent these approaches influenced the public and political discourses of their homelands, and that of each other's mother country. I put the emphasis on the anti-Hungarian, pro-Slav French and British intellectuals, as the military and political situation at the end of the 'Great War' was more favourable for them. Nevertheless, I contrast them with the pro-Hungarian approaches or approaches that positioned themselves less radically against Hungarians which could have offered rational choices to settle the turmoil after the 'Great War'. Also, I argue that French and British pro-Slav groups were more effective in realizing their goals, as they were aware of each other's activity and promoted each other. I found evidence for this from the French side, however, I have not been able to find proof for this from the British side due to the lack of access to British sources (especially British newspapers and *The New Europe*). In consequence, further research should be conducted to fill this gap. In addition, one should also not ignore the fact that the First World War and the military situation hugely contributed to their success.

To be more specific, the major anti-Hungarian personages I examine are Robert William Seton-Watson, Henry Wickham Steed, and Harold Nicolson, nevertheless, I also include different British views on the Hungarian politics and society, such as Arhur B. Yolland and James Bryce. In the case of the British, one can talk about pro-Hungarians, such as Yolland, however, in the case of the French, there is not such a contrast between the different political approaches, as the French regarded the Habsburg Monarchy as one of their major enemies. However, there was a growing appeasement in the 19th century between the countries. Nonetheless, it can be claimed that there were more sympathetic approaches towards the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, such as the federalisation of the Monarchy or supporting the Monarchy in its Austro-Hungarian dualist form. What is more, I highlight that the major interest of these political groups, either French, British, pro-Slav or pro-Hungarian, was the security of their own homeland. Although, the pro-Slav representatives used a more solemn tone to realise their goals, for example, the liberation of people in order to justify their claims effectively.

As for the primary sources, I used the French newspapers *La nation Tchèque* and *Le Figaro* to reveal the connections between the French and British pro-Slav circles. In *La Nation Tchèque,* the programmes and the ideas of Seton-Watson and Steed were regularly published, and their works were greatly appreciated by their French colleagues including Ernest Denis, Jules Chopin and Louis Léger. However, it is true that *La Nation Tchèque* was the newspaper of a smaller, more radical

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[3] Jeszenszky Géza, *Az elveszett presztízs* (Budapest: Magyar Szemle Alapítvány, 1994).

[4] Ignác Romsics, "Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie? Le dilemme de la politique danubienne de la France au débat du XXe siècle," *Cahiers d'études hongroises* 6 (1994): 169–184.

[5] Antoine Marès, "Les slavisants francais face à la Hongrie avant le traité de Trianon," *Cahiers d'études hongroises* 6 (1994): 185–191.

[6] Dany Deschênes, "French Intellectuals and the Image of Austria-Hungary in France: Prelude to the Break-up of Historic Hungary," *Hungarian Studies Review* 33.1–2 (2006): 93–120.

circle, but *Le Figaro* could be considered as a slightly more impartial newspaper, as it was not in the possession of a radical pro-Slav circle that regularly informed its readers about the books and propaganda activities of Steed and Seton-Watson. Furthermore, I analyse the books, pamphlets and studies of the pro-Slav and not pro-Slav French and British political circles to reveal the differences, similarities and connections between them, for example, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*[7] by Steed, *Memories of Travel*[8] written by James Bryce or Louis Eisenmann's "*La Tchécoslovakie*".[9]

Among the secondary sources I used, it is worth mentioning Géza Jeszenszky's *Az elveszett presztízs*[10] which helped me to understand the wider context of British-Hungarian relations and the British perspective on Hungary during the Paris Peace Conference. He takes a moderate stance arguing that Seton-Watson and Steed had an influence on the delegates of the Paris Peace Conference, but he does not overemphasize their role. I adapt to the same view as Jeszenszky in terms of the British perspectives. In his book, *Térkép csata után,*[11] Lajos Arday also takes a neutral position in the case of Steed and Seton-Watson, but, at the same time, he discusses the wider historical context of the Paris Peace Conference.

In terms of French intellectuals dwelling upon the Hungarian question, I use Ignác Romsics's article, *Détruire ou reconstruire l'Autriche-Hongrie*[12] in which he presents the most important French thinkers. Romsics claims that it is not entirely clear to what extent these thinkers influenced the French politicians and public opinion. In addition, I utilised Antione Marès *Les slavisants français face à la Hongrie avant le traité de Trianon*[13]. In this work, Marès' reflects on Romsics's article with the intention to correct and complement the arguments and statements of Romsics. Furthermore, I also examined Dany Deschênes' article, entitled *French Intellectuals and the Image of Austria-Hungary in France: Prelude to the Break-up of Historic Hungary*[14] which is a good complementary source that adds further details of the activities of the French intellectuals.

The primary aim of my thesis is to compare the views of French and British thinkers about Austria-Hungary, more specifically about the Hungarian Kingdom. In addition, I also attempt to reveal the connections between the ideologues of these two nations, emphasizing the impact of British thinkers on their French comrades, politicians and public opinion.

2. The British Perspectives on Hungary: Robert William Seton-Watson, Henry Wickham Steed and Others

In this chapter, I discuss the British perspectives on Austria-Hungary focusing on the anti-Hungarian tones, as they were the dominant ones, partly because of their more effective propaganda activities on a larger scale and the favourable military situation for the realisation of their aims. However, I also present the viewpoints of those who partially or completely disagreed with these views. Finally, I analyse the opinions of French pro-Slav circles on their British colleagues.

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7 Henry Wickham Steed, *The Hapsburg Monarchy* (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1914).

8 Viscount Bryce, *Memories of Travel* (London: Macmillan 1923).

9 Louis Eisenmann, "La Tchécoslovakie," in *Les États Contemporains* (Paris: Place Saint Pulpice, 1921).

10 Jeszenszky Géza, *Az elveszett presztízs* (Budapest: Magyar Szemle Alapítvány, 1994).

11 Arday Lajos, *Térkép, csata után: Magyarország a brit külpolitikában 1918–1919* (Budapest: General Press, 2009).

12 Ignác Romsics, "Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie? Le dilemme de la politique danubienne de la France au débat du XXe siècle," *Cahiers d'études hongroises* 6 (1994): 169–184.

13 Antoine Marès, "Les slavisants francais face à la Hongrie avant le traité de Trianon," *Cahiers d'études hongroises* 6 (1994): 185–191.

14 Dany Deschênes, "French Intellectuals and the Image of Austria-Hungary in France: Prelude to the Break-up of Historic Hungary" *Hungarian Studies Review* 33.1–2 (2006): 93–120.

2.1. The Career of Steed from his Arrival in Vienna until the End of the Hungarian Political Crisis

Two influential, strongly anti-Hungarian personages who were successful in realising their aims ought to be mentioned from a British perspective whose publications and activities largely contributed to the formation of the proposals of the British delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. One of them was Robert William Seton-Watson, and the other was Henry Wickham Steed. At the end of 1902, Wickham Steed arrived in Vienna to take the position of his predecessor as the editor of *The Times*. At that time, Steed regarded the nationalist movements in Austria-Hungary as a major threat to European stability.[15] He claimed that the Printing House Square, the editorial of *The Times* was a better version of the Foreign Office, and he considered himself as the most informed 'foreign secretary'.[16]

The prestige of *The Times* enabled Steed to build a far-reaching nexus with the Hungarian elite (István Tisza, Albert Apponyi, Ferenc Kossuth etc.). He also had a good relationship with Sir Edward Goschen who was the British ambassador in Vienna after 1905. This relationship helped him gain influence in the Foreign Office, which could explain why the articles of *The Times* were often attached to the reports of the ambassador. He presented the international and Austro-Hungarian policy to Edward VII. Steed even interviewed the Romanian monarch, Charles. He was different from his predecessors, as he travelled widely in the Monarchy, so he not only had formal and informal sources in Vienna and Budapest, but he also knew many nobilities and politicians of the nationalities. He 'recruited' them to collect confidential news for him, especially in terms of the questions pertaining to the nationalities. This was the reason why he could establish a close relationship with Josef Redlich who represented the Austrian intellectuals, with the Slovakian historian, Thomas Masaryk, who later became the President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia and also with the Croatian politician, journalist and member of the Yugoslavian Committee, Frano Supilo. He had various connections with other important personages, such as the Croatian Ante Trumbić and Josif Smodlaka. Steed knew nearly all the local nobilities and nationality politicians.[17] After 1908, Lord Northcliffe became the new owner of the journal.[18] Due to the financial problems of *The Times* Northcliffe obtained the majority of the shares; Northcliffe saved the newspaper from bankrucpy, but he also extended his influence on it.[19] In 1913, Steed won his confidence and became the editor of the foreign affairs section of *The Times.* Thus, he became the spokesman of the migrant national movements.[20]

The Hungarians had so strong reputation that at the beginning of the crisis the majority of the Western press and the public opinion including of course the British rather supported the Hungarian diet than Franz Joseph. Before this incident, British politicians and the press considered Hungary stable, progressive, liberal, anticlerical and partly protestant. They regarded the centralised government consisting of the Magyar caste as a counterweight to Pan-Slav and Pan-German threats. Social and political inequalities were not seen as problems hindering the progressivity of the Hungarian state in contrast to Austria that received harsh criticisms.[21] These

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[15] Jeszenszky Géza, *Az elveszett presztízs* (Budapest: Magyar Szemle Alapítvány, 1994), 65–66.

[16] Jeszenszky Géza. "A Times és Magyarország az 1904–1906-os politikai válság idején," *Az Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár évkönyve* 1972: 374, available: http://epa.oszk.hu/01400/01464/00011/pdf/371–408.pdf, April 29, 2016.

[17] Jeszenszky, *Az elveszett presztízs,* 66–70.

[18] Jeszenszky, *Az elveszett presztízs,* 70.

[19] J. Lee Thompson, *Politicians, the Press and Propaganda: Lord Northcliffe and the Great War 1914–1919* (Kent: Kent University Press, 1999), 2.

[20] Jeszenszky, *Az elveszett presztízs,* 70

[21] László Péter, *Hungary's Long Nineteenth Century*, vol. I. (Boston: Leiden, 2012), 447.

can be related to the Badeni Crisis in 1897 during which the radical nationalist young Czech members of the Bohemian parliament demanded the utilisation of Czech language in public institutions in the Bohemian lands. The German Bohemian minority opposed this, and it led to the involvement of the police.[22] The polemic had not been solved that left the parliament in utter turmoil.[23]

Two major political trends were present in Hungarian politics: the '67s who supported the Austrian-Hungarian Compromise and '48s who criticised the common institutions of the dualist system. There were several disputes between the parties on economic and partly military issues. These debates between the two political forces reached their climax on 18 November 1904. István Tisza, the Hungarian Prime Minister (representative of the political trend, which supported the Austrian-Hungarian compromise) decided to neutralize the threat of obstruction by modifying the Parliament's standing orders to prevent the delay of the will of the parliamentary majority. He desired to delete the interpellations before the schedule, the aimless closed sessions, the votes by name and the lamination of speeches with long quotations. Tisza seemingly made a compromise with the opposition, but he insisted on his original plan on 18 November 1904. A considerable part of Tisza's own party opposed this move. Many members of the '67s joined the '48s and formed an anti-Tisza coalition. They invalidated the provisions of 18 November and, on 13 December they ruined the boardroom of the parliament. [24]

Franz Joseph disbanded the parliament, and in accordance with the principles of parliamentarism, he should have held new elections, but instead, the monarch appointed Baron Géza Fejérvári, the former Minister of Defence and member of the royal guards. The coalition declared "national resistance". His Majesty and his government prepared for the introduction of a wider and secret franchise. The opposition was startled by the unpredictable consequences of a new franchise system, and they surrendered to the monarch. In return, Franz Joseph gave the governance to the leaders of the opposition in the spring of 1906.[25]

These political debates were reported by *The Times* in detail. The crisis shook the foundations of the dualist system and revealed the latent social, political and economic tensions in Hungary at the beginning of the century. Moreover, the view of Steed on the Monarchy and the Hungarians during and in consequence of the crisis had started to shift. Steed realised that the Hungarian ruling classes were not capable of fulfilling their former task.[26] Steed's growing antipathy was due to the fact that he thought that the Coalition had betrayed its constitutional duty by refusing to form a government because of their stubbornness about impracticable army reforms. In this situation, the Fejérváry government took over the political leadership in Hungary that was not in accordance with the constitution. He was disappointed by both '67s who failed to do their former duty as stabilisers of the Monarchy and also by '48s, who were largely 'chauvinistic', as according to Steed, they were willing to sacrifice the stability of the Monarchy for their 'insignificant' national interests, for example the above-mentioned army reforms. His quite rapid change of opinion could also be linked to his critical attitude to Germany. However, it must be added that at the beginning of the crisis, he was ready to support the revisions of the concession of 1867 that would have meant a new system offering more independence for Hungarians. After that, Steed started to attack the Hungarians with harsh criticism, as they had ag-

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[22] Martin Mutschlechner, "Attempts at Solutions and Escalation: Language Conflict and Badeni Crisis," in The *First World War and the End of the Habsburg Monarchy,* available: http://ww1.habsburger.net/en/chapters/attempts-solutions-and-escalation-language-conflict-and-badeni-crisis, 28. March 2018.

[23] Péter, op. cit., 448

[24] Romsics Ignác, *Magyarország története a XX. században* (Budapest: Osiris, 2010), 71–72.

[25] Romsics, op. cit., 72–73.

[26] Jeszenszky, "A Times és Magyarország az 1904–1906-os politikai válság idején:"407.

gravated the already critical situation in the Monarchy (Badeni Crisis and its consequences). He had always been critical about Pan-Germanism; thus, he easily associated the moves of the Coalition with serving Pan-German interests.[27] Hungarians could not be the guardians of liberty and stability in the Monarchy. From this point on, Steed ceased to sympathize with the Hungarians, and began to support the nationalities of the Hungarian Kingdom,[28] and put an emphasis on the utilisation of Hungarian language as a tool to magyarise the non-Magyar population. Others joined him later, including Seton-Watson.[29] As Steed claims in his study, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*.[30]

The shift in Steed's thinking can easily be identified. The political crisis of 1904–1906 revealed the malfunction of parliamentarism in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. It has to be noted as well that the corruption and the malfunction of the political life in Hungary were harmful to the Hungarian population as well, not only for the non-Hungarians. Steed highlighted that the nationalities of the Monarchy were oppressed. They did not have political autonomy, in other words, the only nation in Hungary in terms of politics was the Hungarian. However, it is worth noting that Steed exaggerated the situation, because the nationalities had cultural autonomy, so they could preserve their culture and language.[31] Furthermore, Gángó also adds that Hungarian politicians in the epoch in the case of the expression 'the political nation', put the emphasis on the adjective 'political.' In other words, Hungarians did not want to repress nationalities because of pure nationalist chauvinism, but they wanted to secure the political stability and the territorial unity of the Hungarian Kingdom.[32] In my opinion, maintaining the cultural and linguistic heritage was a large advantage for the nationalities. Nevertheless, denying political autonomy to the nationalities could not be called liberal and egalitarian from a Western European perspective, but labelling Hungarians as 'cruel imperialist oppressors' was an overstatement, too. The reason why Hungarians did not give political autonomy to the nationalities was not because they were tyrants, but because it would have catalysed the dismantling of the Hungarian Kingdom. Moreover, the nationalities were not derived from the freedom of speech. Taking into consideration Steed's misconceptions, it is obvious that he became pro-Slav after the crisis. His thoughts quoted above resembled this shift in his political attitude. In addition, Hungarians could not be called cruel imperialist oppressors, as they opposed the imperialist expansion of the Monarchy, such as the occupation and later annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina, because it could alter the ethnic relations of the Monarchy.[33]

2.2. Seton Watson's Change of Opinion between his first Moments in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Political Crisis

In 1905, Seton-Watson arrived in the Monarchy for the first time. As all other British, he regarded the Habsburg Monarchy as an essential part of maintaining European stability. He was born into an anglicized Scottish Puritan family. His father gained wealth in India allowing

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[27] Péter, op. cit., 448–449

[28] Jeszenszky, "A Times és Magyarország az 1904–1906-os politikai válság idején:"407.

[29] Jeszenszky, "A Times és Magyarország az 1904–1906-os politikai válság idején:"407.

[30] Henry Wickham Steed, *The Hapsburg Monarchy* (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1914), 120. See Appendix 19.

[31] Gángó Gábor, "Az 1868. évi nemzetiségi törvény és következményei," *Korunk* 20.5 (2009), available: http://epa.oszk.hu/00400/00458/00149/indexc26a.html, April 15, 2018.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Majoros István, *Nemzetközi kapcsolatok 1789–1914,* in Vadász Sánor *19. századi egyetemes történelem 1789–1914* (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2011), 71.

Seton-Watson to finance his studies and travels.[34] In 1906, Seton-Watson commenced to work for *The Spectator* where he published his articles as editorials without mentioning his own name. He had always been interested in the nationalities of Hungary,[35] because in spite of the fact that he was English from his father side, he had a romantic pride of Scotishness that made him more susceptible to the affection towards smaller nations.[36] Later, he published articles as Scotus Viator in which he drafted sharper criticisms. In 1907, Seton-Watson along with the British press (and Steed) became more critical towards Hungary. One of the reasons was the change of British foreign policy (as of the political crisis of 1904–1906). Furthermore, the Anglo-Russian entente was signed on 31 August 1907, which made an Anglo-Russian alliance possible in the future. Obviously, this possible alliance was also beneficial for Seton-Watson and Steed's pro-Slav political notions based on Pan-Slav aspirations.[37]

The Pan-Slav movement was born in East Central Europe, not in Eastern Europe, Russia. The Pan-Slav idea had occurred in the Middle Ages among Czechs and Poles, and a considerable popularity of it could be found in the Renaissance among the Croats. However, it became a dominant ideology in the 19th century. It was triggered by other political and social factors, such as the awakening national aspirations in East Central Europe, or the criticism of the politics of the Habsburg dynasty. The Pan-Slavism had different meanings for various nations, but the common motive of these nations was reaching their own national goals. The major aim of the Russians was to impose the Orthodox faith, Russian language and alphabet on the Slav nations of East Central Europe. In contrast, the wish of the Slav nations of the region was to make the Germans and the Habsburg acknowledge the legitimacy of their national aspirations. The majority of the Slavic nations of East Central Europe showed sympathy towards the Russians, however, they failed to take into consideration the possible menace that it could mean for them and for the non-Slavic nations of the region except for a few Slav intellectuals, primarily Czech, such as Masaryk. In other words, they would not become independent, they would only change their 'masters'; instead of Germans and Habsburgs, Russians would have dominance over them that was going to happen during the Soviet era.[38]

However, it must be mentioned that, at the beginning of his career, Seton-Watson admired Germany and the German nation. Of course, as a British, the most vital factor for him was the maintenance of European and worldwide security, but he did not think that the growing power of Germany was a menace to the European stability. He wrote an award-winning essay entitled *Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor*. In a letter to *The Spectator*, Seton-Watson challenged another correspondent who evaluated Germany as a new enemy of Britain and who also claimed that Britain should abandon the hypocrisy of English-German genetic kinship. After the Franco-English *Entente Cordiale* of 1904, the naval rivalry between England and Germany became more intense, however, Seton-Watson did not change his viewpoint, thus he received even more criticism. He claimed that the biggest catastrophe would be a conflict between these two nations for themselves and for the whole of the world. The editor of *The Spectator*, St. Loe Strachey praised the eloquence and spirit of Seton-Watson, but he also firmly stated that he could not agree with him. In addition, he also argued that the German nation deserves the compliments,

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[34] Arday Lajos, *Térkép, csata után: Magyarország a brit külpolitikában 1918–1919* (Budapest: General Press, 2009), 83.

[35] Jeszenszky Géza, Az elveszett presztízs, 235.

[36] Péter, *Hungary's Long Nineteenth Century*, 439.

[37] Jeszenszky, *Az elveszett presztízs*, 71–72, 235.

[38] Hans Kohn, "The Impact of Pan-Slavism on Central Europe," *The Review of Politics* 23.3 (1961): 323–333.

but autocratic and militarist forces controlling their government made the world anxiously observe the German situation.[39]

The standpoint of Seton-Watson changed, when he arrived in Vienna at 1905, as he had not seen the actual influence of the Pan-German movement, but soon he realised the potential dangers. At the time of his arrival, he saw that these movements threatened the integrity of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. At the beginning of the 20th century, one third of the Austrians supported Pan-German ambitions.[40]

In the early days of the Hungarian political crisis, Seton-Watson supported the Coalition rather than the Crown. The British approved Magyar dominance in Hungary, as they thought that it was beneficial for the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and for the European peace. Western Europeans, including the British, saw the Hungarians as a major obstacle to Pan-Germanism. Therefore, it is no surprise that Seton-Watson supported the Coalition without any doubt, and for nearly a year, he becked the Hungarian Home Rule.[41] The possible reason for that was he thought that Hungary would be a good counterweight to the spread of Pan-German movements in the Habsburg Monarchy. However, Seton-Watson was affected by the anti-Hungarian propaganda of 'The Pan German League', in spite of the fact that he was aware of it. In addition to that, he also saw the Hungarian sanctions against Banat and Transylvania,[42] such as initiating criminal procedures against those who demanded political representation,[43] and the police harassed them, too.[44]As a result, he wrote another letter to *The Spectator* in a different tone in which he claimed that Hungary was the only potential ally of a Greater Germany, however, it was disguised by the tension between Austrians and Hungarians in the Monarchy, so it had to be unearthed.[45]

2.3. Arthur B. Yolland and James Bryce, the pro-Hungarians

Seton-Watson had more personal relationships and greater, more accurate knowledge as opposed to his challengers, despite his misconceptions and deliberate distortions regarding the Hungarian society. Arthur B. Yolland, who was a professor at the English Institute of the University of Budapest, had similar intellectual background as Seton-Watson: Victorian Christian morals, abstract love of freedom, and the overemphasized cult of liberal nationalism.[46] Both of them supported a certain nation (in the case of Yolland, the Hungarians) and nations (in the case of Seton-Watson, the Czechs, Slovaks, Serbs and Romanians) throughout their lives. However, not only had Yolland a more modest financial background, but he also supported a politically more hopeless and morally ambivalent case, namely a more independent Hungary that threatened the strength and stability of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in accordance with the irrational, conservative nationalist and romantic domestic and foreign political conception of Apponyi.[47] Apponyi and the National Party promoted ideas, such as the transformation of the Compromise in a manner that would have been more beneficial for the agrarian interests, such as the further enhancement of the position of Hungarians in the Monarchy or the extended presence

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39 Péter, op. cit., 439–444.
40 Péter, op. cit., 446.
41 Péter, op. cit., 449–450.
42 Péter, op. cit., 450.
43 Romsics, *Magyarország története a XX. században*, 55.
44 Kontler László, *A History of Hungary* (Budapest: Atlantisz, 2009), 302–303.
45 Péter, op. cit.,450.
46 Jeszenszky. *Az Elveszett Presztizs*., 94.
47 Jeszenszky. *Az Elveszett Presztizs*., 94

of the court in Budapest.[48] In 1908, Yolland acquired Hungarian citizenship.[49] In my opinion, as Yolland became a Hungarian citizen, the British regarded him a Hungarian rather than a British. It could be another reason why he was less credible than Seton-Watson. He joined Albert Apponyi and the Independence Party.[50] The Independence Party or '48s criticised the unity and foundations (for example, the economic policy of the Hungarian government, the common customs) of the Monarchy.[51]

Yolland attempted to counter the negative propaganda not only with political pamphlets, campaigns and newspaper articles, but also with spreading Hungarian culture. The Hungarian scholars and journalists welcomed his book about Sándor Petőfi, as they claimed it was a detailed book about the poetry and life of Petőfi. Furthermore, Yolland compared Petőfi to famous British poets successfully and convincingly, in spite of his flawed Petőfi translations.[52] The Hungarian press reflected positively on the activities of Yolland, for example, on his historical book published in 1917, entitled *Hungary.*[53] Yolland mentioned this positive reception in the foreword of his literary study about Sándor Petőfi.[54]

This particular study was published in 1906 during the political crisis of 1905–1906. With this piece of writing, Yolland desired to show that Hungarians loved peace and freedom by examining the works of Sándor Petőfi who fought for the independence of the Hungarian nation. He reflected on the abuse of the Hungarians in the foreign press and in 'historical studies' which described Hungarians as tyrants. He raised the attention of the readers to the fact that without the 'self-sacrifice' and 'love of freedom' of the Hungarians, the Turkish would have conquered Europe. Hungarians gave up their own freedom in order to save the freedom of Europe. As a professor of literature, he saw literature as the best tool for fighting against such a negative propaganda.[55]

Nevertheless, the British could never support the independence of Hungary. Lord Palmerstone, the British Foreign Secretary remarked during the Hungarian Revolution of 1848 that the maintenance of the Austrian Empire was the most vital issue for the British among European Powers.[56] Yolland went on study tours, wrote pamphlets and published articles in the journal called *Hungary.* However, Yolland represented the political notions of the Independence Party in England with not much political success due to his smaller financial capacity and the change of British foreign political obligations.[57] The British political views changed gradually, because of the Anglo-French (1904) and Anglo-Russian (1907) entente treaties, so British politicians started to abandon their former policy towards Austria-Hungary.[58]

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48 Kontler, op. cit., 301.

49 Jeszenszky, *Az Elveszett Presztizs*, 95.

50 Jeszenszky, op. cit., 94–95.

51 Romsics Ignác, op. cit., 44. For example, the Independence Party criticised the economic policy of Hungarian government and the common customs. See further pieces of information on page 44–47.

52 *Budapest Hírlap* (August 25, 1906): 10; *Vasárnapi Újság* 53:34 (1906): 556–557; Schmidt Márton, "Alexander Petőfi. A literary study. 1823—44. By Arthur B. Yolland," Budapest. 1906" *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* 30 (1906): 764–765

53 Dr. Pozsgay Rezső, "Arthur B. Yolland: Hungary," *Századok* 52:1–2 (1918): 172–176.

54 Arthur B. Yolland, *Alexander Petőfi, Poet of the Hungarian War of Indepence* (Budapest: Franklin, 1906), 3–4. See Appendix 20.

55 Arthur B. Yolland, *Alexander Petőfi, Poet of the Hungarian War of Indepence* (Budapest: Franklin, 1906), 3–4.

56 Arday, op. cit., 8.

57 Jeszenszky, op. cit., 94–95.

58 Arday, op. cit., 10.

After the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence, the Hungarian emigrants had a huge impact on British political thinkers and politicians, from the Whig aristocrats through respected businesspersons and confident middle-class people to the working class. The reason for it was that the Hungarians were presented as the guardians of freedom and liberalism to them, and they continued to consider the Hungarians as such. These thinkers supported nearly all claims that did not weaken the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. These favourable standpoints were not only personal conversation topics and preferences, but the Hungarians also occurred in public, such as in different kinds of cultural, political reunions and in the press to alter the opinion of various members of British society. The Hungarians were also present in the British social life, for example, Tivadar Duka, the helper and devotee of Arthur Görgei.[59] Despite he was a jurist, he served as a military surgeon in the British Army in India for decades, and he was also the member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences as an Indologist. He was a large authority in both countries due to the fact that he served both the interest of Great Britain and Hungary. Lajos Kropf is ought to be mentioned here as well who was the pioneer researcher of British-Hungarian relations.[60]

At the end of the century, a new generation of Hungarian emigrants became influential who tried to balance between the Habsburg loyalty and '48er nationalism. Emil Reich was an important figure who frequently gave successful lectures on Hungarian topics. Besides Reich, Lajos Felbermann, publisher and journalist had an important role in the literary and social life. He was one of those who founded the *Hungarian Society* in London that attempted to facilitate British investments in Hungary. The secretary, Ilona Gineverné Győri, who was an eager representative of the Hungarian government, gave lectures on Hungary in England, Ireland and the Netherlands. The *Anglo-Magyar Society* also existed, which was a counterweight to the *Hungarian Society* that was evaluated as excessively '67er.[61]

There were not many Hungarian students at British universities. Those who went there were aristocrats who usually wished to build lucrative social relationships rather than to satisfy their academic ambitions. However, there were a few effective promoters among them; Ferenc Békássy who made important friends for the Hungarians at the King's College in Cambridge, such as Virginia Woolf or John Maynard Keynes, but these were not everlasting and successful friendships. Nevertheless, Békássy was shocked by the ignorance of British about Hungary and the effectiveness of Seton-Watson's propaganda.[62] Most of the times, these Hungarians propagated more effectively the Hungarian case in Great Britain than official diplomatic channels.[63]

W. H. Shrubsole, former merchant, autodidactic amateur geologist, palaeontologist, and choir leader sacrificed the rest of his life for the promotion of Hungary.[64] During several years, he gave hundreds of lecture on the beauties of the Hungarian landscape, including opal mines that are open to British tourists,[65] the love of freedom of its inhabitants, the friendliness of the Hungarians to Britain.[66] In addition, he also mentioned during his lectures and in newspaper articles the imitation of British institutions by Hungarians, their profound knowledge of

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59 Jeszenszky, op. cit, 90–91
60 Jeszenszky, op. cit., 91
61 Jeszenszky, op. cit.,91–92
62 Jeszenszky, op. cit., 92–93.
63 Jeszenszky, op. cit., 89.
64 Jeszenszky op. cit., 97.
65 W. H. Shrubsole, "The Opal Mines of Hungary," *Whitby Gazette* (June 23, 1905): 7.
66 "Enemies in Name Only," *The Hendon and Finchley Times* (December 14, 1918): 6.

English literature.[67] Shrubsole also emphasized the justifiable claims of Hungarians to the Habsburgs[68] and the favourable conditions of Hungary for British investors[69]. He flooded the editorial boards of various newspapers with letters to correct their reflections on the social and public relations of Hungary and the Hungarian place names. He also praised the Hungarians in the newspaper entitled *Hungary*.[70] He argued that Hungary had been a senior constitutional monarchy along with Britain since the 'Golden Bull', which was the "Hungarian Magna Charta".[71]

At the turn of the century, there were not many representatives of the British political and social elite who were interested in Hungary, but one of the most important was James Bryce. He was an MP of the House of Commons, later Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Secretary of Commerce. During his childhood, he was fascinated by the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence. He had been to Hungary several times, and his sympathy towards Hungarians survived the 'Great War'. Bryce mentioned in his articles, books, and private correspondence that he had always been impressed by the solemn feeling of national belonging and political talent of Hungarians. He was on good terms with Lord Fitzmaurice, liberal politician, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs who had positive opinion on the liberal aspects of Hungarian politics.

In his travelogue published in 1923, a posthumous work published by his wife, Elizabeth Marion Bryce based on his private documents Bryce gave a different description of the cohabitation of the nationalities of Hungary. In the preface of the book, his wife claimed that Bryce tended to write down his experiences immediately in order not to omit or distort his original thoughts. Furthermore, she also adds that his travels took place in 1878, however, Bryce did not have time and energy to publish them.[72]

Regarding this quotation, it is obvious that Hungarians did not want either to assimilate to the Slovak population or to magyarise the Slovak population. Nevertheless, this was not due to enmity between them. The Slovaks and the Hungarians were on good terms. Bryce claimed that they had been 'pretty good friends.' Unlike Germans, Hungarians wanted to keep their identity, but it was not negative or harmful for the other nationalities of the region. It is clear that the Hungarian political elite should not be associated with common people as Steed, Seton-Watson or their French colleagues suggested.[73]

Bryce described the beauties of the Hungarian landscape with reflections on the mentality of Hungarian people. Furthermore, as opposed to Steed and Seton-Watson, he did not experience the Hungarians' 'tyranny'. He claimed that it was the best place for Englishmen. Of course it does not necessarily depict the exact historical reality, as he also used exaggerations. However, in my opinion, he gave a picture of the social relations of the Hungarian Kingdom that was closer to reality, as he observed average people, and did not receive the pieces of information from politicians. The observation of the actual relations of common people is more direct than the abstract ideas of politicians.

Nevertheless, Seton-Watson offered a solution which could be better integrated into the policy of the Great Powers. He claimed that Austria-Hungary, Germany's major ally had to be dismantled in order to prevent German ambitions. The dismantling of the Monarchy could on-

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67 "Hungary is the Land of Hospitality," *The Courier* (December 25, 1908): 7.

68 W. H. Shrubsole, "The 'Common Affairs' of Austria and Hungary," *Kentish Mercury* (January 22, 1909): 2.

69 W. H. Shrubsole, "The Industries of Hungary," *The Manchester Courier* (February 24, 1908): 10.

70 Jeszenszky, op. cit., 98.

71 "Hungarian Life and Scenery," *The Mercury* (January 24, 1913): 8.

72 Viscount Bryce, *Memories of Travel* (London: Macmillan 1923), VIII-XI. See Appendix 21.

73 See Appendix 22.

ly be accomplished with the help of 35 million Slavs who had been exploited by the Germans.[74] In consequence, the pro-Hungarian tones were becoming less and less convincing. In the UK, Seton-Watson was the most influential authority in terms of Hungarian issues.[75]

The reason for the lesser influence of Yolland and, in general, the pro-Hungarians is that their studies to confute Steed, Seton-Watson and other harsh critiques were shorter used a much more limited scope of sources. These counter-arguments of pro-Hungarians were only based on historical reasons, obsolete propaganda tones originating from the Hungarian Revolution from 1848–1849. In contrast, Seton-Watson was not only a simple pamphlet writer in the eyes of British. His works were not only based on the literature of a given problem, but he also utilised relevant law articles, official statistics, disputes in the parliament, the press of various minorities. Furthermore, he not only described the ethnic relations as a traveller, but rather as sociologist and ethnographer.[76]

2.4. Seton Watson and Steed until the Outbreak of the Great War

The personal relationships of Seton-Watson demonstrated why he had enormous authority and large influence on the British public opinion and foreign policy. In 1905 and 1906, Seton-Watson only met Hungarians (Rákosi Jenő, Apponyi Albert etc.) except for Steed. In the following years, because of the negative experiences with Hungarians, he mainly consulted with the representatives of the national minorities, such as the Teutsch bishop of Szeben, hundreds of Saxon teachers, Bunea Greek Catholic prebendary and the Slovak Milan Hodza. After these encounters, nobody could change or at least modify his opinion about the Hungarians. These influential non-Hungarian personages communicated with Seton-Watson in the hope that the abuses of the Hungarian elections in 1910 would be presented to the international public. Despite his seemingly large and profound knowledge, he could not or did not want to understand the internal political relations of the Monarchy because of his negative experience.[77]

Seton-Watson stated that he sought to learn about the political and social relations of the Monarchy from various points of view, in contrast, he put more emphasis on the information from the perspectives of the rival nationalisms because of his grievances with the Hungarians. In consequence, he was similarly biased as pro-Hungarians, but his growing prestige, popularity, rhetorical and most importantly, the international political relations made him more credible. Although he did not have direct relationship with the Foreign Office, many members of the Foreign Office, especially Eyre Crowe, regarded Seton Watson as a reliable source of information, because Seton-Watson seemingly sought to learn the various viewpoints. However, his error was that he wanted to create a legitimate criticism of the Hungarians based on rival nationalisms' perspective with lesser regard to the Hungarian point of view.[78]

Another event which largely aided the nationalities' endeavours is also worth discussing. Reports from Vienna and Budapest were processed by the Western Department in the Foreign Office.[79] Until 1905, the documents were transmitted to the competent ministers or the heads of the department without comments. The documents which were judged more important were printed and circulated in the government and foreign diplomatic missions. After 1906, a new

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[74] R. W. Seton-Watson, *German, Slav, and Magyar: A Study in the Origins of the Great War* (London: Williams and Norgate. 1916), 171–173.

[75] Jeszenszky, op. cit., 94–95.

[76] Jeszenszky, op. cit., 80.

[77] Jeszenszky, op. cit., 95–96

[78] Jeszenszky, op. cit., 96–97.

[79] Jeszenszky, op. cit., 88.

system was introduced, so lower ranked clerks obtained the right to comment on these documents, thus relieving the burden of the minister. In consequence, the opinion of the head of a certain department became more important than the report of the diplomat on the spot.[80] The reasons for that were the increased number of diplomatic documents and a new generation who wanted to reform the Foreign Office, as the existing system became obsolete, and the formerly proposed reforms were insufficient. This situation meant a danger in such a complex and delicate system of international relations at the turn of the century.[81] Because of that, many formerly unknown employees, such as George R. Clerk, Harold Nicolson and, to a decisive extent, Eyre Crow gained influence over the issues related to Hungary.[82]

Crowe did not particularly like Hungarians. Romsics claims that "Crowe too assessed the events [the Bolshevik Revolution in Hungary] as simple bribery and stamped as political 'foolishness' everything aimed at pacifying the bribers".[83] Nicolson was rather indifferent towards Hungary. He claimed after he had come back from a mission that the Bolsheviks were not a serious threat.[84]

Moreover, the changes in Seton-Watson's attitude were strengthened by the negative experiences with the Hungarians. In 1905, when he arrived in Vienna and got familiar with the Christian socialists and the social democrats of the city, he received his first anti-Hungarian impressions. He was introduced to several politicians of the national minorities who belonged to the circle of the Austrian successor, Franz Ferdinand by the members of Austrians Christian socialists and social democrat circles.[85] For example, Karl Renner introduced Seton-Watson to the Slovakian Anton Stefánek.[86] Then, he met the worst representatives of the '48 and the '67 trends, such as Albert Apponyi who did not show much tolerance towards the non-Hungarian nations.[87]Apponyi was a Hungarian politician who gave his name to the Lex Apponyi, an educational law which was assessed as the climax of oppression in all aspect, even culturally by the nationalities.[88] Furthermore, Lajos Láng, the former Minister of Commerce answered to Seton-Watson's question by saying that they were going to continue the "magyarization" until no Slovaks were left. It must have been a shock for Seton-Watson who was an eager young Scottish liberal politician. He liked the Slovaks the most among the nationalities of Hungary and compared them to the Scottish nation. In spite of the fact that these experiences were undoubtedly real, Seton Watson made two errors. He identified all Hungarians with a certain political group which according to him was aggressive, corrupt, intolerant with the nationalities and disregarded the democratic principles. Besides this, he also denied the existence of natural assimilation.[89]

The incident of Csernova contributed to the shift of attitude of Seton-Watson, he published a pamphlet titled *Politische Verfolgungen in Ungarn* (Political Persecution in Hungary). The purpose

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[80] Ibid

[81] Zara S. Steiner, *The Foreign Office and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 70–82.

[82] Jeszenszky. op.cit., 89.

[83] Romsics, Ignác. *The Dismantling of Historic Hungary: The Peace Treaty of Trianon,1920* (New York: Center for Hungarian Studies and Publications, 2002), 93.

[84] M. L. Doctrill and Zara Steiner. "The Foreign Office at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919," *The International History Review* 2.1 (1980): 76.

[85] Arday, op. cit., 83.

[86] Arday, op. cit., 231.

[87] Arday, op., cit., 83.

[88] Romsics, *Magyarország története a XX.században*, 85–86. For further details see appendix 5.

[89] Arday, op. cit., 83- 84.

of the book was to shock the reader rather than to inform them. According to Seton-Watson, the question of Hungarian nationalities was characterised by 40 years of undisturbed 'magyarisation', and the atrocities that it meant for non-Hungarians. He recalls rare extreme precedents to distort reality.[90] In the October of 1907, he desired to inform desperately the British public opinion about that atrocity.[91]

Another journalist mentioned Seton-Watson's letter, but he did not really comment on it. It was true that the incident took place, but it was an exaggeration that the Hungarian government wanted to 'magyarise' and oppress the Slovaks with such methods. There was a population boom at the turn of the century, which caused unemployment in Hungary. The huge workforce could not have been absorbed either by the agriculture or the industries. In consequence, several insurrections took place that were retaliated by the Hungarian gendarmerie with excessive brutality.[92] It is true that the Hungarian treatment of the situation was shocking for Seton-Watson, as he had been born in a different milieu, but these measures were not primarily used to 'magyarise' and supress the nationalities, but to enforce the order and the will of the state no matter to which ethnic group the citizen belonged. It is also true that these Slovaks did not revolt, because of the unemployment and famine, but they wished to choose their own priest; however, these methods were used in all situations. Nevertheless, these methods could not be considered democratic or liberal in a Western sense, but these atrocities were committed against the whole society.

Then, he only consulted with the leaders of national minorities. In 1908, he published his work, entitled *Racial Problems in Hungary,* which was regarded by the British delegation with equal reliability as Hungarian statistics. To demonstrate the influence of Seton-Watson, it is worth mentioning the opinion of leading British newspapers which was summarized by the *Morning Leader*. According to leading British newspapers, Seton-Watson's study was the best British book about Hungary which was considered a credible source for further studies.[93]

In his book, Seton-Watson informed the readers how he turned away from the Hungarians in the part entitled 'In Self-Defence'. This section is followed by geographic and statistic data based on the 1910 census and the description of Hungarian and Slovakian history. The ethnic map at the end of the book largely contributed to the British proposals.[94] Seton-Watson presented harsh criticism against the Hungarians, but he supported it with a high number of selected data. Therefore, it was not surprising that he had a large influence on his readers due to the plausibility of the work. In the summary of his book, he wrote the following.[95]

Seton-Watson criticised the corrupt voting system of Hungary, as did Steed. It was the result of instable nature of the state which meant if the opposition had won the elections, the Hungarian Kingdom would have formed a separate state. In other words, if the opposition had won the election, it could have meant the detachment of the Hungarian Kingdom, as the '48s favoured a separate and independent Hungary. Moreover, this instability was further aggrevated by the complaints of the oppressed nationalities. According to Seton-Watson, Hungarians forced the Hungarian identity on the nationalities. Furthermore, he also mentioned the Jews who assimilated to the Hungarian nation and participated in the 'magyarization' of national minorities.[96]

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[90] Beretzky Ágnes, *Scotus Viator és McCartney Elemér: Magyarországkép változó előjelekkel (1905–1945)* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2005), 19–20.

[91] See Appendix 23.

[92] Romsics, Magyarország története a XX. században, 51–52.

[93] Arday, op., cit., 85–86.

[94] Arday, op. cit., 86.

[95] See Appendix 24.

[96] Scotus Viator, *Racial Problems in Hungary* (London: Archibald Constable & CO. LTD. 1908), 392.

Oszkár Jászi who was a radical liberal thinker who wished to reform Hungary in a way that the Hungarian state would grant political rights to the national minorities. He welcomed the book of Seton Watson (*Racial Problems in Hungary*). He claimed that it was one of the best works which gave useful insights into the flaws of the Hungarian political system. According to Jászi, this book was based on a detailed analysis, and it only reflected the indignation of the Western European nations.[97] In a book later published, entitled *Corruption and Reform in Hungary*, Seton-Watson interprets the corruption and fraud as violations that were only committed against the national minorities. However, the purposes of these were 'only' to overthrow the opposition with no regard to its national affiliation. Jászi had perceived this misconception, so he raised the attention of his friend, Seton Waton to the flawed conclusion.[98] One can clearly see the continuous radicalisation of Steed, as even Jászi, who was a very progressive thinker, and one of the very few Hungarian friends of Seton-Watson started to criticise him for his distortions and his predilections for the Slav nations.

2.5. During the War and at the Time of the Paris Peace Conference

After the outbreak of the First World War, his perspective became even more radical, and in 1916, Seton-Watson published *German, Slav and Magyar* in which he discussed the political and ethnical 'tyranny' of the Hungarians.[99] In *German, Slav and Magyar,* Seton-Watson claimed that Central European Slavs could only contain the Pan-Germanic ambitions.[100] Obviously, Seton-Watson's ideas showed considerable similarities to the final stipulations of the Paris Peace Treaties (enlarged Romania, unified South Slav State etc.).[101]

Seton-Watson and Steed established *The New Europe* which was a journal that embraced different thinkers, politicians, historians and other influential people who were against Austria-Hungary and its two leading nations, especially against the Hungarians and wanted to dismantle the Monarchy. The journal was first published in October 1916. What is more, it was a sound forum for the politicians of the nationalities of the Monarchy.[102]

At the beginning of 1918, the Political Intelligence Department was established in the Foreign Office. Many of the members were from the circle of *The New Europe,* such as Seton-Watson, Steed, Alan Leeper (member of the Smuts mission, along with Eyre Crowe) and Harold W. Temperley (British Historian who later participated at the Paris Peace Conference). In addition, Seton-Watson was appointed as the leader of the Austro-Hungarian division of the Department of Enemy Propaganda. Even if the British government was not directly responsible for the dismantling of Hungary, but it accelerated the process. Nonetheless, contemporary British leading politicians allowed minor pro-Slav, pro-Romanian and anti-Austria-Hungary political groups in the Foreign Office and in the press accomplish the rearrangement of East Central Europe.[103]

After the outbreak of the First World War, the Balkan Committee's members continued the propaganda war for the nations they had advocated for a decade, but, at the same time, the British government began to use them as a source of information. In 1912–1913, during the Bal-

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97 Beretzky, op. cit., 22.

98 Beretzky, op., cit., 25.

99 Arday, op. cit., 87.

100 See Appendix 4.

101 Romsics, *The Dismantling of Historic Hungary,* 46.

102 Magyarics Tamás, "Nagy-Britannia Közép-Európa-politikája 1918-tól napjanking,"*Grotius* (2007): 3, available: http://www.grotius.hu/publ/displ.asp?id=RHIXRV, April 22, 2018).

103 Magyarics, op. cit., 5.

kan Wars, they were not considered as reliable informers, as they were too biased, because the Committee promoted unilateral commitments from the British side. Neverheless, this did not fit into Benjamin Disraeli's broad approach to the Balkans.[104] Furthermore, the British government regarded them as troublemakers and self-appointed experts, so the Foreign Office sent their own independent diplomats to these areas. However this negative evaluation changed. The reason for this shift was that there were many parliamentarians in the Balkan Committee; they were called the 'House of Commons Committee'. Additionally, the members of it had a proactive and interfering stance, as journalists and academics were also present, so they became more acceptable for the British government. Seton-Watson had been a member of it and favoured the support of the Serbs. During the war, various intelligence and propaganda agencies were set up, which were consisted of politically active cultural experts and journalists who had eagerly propagated the Balkan and Central European affairs in the years before the Great War. These institutions were The Intelligence Bureau of the Department of Information led by Lord Beaverbrook established in early 1917, the Crew House, the Department of Propaganda in Enemy Countries headed by Lord Northcliffe and the Political Intelligence Agency of the Foreign Office launched in early 1918. These advisors and experts later joined the circle of *The New Europe*.[105]

Seton-Watson, Steed and *The New Europe* were promoted by their French colleagues as well. In *La Nation Tchèque* which can be regarded as the French equivalent of *The New Europe*, the articles of Seton-Watson and Steed were translated and published. In the copy of *La Nation Tchèque* on 15 May 1916, Steed's propaganda article was published in French. However, the propagandistic style of Steed in itself was not enough for the French author, Pierre de Quirielle, so he wrote a short biased introduction, in which he praised the competences and the knowledge of Steed and the common goals:

> Nous devons nous réjouir de les lui voir poser exactement telles que nous les posons, dans leur connexité entre elles, dans leur liaison avec toutes les questions européennes et mondiales que soulève cette guerre. Et ce qui doit nous plaire encore davantage que de le voir soutenir et défendre toutes nos idées avec sa fermeté et sa vaillance, avec son talent et son autorité, appuyée ici sur son long séjour à Vienne, sur une connaissance qu'on peut dire unique en Europe de la politique austro-magyare, c'est de voir la place et l'importance qu'il leur donne.[106]

Besides the compliments, Quirielle also happily praises the fact that their British colleagues have the same goals, and they are trying to reach these aims with the same vehemence and enthusiasm.

In a later copy of *La Nation Tchèque*, a book recommendation can be read rather than a professional and critical review of Seton-Watson's book, *German Slav and Magyar*:

> Et ainsi tous les écrivains compétents, tous ceux qui, comme M. Seton-Watson, ont vu de près l'Empire des Habsbourgs, sont d'accord sur ce point : il faut démembrer l'Autriche Hongrie. Nous sommes sûrs que ce nouvel ouvrage de l'auteur anglais, qui expose si clairement l'essentiel de la question, convaincra tous les irrésolus de cette nécessité.[107]

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[104] Miklós Lojkó, "Conservative Realignment in British Policy on Central Europe and the Balkans during the Early Interwar Years," in Borhi László ed., *Európa, nemzet, külpolitika : tanulmányok Ádám Magda 85. születésnapjára* (Budapest: Aura, 2010):153–154.

[105] Lojkó, op. cit.,154–155.

[106] Pierre de Quirielli, "Un programme de M. H. Wickham Steed," *La Nation Tchèque* (May 15, 1916): 19, available : http://gallica.bnf.fr, April 04, 2018. See Appendix 6 for the English translation.

[107] Jules Chopin, "Bibliographie," *La Nation Tchèque* (August, 15 1916): 19, available: http://gallica.bnf.fr, April 04, 2018. See appendix 7 for the English translation.

In the case of the quotation above, one can see how the author, Jules Chopin forces the necessity of the dismantling of Austria-Hungary on all the hesitating scholars who are sure about its inevitability. These sentences also imply that those who have doubts about the need for the destruction of the Austria-Hungary after reading Seton-Watson's book are not veritable experts.

La Nation Tchèque was first published in 1915, a year before the publication of *The New Europe*, nevertheless, Ernest Denis`s, the founder of the newspaper, along with Edward Beneš, could have been conscious about the activity of Steed and Seton-Watson before. The following extract from Denis article called *The Slovaks* can support this statement:

> Un pareil système d'hypocrisie mène loin. Quand les nobles magyars eurent obtenu du Parlement des résolutions d'une iniquité révoltante contre les ouvriers agricoles, le ministre de l'agriculture, très soucieux de l'opinion occidentale, chargea un de ses fonctionnaires de traduire les nouvelles lois en anglais et les présenta à l'Europe comme la preuve de l'esprit libéral de son pays. – Les traductions étaient un faux ; le correspondant du Times à Vienne, M. Steed, le signala (Septembre 1907), et les explications embarrassées de la presse hongroise ne firent qu'accroître le scandale.[108]

As Denis can recall this incident, it is possible that he had been aware of the forgery and the correction of it by Steed, by the time it had happened. Considering the stance of Denis, he could have started to follow Steed's activities, when he unveiled such a 'fraud' in terms of their discourse. Furthermore, one can suppose that Steed, Seton-Watson and the French Slav circles were in connection through Beneš who was the member of the editorial board of both The New Europe and *La Nation Tchèque.*

Regarding a less biased newspaper, *Le Figaro*, because *La Nation Tchèque* was the newspaper of a radical pro-Slav French community, one can see that Steed gave a lecture, entitled *The Moral and the Politics of the Belligerents* at the conference *Faith and Life Society* in France and it had been mentioned in *Le Figaro.*[109] In addition, in the *Review* section of *Le Figaro* on 1 February 1919, the conference paper of Steed, *The British Empire and the Liberation of People* that he wrote in the *Revue de Paris* was also mentioned.[110]

In the first few lines of this conference lecture, Steed claimed that they were in an intermediate phase between war and peace, in which the allies had already won the war, but the tiring task of creating a peace was still ahead, and in spite of the exhaustion, they should continue what they had begun. In the footnote of the first page, one can see that Steed participated in several conferences organised by *Life and Faith*, for example, on 1 June 1915, 1 April 1916, 15 February and 15 December 1917.[111] During one of his lectures, Steed said the following about Britain's convictions in connection with the war:

> L'Empire britannique a-t-il vraiment fait la guerre pour libérer les peuples ? Je crois que oui, mais je rappelle qu'au mois de mai 1915, lorsque je parlai pour la première fois devant cet auditoire, je disais 'L'Anglais est surtout une créature d'instinct. Il se méfie des idées. Il a horreur de la logique. Un instinct plus profond que la raison lui dit que la vie elle-même n'est pas logique, qu'elle est faite d'énergie, souvent aveugle, dont les ressorts se trouvent au-dessous du seuil de la connaissance,' Si en 1914, on avait demandé aux peuples britanniques de faire la guerre pour la libération des autres peuples, ils se seraient peut-être gratté l'oreille la donquichotterie préalable n'est guère dans leur

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[108] Ernest Denis, "Les Slovaques," *La Nation Tcheque* (December 01, 1916): 231, available : http://gallica.bnf.fr, April 04, 2018. See Appendix 8 for the English translation.

[109] *Le Figaro* (May 02, 1915): 4, available: http://gallica.bnf.fr, April 04, 2018.

[110] *Le Figaro* (February 01, 1919): 4, available: http://gallica.bnf.fr, April 04, 2018.

[111] Henry Wickham Steed, "L'Empire Britannique et la liberation des peuple," *Revue de Paris* 6.1 (1919): 449, available : http://gallica.bnf.fr, April 04, 2018.

> tempérament. Mais lorsqu'on leur a demandé de faire la guerre pour résister à l'écrasement d'une petite nation dont la neutralité avait été garantie par leur gouvernement, ils n'ont pas hésité.[112]

One can obviously see from this quotation that Steed admits that the British did not help, because they wanted to liberate the oppressed nationalities, but because the liberation of them coincided with their own interests. According to László Péter, if Seton Watson and Steed had considered Hungary and the Hungarian nation capable of maintaining the peace, then they would have regarded the 'magyarisation' of the nationalities as nation building rather than oppression of nationalities.[113] Furthermore, Ormos argues that Britain did not enter the war either because Germany threatened the independence of Belgium or because she wanted to liberate the oppressed nations of Europe, but because British politicians and actors of British economy knew that if Germany won the war, then she would become capable of harming British European and colonial interests.[114] Additionally, British policy wished to secure the European stability with minimal effort, this attitude crystallized after 1815.[115] In addition, Steed also claimed that the victory had been the achievement of the people, so they should articulate the conditions of peace as well:

> La victoire a été l'oeuvre des peuples. La paix doit être également leur oeuvre. Quelle est la profonde raison de l'immense popularité dont jouit en Angleterre et aussi en France on vient de le voir le président des États-Unis ? Sa personnalité ? Sans doute, en partie. Sa situation comme chef d'un peuple qui a fourni aux Alliés l'aide décisive, qui leur a assuré la victoire ? Cette qualité donnerait certes au président Wilson droit à toute la gratitude, à toute la respectueuse affection des peuples alliés. Mais il y a autre chose. Le secret de la popularité du président, en Angleterre au moins, se trouve plutôt dans le sentiment qu'il a formulé mieux que personne les aspirations des démocraties alliées et dans la conviction qu'il mettra en oeuvre toute son immense influence afin de les réaliser. N'est-ce pas trop que d'attendre d'un seul homme, quelque puissant qu'il soit, le règlement, même en principe, des problèmes presque insolubles qui nous guettent ? Ne vaudrait-il pas mieux que les gouvernements alliés d'Europe commençassent par un essai franc et honnête de rédiger leurs conceptions d'une juste paix, selon les principes qu'ils professent ? Peut-on être sûr que le président et ses conseillers auront assez d'esprit européen, pour ne pas dire d'esprit mondial, pour trouver la solution juste lorsqu'il s'agira de problèmes auxquels le grand peuple transatlantique était, hier encore, complètement étranger ? On ne fait aucune injure au président Wilson si l'on rappelle que les idées qu'il a formulées ne sont pas sa propriété individuelle.[116]

In the above-mentioned lines, Steed claimed that the people had won the war, and in that moment the people had to be the decision makers. Steed argued that Wilson was in the way of the people's will, as he wanted to force all his universal conceptions on Europe and the world. He stated that he could do this due to his popularity in England and France. What was the true reason for his popularity? It was his good rhetorical skills, and his ability to be able to formulate his opinion in a manner that touched the people's feelings better. However, Steed warned him that these were not simply his ideas, and Europeans should also have a word in the future of Europe and the world. In my opinion, Steed wrote these not necessarily valid criticisms in order to weaken the position of Wilson, as the American president did not have direct interests and grievances in Europe; he desired to ensure that American soldiers could go home, and its Euro-

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112 Steed, op. cit., 449–450. See Appendix 9 for the English translation.

113 Péter, op. cit., 464–465.

114 Mária Ormos, István Majoros, *Európa a nemzetközi küzdőtéren* (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2003), 225.

115 John R. Davis, *Britain and the European Balance of Power,* in Chris Williams *A Companion to Nineteenth-century Britain* (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2004): 43.

116 Steed, op. cit., 452–453. See Appendix 10 for the English translation.

pean partners paid their debts.[117] Nevertheless, because of the lack of direct American interests, he could be considered impartial and could have made more impartial decisions. However, Wilson could have sabotaged the Central East European plans of Steed`s circle with his universal, inviolable principles, and the goals of European Great Powers, so they started reinterpreting and arbitrarily applying the principles of Wilson in accordance with their interests.[118] Accepting these principles without exception, especially the most important one, the principle of national self-determination might have prevented another worldwide conflict, because due to the universality of them, they would have been applicable for the defeated countries as well. As the head of a progressive state, Wilson saw these tendencies, but could not enforce his point of view. His principles were rejected on the false assumption that he wanted to completely exclude the Europeans from the peacemaking process. Wilson could have created a settlement based on the principle of national self-determination, not on the basis of imperial interest of European great powers. Furthermore, Steed attempted to legitimise the curtailment of the general principles:

> Cependant, l'application des seuls principes généraux ne saurait suffire. Il y a des droits et des intérêts particuliers qu'on ne peut négliger, tels que le droit à la vie et l'intérêt à la sécurité. Il est parfaitement possible de concilier les droits et les intérêts de l'Italie avec ceux de la nouvelle Serbie-Yougoslavie qui sera forcément sa voisine et qui devrait être son amie la plus sûre.[119]

The right for life and security were important for Steed, and the victorious states had to make concessions for one another to avoid conflicts. However, in Steed's article, similar remarks could not be found upon the defeated countries. With this silence, he approves that these rights in the case of 'the non-victorious countries' could be ignored for the benefit of an allied country. This "double standard" also contributed to the emerging problems in terms of the stability and peace of the region in the interwar period.

Neither did Seton-Watson remain idle, as he took part in the propagation of the Serbs to the largest extent. In the autumn of 1914, he became the president of the *Serbian Fund* which in the beginning, helped Serbia with medical provisions. Two years later, in June 1916, *The Serbian Society of Great Britian* was established with the leadership of the Scottish historian. The most important task of that organisation was to influence the public opinion in order to increase the sympathy towards Serbia, so that the authorities could not just simply ignore the Serbian question if it reoccured again. In a short period of time, the campaign grew incredibly large. Circulars were sent to 23 000 parsonages, and pamphlets about Serbia written by Seton Watson were delivered to 12 000 British schools. There were many films about Serbia in British cinemas, and the streets were teeming with *Heroic Serbia* posters.[120]

In December 1918, Seton Watson wrote a memorandum in which the main theorem was the nation state.[121] It also suggested a borderline that did not completely disregard the ethnic lines in the case of Hungary, but served the strategic interests of Czechoslovakia, Romania and the later Yugoslavia. The document did not question the validity of Hungarian statistics, was not entirely flawed, as areas with Hungarian majority were to be granted to Hungary. The memorandum was attached to the corpus of official British documents that showed the

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117 Ormos, Majoros, *Európa a nemzetközi küzdőtéren*, 251.

118 Maria Ormos, *From Padua to the Trianon 1918–1920* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), 139–145.

119 Steed, op. cit., 454.

120 Beretzky, op. cit., 30. See Apendices 1., 2., 3. for 'Heroic Serbia' posters.

121 Romsics, *The Distmantling of Historic Hungary: The Peace Treaty of Trianon, 1920*, 45.

influence of Seton-Watson. It was also one of the fundamental documents of the British suggestions which were proposed on 8 February 1919.[122]

At the turn of 1919, Seton-Watson and Wickham Steed had a central role in international political life. They had connections with the delegates of the British, Americans and successor states who discussed the problems with them and asked for their advice.[123] Wickham Steed and Seton Watson did not directly participate in the Paris Peace Conference as members of the British delegation, but their studies and political ideas largely influenced the work of the British delegation, especially, in terms of East Central Europe.[124]

Not only did Seton-Watson and Steed support the nationalist movements with their publications, but they also helped them by other means, such as organizing a conference.[125] Steed became the spiritual leader of the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities on 9–11 April 1918.[126] The organization of the congress largely relied on the support of *The New Europe.* The nationalities demanded independence, but they did not want it within the constitutional framework of Austria-Hungary, because they had been politically repressed by the Germans and the Hungarians. Most of the participants were Italians, but South Slavs (Trumbić), Czechs (Beneš), Polish and Romanians also participated in the congress. In consequence, the undersecretaries of the Foreign Office declared the support of the dismantling of the Monarchy a few weeks later.[127] In addition, Seton-Watson had an essential role in establishing *the Serbian Fund* and the *Anglo-Romanian Company* and in helping the Entente Powers create the Serbian-Bulgarian compromise.[128] Allan Leeper admitted that he and Harold Nicolson did not make any decisions without asking such experts as Seton-Watson. Seton-Watson and Steed rented an apartment together to be on site and help the Czechs, the Poles, the Romanians and other formerly oppressed nations more easily.[129]

The diplomatic missions of Jan Smuts and Sir George Russel Clerk are ought to be mentioned. These were two important British diplomatic missions, which envisaged stabilising militarily and politically the Carpathian Basin after 'Great War'. In addition, political groups in the British delegation that were friendlier towards the Hungarians supported them, such as the circle of the British Prime Minister, David Lloyd George. However, Steed and Seton-Watson had an influence on the process of these negotiations, as in the case of the Smuts mission, Harold Nicolson and Allen Leepers were resent who were in close contact with the British pro-Slav political groups. Nicolson was unfairly critical about the Hungarians, because of his misconceptions and excessive emotionality. He articulated his negative views on the Hungarians in his memorandum.[130]

In sum, Seton-Watson and Wickham Steed were two influential personages in terms of East-Central Europe and, obviously, Hungary. They maintained several formal and informal connections with various interest groups. They also had a well-defined idea about the future of the region, as they published articles and studies on the ethnic relations of the Carpathian Basin. Seton-Watson and Steed established *The New Europe* in which the perspectives of the national

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122 Romsics, *The Distmantling of Historic Hungary,* 45–46.
123 Arday, op. cit., 87.
124 Jeszenszky, *Az elveszett presztízs,* 311–312.
125 Arday, op. cit., 87.
126 Magyarics, op. cit., 3.
127 Romsics, op. cit., 41.
128 Arday, op. cit., 87.
129 Arday, op. cit., 87.
130 See Appendix 25.

minorities could appear. Moreover, they could also offer solutions on the pages of this journal that were beneficial for the nationalities. Both British journalists and politicians promoted this alternative, as it seemed to be the only proper solution for maintaining peace in Europe. Before the Conference convened, the major territorial decisions with regard to East Central Europe had been made. The territorial questions of this area were discussed in the first few months of the Conference. Hungary might have had the opportunity to alter these, but the Hungarian governments were not invited to the Paris Peace Conference until the end of 1919. In addition, the French 'Slavophils' supported the circle of The New Europe.

3. The French Perspective on Hungary: Louis Léger, Ernest Denis and Others

In this chapter, I present the views of various French intellectuals on Austria-Hungary. Some of them have been mentioned earlier, for example Ernest Denis or Jules Chopin. The French perspectives were more unified than the British ones, as there were no influential thinkers who could be called pro-Hungarian. In spite of the minor rapprochement in the 19th century, the French were hostile to the Habsburgs rulers and their subjects due to the centuries-old rivalry between the two European powers. Nevertheless, one can find arguments and conceptions that were more favourable for the Hungarians.

3.1. The Origins of the Pro-Slav Perspectives

In the last few centuries, French foreign policy regarding the Carpathian Basin was determined by France's rivalry with his neighbours. The French evaluated the peoples and nations in the region on the basis of what position they took in the competition between the Great Powers. That was the reason why they supported the Hungarian endeavours in the early modern period that directly or indirectly weakened the German or Germanic interests, including the activities of Ferenc Rákóczi, Lajos Kossuth or Gábor Bethlen. However, the geopolitical circumstances limited the French willingness and ability to help. To reflect on that ambiguous situation, the French used the proverb : "Le Dieu est haut et La France est loin." (God is high up and France is far away).[131]

The French appreciated the transformation of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1867, as the Hungarians could counterweight Austrian interests. This transformation resulted in an empire that could protect the European equilibrium from the Second Reich. In the 1890s, when the political alliance system of Otto von Bismarck, Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister of the German Empire, which primarily desired to isolate France, enforce German interests on Central Europe and realise German plans in the Balkans with the help of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, reached its full potiential, the French became more suspicious about the Monarchy. In consequence, at the turn of the century, various transformational programs were born, for example, the federalisation of the Monarchy that would give more rights and possibilities to balance the Austro-Hungarian Germany-oriented politics with the Slavic nations and the Pan-Slavism. Because of the German threat, the French were gradually becoming more open to these ideas. However, at the same time, the ideas on the dismantling of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy into smaller nation state only became part of the French foreign policy at the end of the First World War.[132]

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[131] Ignác Romsics, "Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie? Le dilemme de la politique danubienne de la France au début du XXe siècle," *Cahiers d'études hongroises* 6 (1994): 169.

[132] Romsics, "Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie?," 169–170.

According to Antoine Marès, French historian, the French Slav specialists were divided into two groups: the geo-politicians, and the other groups consisting of academics of the 1870 generation who were primarily centred around the Sorbonne, the republicans. The former promoted that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy should remain independent and intact in order to contain the German hegemony. Thus, France needs to support the Monarchy. The latter established direct relationship with the nations and nationalities that they examined, thus the German friendly and Polish mediators' position weakened. In opposition to the geo-politicians, they developed a national conception of Central Europe. Furthermore, a few years before the outbreak of the First World War, as Third Republic was being gradually consolidated, the French criticisms on the countries containing numerous archaic and feudalist elements, such as Russia or the Habsburg Empire were continuously becoming sharper. This tendency was beneficial for the second group.[133]

3.2. Louis Léger, Enest Denis and the Opinion of other French Intellectuals

One of the first promoters of the federalisation of the Monarchy and Pan-Slavism was Louis Léger who was a professor at the College of France. He was the predecessor of the pro-Slav group of French thinkers. Léger had personal experiences and professional knowledge that permitted him to know the Balkans in detail.[134] In 1917, he had already written 20 books on Slavic languages, culture, literature and the history of Eastern Europe including Russia. He loved the Czechs the most. Léger learned the Czech language, promoted their culture, and visited them several times in 1911. Already in 1871, he began to write and publish the journal called "La Correspondance Slave" [The Slav Correspondence] in which he claimed that a close union between his country and the Slav races was inevitable for the containment of insatiable ambitions of Germany. Consequently, he primarily advocated the transformation from dualism to trialism.[135] As with Seton-Watson, Steed and many others, in the case of Léger, the "crimes" of the Austo-Hungarian politics towards the nationalities played a crucial role in his argumentation. However, he clearly stated that his primary concern was the security of his motherland. He claimed that if the program of federalisation and democratisation won, then the Slav nations would be in numeric majority, and they would make the Monarchy join the Franco-Russian alliance. Léger also favoured the idea of "Greater Serbia" that had been one of the age-old dreams of Pan-Slavism.[136] Nonetheless, it is worth remarking that Léger was the only French intellectual who had been openly hostile to the Habsburg Empire.[137]

The national aspirations of the Slavs were not important for him in themselves. He supported the Slavic nations because, according to Léger, the Pan-Slavism fitted well in the French foreign political system of security.[138] I think it is also worthy to reflect on the parallels between the French policy in general and pro-Slav experts and those of the British. Their main perspective of British and French pro-Slav experts was the European stability and the security of their own mother country. The ideas of these French and British political propagandists adapted to the foreign political situations, but, at the same time, they guarded their solemn tone of the li-

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133 Antoine Marès, "Les slavisants francais face à la Hongrie avant le traité de Trianon," *Cahiers d'études hongroises* 6 (1994): 186–187.

134 Romsics, "Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie?," 170.

135 Ibid.

136 Romsics, "Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie?," 170–171.

137 Dany Deschênes, "French Intellectuals and the Image of Austria-Hungary in France: Prelude to the Break-up of Historic Hungary" *Hungarian Studies Review* 33.1–2 (2006): 106.

138 Romsics, "Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie?," 171.

beration of the Slav nations. In contrast, the French and British governments did not hide their true intentions, namely the security of their homeland and the European peace. Nevertheless, because of the complexity of the East Central European relations, they had to rely on these seemingly neutral, but actually biased 'experts'.

Gusztáv D. Kecskés claims that the alteration of official French foreign policy was due to the changing military situation, not because of the active campaign of the French experts, emigrant politicians or the pressure of the public opinion.[139] I partly agree with his opinion, namely, it is true that the primary driving force was the military situation, but this leaves important questions unanswered. How could the French think that their sanitary zone could effectively prevent the expansion of Bolsheviks and Pan-German aspirations if the centre of it had been weakened by leaving the Hungarian interests largely unsatisfied? As Hungary was geopolitically in the centre, simple common sense would have suggested that concessions should have been made to Hungary in order to create a maximally stable East Central European region.

Why were the Hungarians differently evaluated than other nationalities of Austria-Hungary? It is true that the Hungarians were a politically acknowledged nation, but, according to the Law of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, they were not independent in terms of military and foreign affairs. These were 'common interests' of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The independent ministries of the two parts of the Monarchy, the Hungarian Kingdom and the Habsburg/Austrian Hereditary Lands had to approve the decisions of the 'common' ministries. However, it has to be added as well that military affairs, including the mobilisation and the leadership of the armies, were in the hands of the Monarch, thus making this seemingly balanced political system largely uneven. In other words, the actual foreign political and military power has concentrated in the hands of the Austro-Hungarian emperor.[140] In her article about the propaganda activities of Thomas Masaryk, Eva Irmanivá mentions that up until the outbreak of the First World War, nearly all of the Czech national aspirations considered the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, later Austria-Hungary inevitable if they wanted to secure their independence. In addition, even in January 1917, the Entente powers could not completely agree if it would be desirable to 'Balkanise' East Central Europe in spite of declaring the liberation of the Italians, Slavs, Romanians and Czechoslovaks under foreign oppression. Furthermore, the Slovaks did not really think of the dissolution of the Monarchy until 1916.[141] All this could not be simply explained by the alteration of military situation. However, if one takes into consideration the propaganda activities of the British and French pro-Slav political groups, several formerly unsolved questions can be answered.

A further expert, Ernest Denis is worth mentioning who was a professor of history at the University of Sorbonne. In 1903, he predicted the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy, but he added that the necessities of the 16th century that formed Austria had not disappeared yet. These necessities were the forces that kept the monarchy together, despite the various grievances of the Hungarians, Czechs, Poles and Southern Slavs.[142] Among these necessities, the maintenance of European balance of power was the most important. The challenger of the European political and military equilibrium had changed several times during the centuries. Therefore,

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[139] Kecskés D. Gusztáv, "A trianoni békeszerződés kelet-közép-európai háttere a francia külpolitika perspektívájában," *Kisebbségkutatás* 19.2 (2010): 131, 135–136.

[140] Az államjogi kiegyezés: Az 1867. évi 7–12. törvénycikk, in Cieger András ed., Nemzet és emlékezet: A Kiegyezés (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2004): 133–136.

[141] Eva Irmanová, "The First World War and Masaryk's Plan for the Liberation Programme," in György Markó, Mária Schmidt eds, *Europe's Fraternal War, 1914–1918*: 280, 286–287.

[142] Romsics, "Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie?," 171

it is worth noting some examples, such as the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century, the German nation state in the 19th century.[143]

In addition to Denis, André Chéradame claimed that the major enemies of France were not Russia and Pan-Slavism, but Germany and Pan-Germanism. He argued that the trialist transformation of the empire was necessary in terms of changing the foreign political orientation of the Monarchy, so she could be diverted from the German-Italian-Romanian alliance to the Franco-Russian-Bulgarian one.[144]

To list more from the more moderate positions, Cyprien Robert should be noted who could be considered a pro-Slav thinker. Despite his Slav supporting position, he claimed in an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in 1845 that Hungarians seemed to be a nation who belonged to the East with the Greek and Slav nations.[145] Furthermore, Hyppolyte Desprez is worth mentioning here, as he predicted in the case of the Hungarian revolution in 1848 that the diversity of nationalities and the incapability of the Hungarian political elite to understand and treat their grievances would cause serious problems in the future,[146] thus foreseeing the First World War and the Treaty of Trianon.

However, among the promoters of the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarhcy, there were French intellectuals who had propositions that were more favourable for Hungarians, such as Madame Edmond Adam, a writer who was famous for her hatred towards Germans. She thought that it would be desirable to create an independent Hungary. In spite of these pro-Hungarian propositions, she suggested a generous policy for the Slovaks, but in case of separatism, she previsioned cruel retaliation. Furthermore, she actively participated in the preparation of the Franco-Russian alliance, but she did not think of Greater Serbia, Pan-Slavism or the increased influence of Russia. These would have bothered French interests similarly as *Mitteleuropa* would have done so.[147]

The concept of *Mitteleuropa*, a plan of a customs union emerged in the first half of the 19th century, but it became popular in the last two decades of it. The customs union would include Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the states of the Balkans. In 1915, Friedrich Naumann, a liberal imperialist politician who developed further the idea wrote a book entitled *Mitteleuropa* in which he claimed that a Central European economic nation existed that had common economic interests and culture. Furthermore, he claimed that it could replace the imperialist dominance of Germany that would also be beneficial for non-Germanic nations. The German and Austrian liberals praised Naumann's book, but it was not popular among the non-Germanic nations of Central Europe, as it obscured the fact that such a system would harm their independence.[148]

Jules Eugène Pichon who supported another approach in terms of the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy should also be mentioned, as he played an important role at the Paris Peace Conference later. In 1913, he published an article under the pseudo-name Jules Chopin in which he stated that he neither believed that Austro-Hungary favoured to preserve its independence from Germany nor that the federalisation of the dualist monarchy would serve

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143 A. J. P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1809–1918* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1976), 9–10.

144 Ibid

145 Szász Géza *Réformes ou révolution? L'image de la Hongrie d'avant 1848 au miroir de la presse française* (Algyő: Innovariant, 2017), 56.

146 Szász, op. cit., 53–54.

147 Romsics, "Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie?," 172.

148 Maciej Górny, "The Concept of Mitteleuropa," in 1914–1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War, available: https://encyclopedia.1914–1918-online.net/article/concept_of_mitteleuropa, April 24, 2018.

properly the interests of France. He argued that the Slavs would turn to Russia and Pan-Slavism that would later result in an Austro-Russian alliance that would threaten the European equilibrium. In consequence, he thought that the only solution would be dismantling the Monarchy. However, he did not agree with the conceptions of Madame Adam, but he rather embraced the ideas of Léger and the others in a more radical way creating small homogeneous states. In order to prevent these states to become toys of the Great Powers, he advocated the creation of a strict system of alliance between them.[149]

Neither the views of Madame Adam nor that of Pichon had a truly considerable impact on the French mainstream politics before the First World War, as French politics and public opinion regarded Austria-Hungary as the pillar of European stability in spite of her flaws and errors. Leading French politicians thought that the modernisation of the Monarchy served the interests of France in opposition to its dissolution. After the outbreak of the First World War, the echoes favouring the atomisation of Austria-Hungary became more pronounced, but the idea of maintaining the empire was still more influential.[150]

Louis Léger and Ernest Denis, the two 'heroes' of the federalisation were disappointed, and they became more active spokesmen of the transformation of the Empire into smaller states. They claimed that Austria-Hungary lost its former historical profession and became the 'avant-garde' of Germany in 1914–1915. This opinion showed remarkable similarities to those of Seton-Watson and Steed.[151] They agreed on the "liquidation" of Austria-Hungary, but there were points of disagreement in the details. Nonetheless, Léger envisioned three successor states at that moment: an Austria-Hungary ethnically and linguistically German and Hungarian; a new kingdom consisting of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia; and the South Slav Confederation with the leadership of the Serbs. The remaining areas would be shared by Poland and Russia. In contrast, Denis wanted separate Hungary and Austria. Furthermore, he desired to give Transylvania to Hungary granting it with large political autonomy. Lastly, he reformulated the plan of the Slav corridor between Presbourg and Zagreb.[152]

In his book, *La Grande Serbie* [Greater Serbia], Denis articulated a sharp criticism about the Croatian-Hungarian compromise, Bosnia and Hercegovina:

> Dans le royaume de Croatie, qui est une annexe de la Hongrie, l'accord de 1868 protège mal les 2 200 000 Croates contre l'oppression magyare. Enfin, les deux millions de Slaves qui habitent la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine forment un État sans analogue dans l'histoire, qui n'est rattaché ni à la Hongrie ni à l'Autriche, mais à l'ensemble de la monarchie, et qui en réalité ne relève que de l'Empereur.[153]

One can clearly see the anti-Hungarian attitude of Denis. The criticism can be accepted in terms of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the annexation of them intensified the tensions between Serbia and Austria-Hungary. However, the Croats possessed independence in various fields of life, for example, the Hungarian political elite acknowledged the Croats as a political nation, and that Croatia and Slavonia formed independent polities. In the case of the Croats, one can see an exaggerated view that can be seen as a poetic instrument, simple ignorance about facts or a very

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149 Romsics, "Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie?," 172–173.

150 Romsics, op. cit., 173.

151 Ibid.

152 Ibid.

153 Ernest Denis, *La Grande Serbie* (Paris: Libraire Delagrave, 1915), 13. See Appendix 12 for the English translation.

radical view that does not necessarily reflect the reality. In other words, this remark is faulty from various perspectives.

Turning to his colleague, in his pamphlet published in 1915, Léger starts with the introduction of Austrian history:

> L'État autrichien a pu avoir sa raison d'être à l'époque où les populations de l'Europe centrale avaient chaque jour à redouter l'invasion des Osmanlis. Suivons un peu, à travers l'histoire, l'évolution du groupe autrichien ou, comme on l'appelle aujourd'hui, — par un mensonge officiel — du groupe austro-hongrois.[154]

Léger states that the so-called Austro-Hungarian people did not exist, as this was 'an official lie'. However, the same lie did not bother him in the case of the 'Serb-Croat-Slovenian' nation:

> Ce n'est que tout récemment que le roi de Serbie a démasqué des ambitions, d'ailleurs parfaitement légitimes, et justifiées par les attentats de l'Autriche sur sa nation. Il a déclaré que son royaume devait désormais être le protecteur des Serbes, des Croates et des Slovènes. [...] Les peuples de ce groupe parlent deux langues, le slovène et le serbo-croate; ils écrivent en deux alphabets, l'alphabet latin modifié de signes diacritiques à la manière du tchèque, l'alphabet dit cyrillique (du nom inventeur présumé l'apôtre saint Cyrille), analogue à l'alphabet russe, mais augmenté de quelques nouveaux caractères.[155]

In the case of the Serb-Croat-Slovenian nation, Léger accepted their legitimacy, but, at the same time, he denies the existence of the Austro-Hungarian people. However, these were in the same exact situation as a few hundred years ago, they needed to unite against an 'aggressor', but now Germany took over the place of the Ottoman Empire. The only explication for the violation of the logic was the security of France. The French, including Léger, were not worried about the sovereignty of the Central European nation in spite of the fact that it was their major argument, but he and his colleagues had thought that Austria-Hungary was incapable of fulfilling its former task.

Romsics claimed that the extent to which the ideas of Léger and Denis influenced French politics was not entirely determined.[156] Marès fills the 'blind spot' here claiming that the majority of the essayists and journalists turned against Austria-Hungary, but mainstream French politics were not so determined to 'destroy' her. In January 1915, Maurice Paléologue wrote in a telegraph that France needed Austria-Hungary until Russia and Italy existed. In addition to that, Philippe Berthelot noted in August 1916 that the moment for deciding the question of Bohemia had not arrived yet.[157]

Léger and Denis did not only 'fight with books', but they also used propaganda tools, articles, and public speeches. From May 1915, Denis in collaboration with Beneš published the journal called *La nation tchèque* which had the same role in the Neo-Latin countries as Seton-Watson's *The New Europe* in the English-speaking world. Denis firmly demanded the dismantling of the Habsburg Empire at the grand amphitheatre of the Sorbonne on 16 May 1916. He also stated this in the committee established in 1916 to discuss the French war aims.[158] However, all the intellectuals, propagandists and political activists, including pro-Slav and pro-Habsburg ones,

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154 Louis Léger, *La Liquidation de l'Autriche-Hongrie* (Paris: Libraire Félix Alcan : 1915), 1. See Appendix 13 for the English translation.

155 Léger., op. cit., 79–80. See Appendix 14 for the English translation.

156 Romsics, "Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie?," 174.

157 Marès, op. cit., 187.

158 Romsics, "Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie?," 174.

shared the same goals: the opposition of Germans, Pan-Germanism and the potential ways France could contain them.[159]

In contrast to the essayists, the French politicians only adapted to the given military situation, and made *ad hoc* decisions rather than building up a complex system of choices. Among the official goals, one can see the reconquest of Alsace-Lorraine, the hypothesis of the annexation of the Saarland, the same thing for the left side of the Rhine and the demands of the reunification of Poland. However, Russia did not support the last claim. Nonetheless, French mainstream politics preferred the maintenance of Austria-Hungary to her dismantling.[160]

In addition to the afore-mentioned arguments, the interpretation of one of Wilson's fourteen points is also ambiguous as it can support and reflect the indecisiveness of French politicians, namely a part of the declaration: "liberation of Italians, of Slaves, of Romanians and Czecho-Slovaks from foreign domination".[161] It can be interpreted as the dissolution of the empire, as Kalervo Hovi, Finnish historian does.[162] Or it can be regarded as reference to the federalisation and to the autonomy given to the nationalities.[163]

The French foreign political figures were not so sure about the fate of the Monarchy until the very end of the First World War. At the end of 1916 and at the beginning of 1917, many events took place that pushed the French towards a compromise with Austria-Hungary. In first place, the Romanian front collapsed, secondly, the first revolution in Russia ensued, and, finally, the new ruler of Austria-Hungary, Charles IV declared his will to sign a separate peace treaty. Two memoranda of the French military leadership came to life that described the future of the Monarchy. One of them argued for a reinforced Habsburg Monarchy that would not lose all her territories where nationalities live. In addition, she would also receive German Silesia and the Southern territories of the German Empire, although she would lose some of the Slavic territories, and even non-Slavic territories, and they would be detached (Bohemia, Transylvania). Furthermore, this memorandum claimed that the ethnic principle should not be used at the expense of the Habsburgs. The other memorandum was inspired by the federal transformation proposals. According to the second document, the Monarchy in its dualist and feudal form should disappear. If the Monarchy was broken into small states, then it would be vulnerable to the Great Powers. Consequently, a federal state with tight relationship between its members should be established under Habsburg supervision. These memoranda were formed the basis for the French during the negotiations with Charles IV in 1917.[164]

Denis, Léger and their comrades harshly criticised the standpoints that were beneficial for the ruling nations of Austria-Hungary. On the one hand, Léger wanted a grand Slav confederation which would consist of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Greece could also join. The two parts of the empire would be connected by a corridor. On the other hand, Denis favoured a series of independent states among which the most important ones were the Serb-Croatian Kingdom to which the Slovenes were attached, the Czechoslovak state and Poland.[165] In spite of these pro-Slav endeavours, French foreign policy did not have a clearly articulated standpoint in relation to the Habsburg Empire.[166]

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159 Deschênes, "French Intellectuals and the Image of Austria-Hungary in France: Prelude to the Break-up of Historic Hungary," 106.

160 Romsics, "Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie?," 174–175.

161 Romsics, "Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie?," 176.

162 Ibid.

163 Ibid.

164 Romsics, "Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie?," 176–178.

165 Romsics, op. cit., 178–179.

166 Romsics, op. cit., 179.

The turning point was at the end of 1917 when two important events happened. Firstly, the Russian revolution broke out in which the French completely lost their ally. Secondly, changes took place in the government, and as a consequence, George Clemenceau became the Prime Minister and Stephen Pichon the Foreign Secretary. A new memorandum was published in November 1917 which regarded Poland and a reinforced Romania as the pillars of the stability in the East Central European and Eastern European regions. What is more, Pichon signed a decree about the creation of a Czechoslovakian army under the control of the Czechoslovakian National Committee of Paris.[167]

Three events during the spring of 1918 crystallised further French politics. The first of them was the treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March between the Germans and the Russians, the failure of a separate peace negotiation with Charles IV in April and the signing of a treaty between Germany and Austria-Hungary in Spa on 14–15 May. From the perspective of French security policy, all these were catastrophic. However, these events made the French leading politicians take a well-defined position. After these events, France acknowledged not only the Polish independence, but the Czechoslovakian and Yugoslavian ones, too.[168] What is more, the personal relations of French Slavophil politicians and those of nationalities were useful as there were many peace handbooks, but French delegates were not able to read them all due to the lack of time and capacity. In consequence, many of them took similar positions as Jules Cambon, the French ambassador to London who expressed his preference of clear-cut ideas over piles of documents.[169]

The borders of these states were not formed in accordance with the ethnic principle. The reason for it was that the borders offered by the ethnic principles were not sufficient for maintaining the stability and peace, so they included other principles than the ethnic ones, such as political, economic and strategic ones. However, it must be mentioned that they included the ideas of Italian, American and British delegates as well. They renounced the plan of establishing a corridor. Poland and Czechoslovakia had a considerable role in the maintenance of stability, but the most important factor to France was Romania which was the key puzzle piece in the *cordon sanitaire*. [170] There were no major disagreements between the Allied and Associated Powers in spite of some minor differences of opinion.[171]

The shadow of doubt was cast only once on these principles in the spring of 1920 during the Franco-Hungarian bilateral negotiations after the Hungarian delegation arrived at the Paris Peace Conference. The Franco-Hungarian negotiations and reconciliation were appreciated because of material, moral and personal factors. The places of Clemanceau, Poincarré and Pichon were taken by Déchanel, Millerand and Paléologue who had been sympathising with Hungarians during the Great War. Although it was impossible to reconstruct the Monarchy, they tried to offer concessions to Hungary. They understood that Hungary was in a central position, and, at the same time, they received a humiliating peace treaty that would threaten the peace in the region.[172]

After Apponyi's famous speech and the memoranda of the Hungarian delegation, a debate occurred at the Conference of Ambassadors. However, nothing had changed, the French stuck to the original peace. There were polemics in London to alter the peace treaty along with the Franco-Hungarian secret negotiations. Lloyd George also made efforts to change the already

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167 Romsics, "Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie?," 179–180.

168 Romsics, op. cit., 180–181.

169 Mária Ormos, *From Padua to the Trianon 1918–1920* (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1990), 144.

170 Romsics, op. cit., 181–182.

171 Ormos, op. cit., 146, 159–160.

172 Romsics, "Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie?," 182.

fixed borderlines of Hungary.[173] In spite of the fact that France was represented by Philippe Berthelot in London who was a close friend of Beneš and had tight relationship with Léger and Denis, he transmitted the news to Paléologue without comments, modifications or delay. The French promoted the cooperation of the nations of East Central Europe. Furthermore, the French promised the modification of the peace conditions in the future according to the suggestions of the Millerand letter. However, they were never realised in the next one and a half decades.[174]

During the negotiations on 1 March 1920, the David Lloyd George opposed the detachment of millions of Hungarians along with the Italian Prime Minister Francesco Saverio Nitti. However, they faced massive resistance of not only the delegates of France and Hungary's neighbours, but even politicians and experts from their own delegations, for example, Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary. Furthermore, Lloyd George realised that he had already given his consent to the obligations of the Hungarian peace treaty. Nevertheless, it can be supposed that the main reason for the British Prime Minister to abandon the problem was because the French made concessions in terms of the oil business in Asia Minor, as these two events were taking place in nearly the same time interval. The only result of the Italian-British intervention was a letter that granted the good intentions of the Great Powers.[175]

Ablonczy argues that although there was no direct relationship between the two negotiations, but their connection was conspicuous. The treaty of San Remo signed on 25 April 1920 that discussed the takeover of former German petroleum interests and the reallocation of markets in Romania, Asia Minor, Russia and Galicia was markedly beneficial for Great Britain. Despite the fact that there had been huge quarrels between France and Britain that reached their zenith at the time of the session in London. In Mesopotamia the oil resources were shared in 75% – 25% ratio for the British instead of the former 50% – 50% one. Furthermore, the French government committed itself to build an oil pipeline in Syria towards Iraq, and allowed the British companies to transfer oil without expenditures. In addition, the French government opened its colonies and its territories in North Africa to Anglo-French oil companies. It is a hypothesis that has to be proven, but seems very plausible.[176] In addition, David Lloyd George preferred informal consultation rather than official diplomats and experts from the beginning of his premiership, which could be considered as a new political style triggering the distaste of his delegates.[177] Furthermore, the complexity of the system of the Paris Peace Conference hindered the effective renegotiation of the Hungarian case, as the Hungarian questions were discussed in multiple separate commissions, sub-commission from which Hungarians were excluded.[178] What is more, there were several occasions when the decisions were made outside of the cobweb of commissions during informal agreements and conversations, thus making the situation more complex and worse for Hungarians.[179]

In the Millerand letter, the Entente and Allied powers declared that they could not alter the territorial provisions, as the revision of them would cause more problems than leaving them intact. However, they hoped that Hungary would be a stable part of the system that they had created. Furthermore, they added that regarding the geography of the Carpathian Basin, it had been impossible to draw the borders of the new states in a manner that would have respected

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173 Romsics, *The Distmantling of Historic Hungary*, 124–130.

174 Romsics, "Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie?," 183.

175 Ormos Mária, *Magyarország a két világháború között*, (Debrecen: Csokonai Kiadó, 1998), 81.

176 Ablonczy Balázs, *Trianon-legendák* (Budapest: Jaffa Kiadó, 2015), 60–61.

177 G. H. Bennett *British Foreign Policy, 1900–1939*, in Chris Wrigley ed. *A Companion to Early Twentieth Century Britain* (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2003), 156.

178 Ormos, *From Padua to the Trianon 1918–1920*, 140–141.

179 Ormos, op., cit., 144.

the ethnical and political lines. In spite of that, they thought that the former borderlines of the Hungarian state were not just, but they had to make concessions to the new neighbours of Hungary. They also denied the plebiscites, as they claimed it would not differ significantly from the result of the Paris Peace Conference's examination based on the ethnographical relations of the region. The Entente Powers were convinced that the Hungarians oppressed the nationalities. Nevertheless, they promised that during the practical realisation of the new borders if there were any differences, they would correct them, but, at that particular moment, they did not have the time for these corrections, as it would delay the long desired peace. There would also be opportunities to revise the border later with the help of the League of Nations.[180] The influence of the pro-Slav French and British experts can be seen in this letter, as the representatives of the Entente powers were convinced that they received a very detailed and accurate picture of the ethnic and ethnographic relations of the region. They were also persuaded that the Hungarians suppressed their nationalities.

3.3. Louis Eisenmann: The Most Influential French pro-Slav Intellectual?

However, it is worth noting some further refinements of Antoine Marès who claims that Denis and Léger had relatively small influence. As for Léger, connections cannot be found between him and those who were responsible for political and diplomatic affairs. Denis had some kind of influence on French policy due to the prestige originating from his position in academic life. It was different with Louis Eisenmann who played an important role in the war analysis of the Deuxième Bureau ('Second Bureau', French military agency).[181] He wrote a book on the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 which had been a basic work in the French literature, during the Great War, his conviction became clear: the nationalities of Austria-Hungary had to have their own statehood. He also falsified statistical data when it did not correspond to his own conceptions.[182] According to Deschênes, Denis, Léger and Eisenmann were responsible for the gradual growth of negative opinion among the French on the Habsburg Empire, and especially on Hungarians who were described as tyrannical and faithful allies of Germany. How large their influence was? The scholars do not entirely agree on that even today.[183]

Nevertheless, Eisenmann was not anti-Hungarian from beggining. Unlike Denis and Léger, he learned the Hungarian language. He became an associate professor of history at the École normale supérieure where he had also completed his studies. In *La Revue de Paris*, he published an article entitled *La crise austro-hongroise* (The Austro-Hungarian Crisis).[184] He claimed the the compromise made a dual centralism that was more favourable for the Hungarians than the Austrians. Furthermore, he also believed that the Hungarians determined the foreign policy of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In 1904, he wrote his doctoral dissertation on the Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867. He criticised the archaic nature of the Monarchy which was leading to her end. According to Eisenmann, the only solution was the democratisation and federalisation of the Habsburg Monarchy. However, the most considerable obstacles to this were the reactionary Prime Ministers: Kálmán Tisza and István Tisza. The possible remedy could be the program of the Diet of Kremsier and the ideas of József Eötvös which favoured the

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[180] A Szövetséges és Társult Hatalmak válaszának kísérőlevele a magyar békedelegáció elnökéhez (Párizs, 1920. május 6.), in Zeidler Miklós ed., Nemzet és emlékezet: Trianon, 148–150.

[181] Marès, op. cit., 190.

[182] Ablonczy Balázs, "Rettenetes év. A párizsi békekonferencia és Magyarország, 1919–1920," *Rubicon* 28.309–310 (2017): 7.

[183] Deschênes, op.cit., 112.

[184] Deschênes, op.cit., 101.

national autonomy of the Slavic nation of the Empire. During the war his tone also radicalised, but in a slower manner than that of Léger and Denis.[185]

Eisenmann was considered as a real expert, but he stated also unrealistic, ahistorical so-called 'facts'. In the first chapter of his book entitled *La Tchécoslovaquie*, he wrote:

> La République tchécoslovaque a derrière elle une tradition nationale de douze siècles. Elle est pourtant un très jeune État[...] L'effondrement de la monarchie austro-hongroise, jetée bas par la victoire des Alliés, a permis à la nation tchécoslovaque de faire revivre son indépendance et son antique unité.[186]

He claimed that the Czechoslovak nation had existed for 1200 years, which was obviously not true, as the concept of nation was formed in the 18–19th centuries. Furthermore, he states that Germans and Hungarians divided the Czechoslovak nation:

> Les évêques allemands, à leur tour, entreprirent de convertir les Slaves, et de ces disputes religieuses naquit une guerre où les Allemands appelèrent à leur secours les Magyars, qui venaient de s'établir en Hongrie. Ceux-ci, en 906, conquirent la Slovaquie, et l'unité tchécoslovaque fut ainsi rompue pour dix siècles, jusqu'à 1918. Les pays tchèques au contraire, les « trois pays de la couronne de Bohême », se dégagèrent, au cours du Xe siècle, de l'emprise allemande qui s'était étendue sur eux.[187]

He continues with incredible statements:

> Charles IV, fils de Jean de Luxembourg, ce Jean l'Aveugle qui se fit tuer à Crécy, élevé en France, fonda l'archevêché et l'université de Prague, celle-ci fille aînée de l'Université de Paris, et embellit la ville de monuments édifiés par des architectes français. Au contact de l'esprit français, l'esprit national prenait conscience de lui-même.[188]

In that period, one cannot talk about national consciousness, in the Middles Ages the dynasticism was the principle along which states were organised, national identity as such did not exist. However, one can find some of roots of it. The reason for these ahistorical claims was to attract the French public opinion and politicians, and convince them that they would make the right decision if they supported the Czechoslovaks, as their national consciousness and amity towards the French had existed long time before. In addition, Eisenmann wanted the French to feel that they were the father of the Czechoslovak nation.

> [...] les armées nationales, formées des prisonniers tchécoslovaques qui s'étaient de propos délibéré rendus en masse aux troupes alliées pour cesser de servir par contrainte les ennemis de leur nation, le Conseil national passa avec les gouvernements alliés des conventions qui, lui accordant sur ses armées nationales une juridiction politique, contenaient en fait la reconnaissance officieuse au moins et partielle de sa qualité de gouvernement.[189]

Here, one can see the actual reason of the French support, the Czech military help. The military situation gave legitimacy to all the Czech claims. Nevertheless, Eisenmann used other methods to prove the justifiability of Czech claims. However, these methods contained illogical and ahis-

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185 Deschênes, op. cit., 101–104, 108.

186 Louis Eisenmann, "La Tchécoslovakie," [Czechoslovakia] in *Les États Contemporains* (Paris: Place Saint Pulpice, 1921), 11. See Appendix 15. for the English translation.

187 Eisenmann, op., cit., 13. See Appendix 16. for the English translation.

188 Ibid. See Appendix 17. for the English translation.

189 Eisenmann, op., cit., 17. See Appendix 18. for the English translation.

torical statements. Furthermore, he also referred to Ernest Denis, so it can be supposed that the other pro-Slav French intellectuals had similar opinion.[190]

Edvard Benes uttered the same ahistorical facts about the cohabitation and mutual affection of the Czech and Slovak peoples.[191] Taking into consideration the activities of the pro-Slav French and British political groups, it is no surprise that the Paris Peace Conference accepted these statements, and in spite of weakening the position of the Czech, they were considered as firm pillars of the Czech demands. As Kecskés argues, one of the main reasons of the changes in French politics was the military situation and the safety of France for all the French, including the pro-Slav groups.[192] In addition, it was also true for the British mainstream politics and pro-Slav groups, as Péter highlights it. The most important aspect for them was the security of their homeland.[193]

In conclusion, it can be said that there were many activists among the French who supported the Slav nations of the Monarchy. However, their significance in terms of altering French foreign policy seems to be negligible, especially in comparison to Steed and Seton-Watson who were acknowledged authorities of the Carpathian Basin in the United Kingdom and in entire Europe. They had firm connections with the British delegates. Furthermore, Steed and Seton-Watson were present as guests at the Paris Peace Conference, so several participants of the conference could and did actually visit them. Thus, it can be stated that the two British political activists had far more influence on the Conference than their French colleagues did. Nevertheless, it must be mentioned that the works of Eisenmann were attached to the official peace handbooks of the French delegation. However, it has to be noted as well that the historical situation was more advantageous for the Slav nations and their British and French supporters. In spite of that, it needs to be emphasized that Steed and Seton-Watson and their French comrades had a huge impact on the details, for example, on how Hungarians were regarded ('friend or foe', taking into consideration other factors in the case of the Slav nations not only the ethnic one) or how the 'ethnic' lines were falsely drawn.

4. Conclusion

Traditionally, British politicians regarded the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as one of the major pillars of European stability. The political crisis of 1905–1906 revealed the weaknesses of the Habsburg Empire, in consequence, political activists, such as Seton-Watson and Wickham Steed, started to search for better alternatives instead of the Habsburg dynasty. However, the dissolution of the empire was not their primary aim, they rather wanted to reform the Monarchy, and place it on a more democratic basis, thus granting the Slav nations political power. At the time of the outbreak of the Great War, Steed and Seton-Watson became more radical, so in order to support the cause of Slav nations, they started to forge evidence and misinterpret social and political mechanisms. For example, they regarded the cruel methods of the political elite to prevent any insurrections as the method of repressing nationalities, or the electoral system that served as the guarantee of the integrity of the Hungarian Kingdom as oppressing the subject on the basis of national affiliation.

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190 Eisenmann, op. cit., 12.

191 Edvard Benes felszólalása a Tízek Tanácsa ülésén a csehszlovák területi igények kapcsán – Részletek (Párizs, 1919. február 5.), in Zeidler Miklós ed., *Nemzet és emlékezet: Trianon*, 50–52.

192 Kecskés, op. cit., 131–132, 135–136.

193 László Péter, *Hungary's Long Nineteenth Century*, vol. I. (Boston: Leiden, 2012), 464.

However, there were opponents of Steed and Seton-Watson, such as Arthur B. Yolland and James Bryce. Yolland was obviously a pro-Hungarian who conducted activities similar to that of Steed and Seton-Watson on the side of Hungarians. He became a Hungarian citizen, learned the Hungarian language, and taught at Hungarian universities. Nevertheless, Bryce can be regarded as a more impartial source of information. Despite the fact that he had been exposed to views friendlier towards Hungary, he could not be described as a blind pro-Hungarian propagandist. In his travelogue, he gave a picture that was closer to reality, as he observed the every-day life of average people. He claimed that the Hungarians and the Slovaks were friendly to each other, however, neither the Hungarians nor the Slovaks wanted to assimilate. In contrast, Seton-Watson wrote to *The Spectator* that Hungarians were cruel to Slovaks and wanted to repress them. It must be also added that many times they distorted reality in their pseudo-scientific works.

Therefore, Steed and Seton-Watson had a more considerable impact on the whole of Britain and Europe. Seton-Watson spread propaganda films about Serbs and propaganda writings in schools. At the same time, Steed participated in various conferences in France during which he influenced French intellectuals, public and political discourses. Their French colleagues were aware of their activities, supported and praised them. The French 'Slavophils' were content that their British comrades had similar ideas, so it did not really matter if they had an impact on French society as Steed and Seton-Watson promoted the same ideas as them.

The French point of view tended to be more unified than the British one. They did not particularly like Austria-Hungary, as it had been one of the major enemies of France. However, French mainstream politics considered it desirable to maintain Austria-Hungary until 1918, so the opinion of French politics coincided with the ideas of the intellectuals who opted for the preservation of the Monarchy. Nevertheless, the pro-Slav conceptions occurred earlier, and especially their radicalisation took place much earlier. Among French intellectuals, one cannot really find explicitly pro-Hungarian ones, such as Yolland or Bryce in the case of the British. Léger, Denis and Eisenmann had long been against the Austrian and Hungarian dominance, however, Eisenmann did not hate Hungarians. He learned the Hungarian language, and wrote his doctoral thesis in law on the Austro-Hungarian compromise. He had the most important impact on French mainstream politics; his works were used as manuals at the Paris Peace Conference by the French delegation. However, at the time of the Great War, he became more radical and was not afraid of falsifying evidence if it did not support his own conceptions.

The study attempted to discover the effects of British and French pro-Slav circles on the politics of the Great Powers and each other. There are works that discuss the activities of these circles seperality, such as Géza Jeszenkszy's *Az elveszett presztízs*, Ignác Romsics's *Détruire ou reconstuire l'Autriche Hongrie?*, but a detailed systematising analysis has not been realised yet. Furthermore, Mária Ormos *(From Padua to the Trianon)* and Ignác Romsics *(The Dismantling of Historic Hungary)* discuss the wider context of the Paris Peace Conference and thay only touch upon the issue that my study discusses. Nevertheless, to what extent these British and French pro-Slav groups influenced the Paris Peace Conference is not entirely revealed. In addition, the exact connections between Enlish and French pro-Slav groups, and their influence on each other are not analysed in detail, and this study only gives a brief summary of them that poses many further questions: Did Denis and Seton-Watson know each other personally? Was Eduard Benes a mediator between them? Did these circles consult with each other to unify and better enforce their conceptions?

5. Appendices

Appendix 1.

Figure 1. Heroic Serbia Poster 1.
Source: http://www.darvillsrareprints.com/Punch%20Cartoons%201915%207.htm.
Accessed: April 22, 2018.

Appendix 2.

Figure 2. Heroic Serbia Poster 2.
Source: https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/498421883738541718/. Accessed: April 22, 2018.

Appendix 3.

Figure 3. Heroic Serbia Poster 3.
Source: http://www.babamim.com/wwi-allies_postcards__medals. Accessed: April 22, 2018.

Appendix 4.

Chapter VIII
The Pan-German plan and its antidote (extracts)

To-say it is no longer possible or necessary to argue about the exact strength of Pan-Germanism on the eve of war. For in war moderate counsels are necessarily thrust into the background on every side; and to-day Germany is writing the Pan-German programme in letters of blood on the face of Europe. Her alliance with Austria-Hungary has become more indissoluble than ever, and the idea of a customs-union as a final seal upon the bond is being propagated by prominent politicians, publicists, professors, and bankers...To-day we are faced by a solid mid-European *bloc* of 120 millions, which can only be shattered or pared down by military effort, but cannot be split up by diplomacy...Unless we are prepared to desert our Allies and conclude an ignominious peace with Germany, we must counter the German plan of "Mittelruropa" and "Berlin-Bagdad" by placing obstacles in its path. In one of its main aspects this war is the decisive struggle of Slav and German, and upon it depends the final settlement of the Balkan and Austrian problems [...] Germany can only be defeated if we are prepared to back the Slavs and liberate the Slav democracies of Central Europe [...] The essential preliminaries then, are the expulsion of the Turks from Europe and the disruption of the Habsburg Monarchy into its component parts. On its ruins new and vigorous national states will arise. The great historic memories of the past will be restored to the Commonwealth of Nations, and in their new form will constitute a chain of firm obstacles on the path of German aggression. (I) Poland, freed from its long bondage [...] (2) Bohemia, who has been the vanguard of the struggle against Germanization for eight centuries [...] (3) The small and landlocked Serbia of the past will be transformed into a strong and united Southern Slav State [...] (4) independents Hungary, stripped of its oppressed nationalities and reduced to its true Magyar kernel [...] emancipated from the corrupt oligarchy [...] ; and (5) Greater Roumania, consisting of the present kingdom, augmented by the Roumanian districts of Hungary, Bukovina, and Bessarabia.

Source: R. W. Seton-Watson, *German, Slav, and Magyar: A Study in the Origins of the Great War* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1916), 171–174.

Appendix 5.

A nemzetiségi kérdés (részletek) [The question of nationalities (extracts)]

The political aspirations of the non-Hungarian nations threatened the existence of the historic Hungarian state in itself. The Hungarian political elite, who established the Austrian-Hungarian compromise, wanted to defend [the integrity of the Hungarian Kingdom] by giving all Hungarian citizens equal rights regardless their race, language or religion. Moreover, the Hungarian state gave several attributes of the personal or collective autonomy to the non-Hungarian nations, for example, they could freely establish and maintain schools in their native language. In contrast, the Hungarian state rejected the territorial autonomy and the political representation of the nationalities, thus it did not acknowledge the nationalities politically. As time passed on, the Hungarian tended not to enforce the tolerance towards different cultures. They supported the education in Hungarian rather than in the mother tongue of a certain nation, thus magyarizing them culturally and linguistically. For this reason, 1879. Article XVIII was accepted. The Hungarian language must be taught as a foreign language in non-Hungarian primary schools. 1883. Article XXX. the education of Hungarian language and literature as regular subjects. The climax of these legislatory measures was the so called Lex Apponyi [named after Albert

Apponyi] (1907 Article XXVII.). The Hungarian language must be taught in as many lessons that pupils in a non-Hungarian primary education, including ecclesiastic and municipal schools must be able to express themselves clearly in Hungarian both orally and in writing at the end of the fourth grade.

A nem magyar népek politikai aspirációi azonban magának a történeti magyar államnak a létét veszélyeztették. A kiegyezést megalkotó magyar elit ez ellen úgy kívánt védekezni, hogy miközben fajra, nyelvre, és vallásra való tekintet nélkül az ország minden állampolgárát egyenlő jogokkal ruházta fel, sőt a nem magyar népek számára egyházi, iskolai és egyéb téren egyéni vagy kollektív elvű kulturális autonómia számos attribútumát biztosította (például szabadon hozhattak létre és tarthattak fenn anyanyelvi iskolákat), aközben politikai nemzetként, azaz egyenjogú államalkotó partnerként való elismerésüket, s ennek keretében a románok, szerbek és a szlovákok által követelt területi autonómia biztosítását következetesen elutasította [...] Az 1868-as rendezés nem magyar nyelvek és kultúrák iránti toleranciáját ugyanakkor egyre kevésbé érvényesítették. Az anyanyelvű oktatás támogatása helyett inkább a magyar nyelvű oktatás kiterjesztésére, s ezen keresztül a nyelvi-kulturális magyarosításra törekedtek [...] Ezt a célt szolgálta az 1879. évi XVIII. tc., amely a nem magyar tannyelvű elemi iskolák számára előírta a magyar mint idegen nyelv tanítását, az 1883. évi XXX. tc., amely a nem magyar tannyelvű középiskolákban bevezette a magyar nyelv és irodalom „rendes tárgyként" való kötelező oktatását [...] Ezt a folyamatot a koalíciós kormány 1907. évi XXVII. tetőzte be, amelyet megalkotója [Apponyi Albert] után Lex Apponyinak neveztek el [...] A törvény ennek érdekében minden nem magyar tannyelvű elemi iskolát, beleértve az egyházi és községi iskolákat is, arra kötelezett, hogy a magyar nyelvet olyan óraszámban tanítsa, hogy „a nem magyar anyanyelvű gyermek a negyedik osztály bevégeztével gondolatait magyarul élőszóval és írásban érthetően ki tudja fejezni".

Translated by Erik István Papp.
Source: Romsics Ignác, *Magyarország története a XX. században* (Budapest: Osiris, 2010), 84–85.

Appendix 6.

Nous devons nous réjouir de les lui voir poser exactement telles que nous les posons, dans leur connexité entre elles, dans leur liaison avec toutes les questions européennes et mondiales que soulève cette guerre. Et ce qui doit nous plaire encore davantage que de le voir soutenir et défendre toutes nos idées avec safermeté et sa vaillance, avec son talent et son autorité, appuyée ici sur son long séjour à Vienne, sur une connaissance qu'on peut dire unique en Europe de la politique austro-magyare, c'est de voir la place et l'importance qu'il leur donne.

We have to be happy to see him taking the exact same positions as we do both in terms of the connectivity between them, and in their relation to all the European and worldwide questions which have triggered the war. And what has to please us even more than seeing him supporting and defending our ideas with his firmness, with his bravery, with his talent, and with his authority based on his long time being in Vienna, based on knowledge of the Austro-Hungarian politics which can be called unique in Europe is seeing the place and the importance he gives to them.

Translated by Erik István Papp
Source: Pierre de Quirielli, "Un programme de M. H. Wickham Steed," *La Nation Tchèque* (15 May, 1916): 19.

Appendix 7.

Et ainsi tous les écrivains compétents, tous ceux qui, comme M. Seton-Watson, ont vu de près l'Empire des Habsbourgs, sont d'accord sur ce point: il faut démembrer l'Autriche Hongrie. Nous sommes sûrs que ce nouvel ouvrage de l'auteur anglais, qui expose si clairement l'essentiel de la question, convaincra tous les irrésolus de cette nécessité.

And thus all competent writers, all those like Mr. Seton-Watson who saw the Habsburg Monarchy from close agree on this point: The Habsburg Monarchy has to be dismantled. We are sure that this new work of the English writer, which exposes the essence of the question, will clearly convince all of those who are vacillating on its necessity.

Translated by Erik István Papp
Source: Jules Chopin, "Bibliographie," [Bibliography] *La Nation Tchèque* (15 August, 1916): 19.

Appendix 8.

Un pareil système d'hypocrisie mène loin. Quand les nobles magyars eurent obtenu du Parlement des résolutions d'une iniquité révoltante contre les ouvriers agricoles, le ministre de l'agriculture, très soucieux de l'opinion occidentale, chargea un de ses fonctionnaires de traduire les nouvelles lois en anglais et les présenta à l'Europe comme la preuve de l'esprit libéral de son pays. Les traductions étaient un faux; le correspondant du Times à Vienne, M. Steed, le signala (Septembre 1907), et les-explications embarrassées de la presse hongroise ne firent qu'accroître le scandale.

Such a system of hypocrisy leads far. When the Hungarian nobles had voted the decrees of evil injustice against the agricultural workers in the Parliament, the minister of agriculture very anxious about the Western opinion charged one of his clerks with translating the new laws into English, and he presented them to Europe as the proof of the liberal spirit of his country. The translations turned out to be forgeries; the correspondent of *The Times* in Vienna, Mr Steed indicated it (September 1907), and the embarrassed explications of the Hungarian press could not do anything but aggravate the indignation.

Translated by Erik István Papp
Source: Ernest Denis, "Les Slovaques," *La Nation Tcheque* (01 December, 1916): 231.

Appendix 9.

L'Empire britannique a-t-il vraiment fait la guerre pour libérer les peuples? Je crois que oui, mais je rappelle qu'au mois de mai 1915, lorsque je parlai pour la première fois devant cet auditoire, je disais « L'Anglais est surtout une créature d'instinct. Il se méfie des idées. Il a horreur de la logique. Un instinct plus profond que la raison lui dit que la vie elle-même n'est pas logique, qu'elle est faite d'énergie, souvent aveugle, dont les ressorts se trouvent au-dessous du seuil de la connaissance, » Si, en 1914, on avait demandé aux peuples britanniques de faire la guerre pour la libération des autres peuples, ils se seraient peut-être gratté l'oreille la donquichotterie préalable n'est guère dans leur tempérament. Mais lorsqu'on leur a demandé de faire la guerre pour résister à l'écrasement d'une petite nation dont la neutralité avait été garantie par leur gouvernement, ils n'ont pas hésité.

Was the British Empire really fighting for the liberation of people? I believe yes, but I recall what I said during I was talking for the first time in front of this audience in March 1915: "The English is mostly a creature of instinct. He distrusts the ideas. He loathes the logic. A deeper instinct than reason tells him that life in itself is not logical, it is made up of a usually blind

energy, the resource of which can be found under the threshold of consciousness". If we had asked the British people whether they had wanted to liberate the people, maybe they would have been embarrassed. The preliminary quixotry is not really in their temperament. But, when we asked them to fight against the erasure of a small nation, the neutrality of whom was guaranteed by their government, they did not hesitate.

Translated by Erik István Papp
Source: Henry Wickham Steed, "L'Empire Britannique et la liberation des peuples," *Revue de Paris* 6.1 (1919): 449–450.

Appendix 10.

La victoire a été l'oeuvre des peuples. La paix doit être également leur oeuvre. Quelle est la profonde raison de l'immense popularité dont jouit en Angleterre et aussi en France on vient de le voir le président des États-Unis? personnalité? Sa Sans doute, en partie. Sa situation comme chef d'un peuple qui a fourni aux Alliés l'aide décisive, qui leur a assuré la victoire? Cette qualité donnerait certes au président Wilson droit à toute la gratitude, à toute la respectueuse affection des peuples alliés. Mais il y a autre chose. Le secret de la popularité du président, en Angleterre au moins, se trouve plutôt dans le sentiment qu'il a formulé mieux que personne les aspirations des démocraties alliées et dans la convictionqu'il mettra en oeuvre toute son immense influence afin de les réaliser[...] N'est-ce pas trop que d'attendre d'un seul homme, quelque puissant qu'il soit, le règlement, même en principe, des problèmes presque insolubles qui nous guettent? Ne vaudrait-il pas mieux que les gouvernements alliés d'Europe commençassent par un essai franc et honnête de rédiger leurs conceptions d'une juste paix, selon les principes qu'ils professent? Peut-on être sûr que le président et ses conseillers auront assez d'esprit européen, pour ne pas dire d'esprit mondial, pour trouver la solution juste lorsqu'il s'agira de problèmes auxquels le grand peuple transatlantique était, hier encore, complètement étranger? On ne fait aucune injure au président Wilson si l'on rappelle que les idées qu'il a formulées ne sont pas sa propriété individuelle.

The victory was the work of the people. The peace also has to be their work [...] What is the major reason for the popularity of the president of the United States – we have just seen – in England and in France, too? His personality? Partly, no doubt. His position that he is the leader of the people whose decisive help assured the victory? That quality gives the right to President Wilson to receive all the gratitude, all the respecting affection of the allied people. However, there is another thing. The secret of the popularity of the president, at least in England, lies rather in the feeling that he has expressed the aspirations better than any of the allied democracies, and in the conviction that he will implement all his immense influence in order to achieve them[...] Is it not too much to expect from a single man, no matter how powerful he is, the settlement, even in principle, of the almost insoluble problems that are waiting for us? Would not it be worth much more if the allied governments of Europe commenced a frank and honest attempt to articulate their conceptions of a just peace in accordance with the principles they profess. Can we be sure that the president and his counsellors will have a spirit European enough, not to mention the global spirit, to find a just solution for the problems that were completely alien to the Trans-atlantic nation even yesterday? [...] We are not offending President Wilson if we remind him that the ideas he articulated are not his individual property.

Translated by Erik István Papp
Source: Henry Wickham Steed, "L'Empire Britannique et la liberation des peuples," *Revue de Paris* 6.1 (1919): 452–453.

Appendix 11.

Cependant, l'application des seuls principes généraux ne saurait suffire. Il y a des droits et des intérêts particuliers qu'on ne peut négliger, tels que le droit à la vie et l'intérêt à la sécurité. Il est parfaitement possible de concilier les droits et les intérêts de l'Italie avec ceux de la nouvelle Serbie-Yougoslavie qui sera forcément sa voisine et qui devrait être son amie la plus sûre.

However, the application of the general principles is not always enough. There are particular rights and interests that cannot be ignored, such as the right to life and the interest of security[...] It is perfectly possible to reconcile the rights and interest of Italy with the ones of the new Serbia-Yugoslavia who will inevitably be his neighbour and have to be his most reliable friend[...]

Translated by Erik István Papp
Source: Henry Wickham Steed, "L'Empire Britannique et la liberation des peuples," *Revue de Paris* 6.1 (1919): 454.

Appendix 12.

Dans le royaume de Croatie, qui est une annexe de la Hongrie, l'accord de 1868 protège mal les 2200000 Croates contre l'oppression magyare. Enfin, les deux millions de Slaves qui habitent la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine forment un État sans analogue dans l'histoire, qui n'est rattaché ni à la Hongrie ni à l'Autriche, mais à l'ensemble de la monarchie, et qui en réalité ne relève que de l'Empereur.

In the Kingdom of Croatia, which was annexed by Hungary, the compromise in 1868 does not protect the 2 200 000 Croats against the Hungarian oppression. Finally, the two million Slavs who live in Bosnia and Herzegovina form a state that has no historical analogy and it not attached neither to Hungary, nor to Austria, but to the whole of the Monarchy that is only connected by the Emperor.

Translated by Erik István Papp.
Source: Ernest Denis, *La Grande Serbie* (Paris: Libraire Delagrave, 1915), 13.

Appendix 13.

L'État autrichien a pu avoir sa raison d'être à l'époque où les populations de l'Europe centrale avaient chaque jour à redouter l'invasion des Osmanlis. Suivons un peu, à travers l'histoire, l'évolution du groupe autrichien ou, comme on l'appelle aujourd'hui, — par un mensonge officiel — du groupe austro-hongrois.

The Austrian state could have its reason to exist in an epoch in which the population of Central Europe dreaded the Ottoman invasion everyday. Let's follow, through history, the evolution of the Austrian people, or as we call them today – an official lie – the Austro-Hungarian people.

Translated by Erik István Papp.
Source: Louis Léger, *La Liquidation de l'Autriche-Hongrie* (Paris: Libraire Félix Alcan : 1915), 1.

Appendix 14.

Ce n'est que tout récemmentque le roi de Serbie a démasqué des ambitions, d'ailleurs parfaitement légitimes, et justifiées par les attentats de l'Autriche sur sa nation. Il a déclaré que son royaume devait désormais être le protecteur des Serbes, des Croates et des Slovènes. [...] Les peuples de ce groupe parlent deux langues, le slovène et le serbo-croate; ils écrivent en deux alphabets, l'alphabet latin modifié de signes diacritiques à la manière du tchèque, l'alphabet dit cyrillique (du nom «le son inventeur présumé l'apôtre saint Cyrille), analogue à l'alphabet russe, mais augmenté de quelques nouveaux caractères.

It has just been recently that the Serbia king unveiled his ambitions, otherwise perfectly legitimate, and justified by the outrages of Austria on his nation. He declared that his kingdom has to be the protector of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians from now on. .[...] The people of that group speak two languages, the Serbo-Croatian and the Slovenian; they write using two alphabets, the Latin alphabet modified with diacritic signs like Czech, the Cyrillic alphabet (named after its supposed inventor, the saint apostle Cyril) on the analogy of Russian to which they added some new characters.

Translated by Erik István Papp.
Source: Louis Léger, *La Liquidation de l'Autriche-Hongrie* (Paris: Libraire Félix Alcan : 1915), 79–80.

Appendix 15.

La République tchécoslovaque a derrière elle une traditionnationale de douze siècles. Elle est pourtant un très jeune État[...] L'effondrement de la monarchie austro-hongroise, jetée bas par la victoire des Alliés, a permis à la nation tchécoslovaque de faire revivre son indépendance et son antique unité.

The Czechoslovak Republic has a twelve-decade national tradition behind her. However, she is a very young state[...]The dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, brought to her knees by the victory of the Allied forces, permitted the Czechoslovak nation to resurrect her independence and ancient unity.

Translated by Erik István Papp.
Source: Louis Eisenmann, "La Tchécoslovakie," in *Les États Contemporains* (Paris: Place Saint Pulpice, 1921), 11.

Appendix 16.

Les évêques allemands, à leur tour, entreprirent de convertir les Slaves, et de ces disputes religieuses naquit une guerre où les Allemands appelèrent à leur secours les Magyars, qui venaient de s'établir en Hongrie. Ceux-ci, en 906, conquirent la Slovaquie, et l'unité tchécoslovaque fut ainsi rompue pour dix siècles, jusqu'à 1918. Les pays tchèques au contraire, les « trois pays de la couronne de Bohême », se dégagèrent, au cours du Xe siècle, de l'emprise allemande qui s'était étendue sur eux.

The German bishops, for their part, attempted to convert the Slav people, and these religious disputes gave birth to a war in which the Germans called the Hungarians who had just settled down in Hungary to help them. They conquered Slovakia in 906, and the Czechoslovak unity had ended for ten decades until 1918. The Czech countries in contrast "the three countries of the Bohemian Crown" freed themselves from the German influence which was forced on them during the 10th century.

Translated by Erik István Papp.
Source: Louis Eisenmann, "La Tchécoslovakie," in *Les États Contemporains* (Paris: Place Saint Pulpice, 1921), 13.

Appendix 17.

Charles IV, fils de Jean de Luxembourg, ce Jean l'Aveugle qui se fit tuer à Crécy, élevé en France, fonda l'archevêché et l'université de Prague, celle-ci fille aînée de l'Université de Paris, et embellit la ville de monuments édifiés par des architectes français. Au contact de l'esprit français, l'esprit national prenait conscience de lui-même.

Charles IV, son of John of Luxemburg, that Blind John who was killed at Crécy, raised in France, founded the archdiocese and the University of Prague, it is the older daughter of the University of Paris, and decorated the city with monuments created by French architects. Being in contact with the French spirit, the [Czech] nation consciousness had awakened.

Translated by Erik István Papp.
Source: Louis Eisenmann, "La Tchécoslovakie," in *Les États Contemporains* (Paris: Place Saint Pulpice, 1921), 13.

Appendix 18.

[...]les armées nationales, formées des prisonniers tchécoslovaques qui s'étaient de propos délibéré rendus en masse aux troupes alliées pour cesser de servir par contrainte les ennemis de leur nation, le Conseil national passa avec les gouvernements alliés des conventions qui, lui accordant sur ses armées nationales une juridiction politique, contenaient en fait la reconnaissance officieuse au moins et partielle de sa qualité de gouvernement.

[...]the national armies formed by the Czechoslovak prisoners deliberately joined the Allied troops in large numbers in order stop serving forcedly the enemy of their nation, the [Czech] national council made the Allied governments accept the conventions which gave political jurisdiction over its armies which contained the official but minimal and partial recognition of the capability to govern.

Translated by Erik István Papp.
Source: Louis Eisenmann, "La Tchécoslovakie," in *Les États Contemporains* (Paris: Place Saint Pulpice, 1921), 17.

Appendix 19.

Henry Wickham Steed on the Austro-Hungarian People

There is, in reality, no Austrian, Hungarian or Austro-Hungarian "people." There are the peoples that inhabit the Monarchy, Hapsburg peoples, but no Hapsburg people. Whenever the Monarch addresses his subjects collectively, as on his accession or on the outbreak of war or in connexion with some festival or bereavement, the form of address is always "To my Peoples." In a sense there is nevertheless a "people" in the Monarchy. It consists of the governed as distinct from the apparatus of government, the administered as distinguished from the administration. It is supposed to be represented in Parliament, Diets and Municipal Councils, and to possess a means of utterance in public press. But the press is largely an instrument of Government and is far more careful of its official connexions than of its duty to the people; while the functions

veritably discharged by Parliament differ strangely from those laid down by Constitutional Law and defined in treatises on popular representation.

Source: Henry Wickham Steed, *The Hapsburg Monarchy* (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1914), 120

Appendix 20.

Arhtur B. Yolland on the Hungarians and their Love of Freedom

Living far away from my native land, I have learned to love and admire Hungary, her people, her culture, her literature. The latter is the work of a great and noble race, which, despite the oppressions to which it has been subjected, despite the centuries of desperate struggle against the inroads of the devastating Turks, who might, for the generous self-sacrifice of the Magyars and their brilliant leaders, have overrun Europe, have produced a literature of which any civilised nation might well be proud.[...] I shall be able to render services far more valuable and lasting than could be done by scores of pamphlets or historical studies. Hungary and the Hungarians have, during the past, been but little known; the many distorted and ill-meaning reports spread about the country and its inhabitants cannot be better answered than by a study of literature. The many-headed dragon of malice and calumny cannot be more effectively combatted than by an insight into the character and thought of the people which has been so shamelessly maligned.

Source: Arthur B. Yolland, *Alexander Petőfi, Poet of the Hungarian War of Indepence* (Budapest: Franklin, 1906), 3–4.

Appendix 21.

James Bryce Describing the Cohabitation of Germans, Slovaks and Magyars in Upper Hungary

The German colonists settled down in the middle of these aboriginal Slovaks, and doubtless Germanised a good many of them, so that one finds German and Slovak villages mixed, and a certain number of Slovaks who have become Lutherans, though the majority are either Roman Catholics or Uniates [i.e. orthodox Easterns who have acknowledged Rome). About sixty years ago the Slav tongue was gaining ground on the German, and villages which spoke German two hundred years ago had come to speak Slovak.

The Magyars do not make much way in absorbing the Slovaks, even where they dwell intermingled with them ; not that they live on ill terms, for they and the Slovaks are pretty good friends, but simply that the less advanced and less politically active race seems somehow to be rather more prolific and more tenacious of its own ways.

Source: Viscount Bryce, *Memories of Travel* (London: Macmillan 1923), 102–103.

Appendix 22.

The Compliments of James Bryce about the Hungarian Landscape and the Mentality of Magyars

Nor do these pages, when I look over them, seem fully to convey a sense of the delicious freshness and wildness of the scenery, with its magnificent rock-peaks rising out of its sombre forests; still less perhaps of the charm which the simple, free and easy Hungarian life, the frank and hearty manners of the people, have for any one who can find himself in sympathy with them. Nowhere in the European continent does an Englishman feel himself more at home. After a few weeks among the Magyars one can enter into the spirit of the national adage—an adage which a late respected missionary (a staid old Scotsman, sent to Pesth by the Society for the Conversion of the Jews) whose persistence in the duty he was charged with did not check hisenjoyment of general society, is said to have been fond of repeating:
"Extra Hungariam! non est vita,
Vel si quidem est, non est ita."

Source: Viscount Bryce, *Memories of Travel* (London: Macmillan 1923), 139–140.

Appendix 23.

The Report of Seton-Watson on the Incident of Csernova Sent to The Spectator

On last Sunday a serious riot took place at Csernova, in Hungary, in which thirteen Slovaks were killed, eight severely wounded, and some eighty slightly wounded. Among the dead were five Women and two children. The ultimate cause of the riot was the suspension of a Slovak priest by the Magyar Bishop, who had appointed in his place a priest of Magyar sympathies. As our correspondent "Scotus Viator" points out in a letter, which we publish in another column, the disturbance is an incident in the attempt of the Magyar Government to Magyarise the two millions of Slovaks, one of the Slav sub-nationalities in Hungary.

Source: The Spectator, 02 November 1907.

Appendix 24.

Seton-Watson's Criticism on the Political Relations of the Hungarian Kingdom

The local administration is in the hands of a narrow and local caste, which by means of illiberal franchise is able to hold the non-Magyars in permanent minority, and to exclude them from the control of their local affairs; the officials treat the Nationalities as foreign interlopers, and show little or no consideration for their languages and national customs and traditions. A far-reaching system of electoral corruption and gerrymandering backed by a complicated and unequal franchise, makes it impossible for one-half of the population to gain more than twenty-five seats in the Parliament, and concentrates all political power in the hands of a small clique of influential nobles and ecclesiastics, professional politicians and Jewish financers.

Source: Scotus Viator, *Racial Problems in Hungary* (London: Archibald Constable & CO. LTD. 1908), 392.

Appendix 25.

The Influence of pro-Slav British Circles on the Diplomatic Mission of General Jan Christian Smuts and Sir George Russel Clerk

General Jan Christian Smuts is ought be mentioned here who became the member of the War Cabinet in 1917. The fact that he was a foreigner (born in the Commonwealth in Southern Africa) made him a good negotiator, he was fighting against the British in the Second Boer War, and so he represented a different point of view that could be useful in the rapidly and radically changing political and military situation. David Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, Lord Milner (another member of the War Cabinet) and Smuts were thinking about the answer they should give to Austria-Hungary's separate peace attempts, but Smuts did not really sympathise with the Austro-Hungarian friendship. However, the circle of David Lloyd George had an opportunist point of view; they accepted everything that would have stopped the war. After the Paris Peace Conference had received the letter from Béla Kun, the Foreign Secretary of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in which he stated he would have gladly received an Entente diplomatic mission, the British Prime Minister was thinking about sending Smuts as the leader of this mission. In spite of the resistance of the Foreign Office and the French, the Peace Conference accepted the propositions of Lloyd George. Nevertheless, the Foreign Office managed to send their two representatives Harold Nicolson and Allen Leeper, members of the Czechoslovak and Yugoslavian-Romanian Territorial Council.[194] At the negotiation on 5 April 1919, Kun committed an error, he demanded too much, and Smut interpreted it as the refusal of the British propositions, so the mission ended. Despite that, Smut did not evaluate his mission as unsuccessful, as on his way back to Paris, he stopped in Prague and Vienna, and the Czech President Masaryk agreed on the necessity of summoning a Central European Economic Conference.[195] He wrote it in his final report. A second Smuts mission was planned, but it was cancelled due to the unlucky circumstances (reaching a critical point in the drafting of the German peace, illness of President Woodrow Wilson).[196]

The member of the Smuts mission, Nicholson's attitude towards Hungary should be demonstrated:

> "[...] Austria", "Hungary", "Bulgaria", or "Turkey" were not in the forefront of our minds. It was the thought of new Serbia, the new Greece, the new Bohemia, the new Poland which made our hearts sing hymns at heaven's gate. This angle of emotional approach is very significant. I believe it was a very general angle. It is one which will not be apparent from the documents in the case. It is one which presupposes a long and fervent study of "The New Europe"- a magazine then issued under the auspices of Dr. Ronald Burrows and Dr. Seton-Watson with the doctrines of which I was overwhelmingly imbued. Bias there was, and prejudice. But they proceeded, not from any revengeful desire to subjugate and penalise our late enemies, but from a fervent aspiration to create and fortify the new nations whom we regarded, with maternal instinct, as the justification of our sufferings and our victory. The Paris Peace Conference will never properly be understood unless this emotional impulse is emphasized at every stage[...] My feelings towards Hungary were less detached. I confess that I regarded, and still regard, that Turanian tribe with acute distaste. Like

[194] Miklós Lojkó, "Brit békemiszziók Közep-Európában: Smuts tábornok és Sir George Clerk tárgyalásai 1919-ben," in Frank Tibor ed., *Angliától Nagy-Britanniáig: magyar kutatók tanulmányai a brit történelemről* (Budapest: Gondolat, 2004), 327–329.

[195] Romsics, Ignác. *The Dismantling of Historic Hungary: The Peace Treaty of Trianon, 1920* (New York: Center for Hungarian Studies and Publications, 2002), 95–96.

[196] Lojkó, "Brit békemiszziók Közep-Európában: Smuts tábornok és Sir George Clerk tárgyalásai 1919-ben," 330–332.

> their cousins the Turks, they had destroyed much and created nothing. Buda Pest was a false city devoid of any autochthonous reality. For centuries the Magyars had oppressed their subject nationalities. The hour of liberation and of retribution was at hand.[197]

He acknowledged that he himself and his colleagues were under the influence of *The New Europe*. He mentioned the name of Seton-Watson explicitly, which clearly showed his authority and influence on the British delegation. From this perspective, the Hungarians were demonised, and, in contrast, the countries and national aspirations *The New Europe* supported were excessively glorified, thus they made this political and rational decision as something heavenly and transcendental. He claimed that these emotions and decisions could only be understood in the context of the Paris Peace Conference. Furthermore, Nicolson claimed that Hungarians and their cousins, the Turks could not do anything but simply destroy everything which, of course, was not true. In such a religious zeal, it is obvious that these 'experts' could not make rational verdicts, and they committed huge mistakes. He even admitted his bias, but did not evaluate it as something negative.

The diplomatic mission of Sir George Russel Clerk also has to be mentioned. During the war, Clerk sympathised with the circle of *The New Europe*.[198] After a prolonged negotiation with the Romanians in September 1919 to stop the Romanian military advancement in Hungarian territories, Clerk stopped at Budapest.[199] During his short visit, he met people with various political affiliations, such as Ernő Garami, social democrat leader, who made him conclude the Hungarian problems could only be solved if a stable and viable government would come into existence which should be acknowledged by the Peace Conference instead of sending ultimatums.[200] Clerk did not think that the Friedrich government relying on the gentries could fulfil this role, as they did not have large social support, and the Romanians were still advancing, thus making Hungary vulnerable to another Bolshevik or extreme right dictatorship.[201] He redacted these principles in his memoranda written on 7 October. The effect of this memorandum was that the Supreme Council of the Paris Peace Conference sent him on another mission to Budapest as their High Representative. His major tasks were to enforce the Romanian retreat and to create a Hungarian government based on mutual agreement. On 23 October, he arrived in Budapest, and commenced the negotiations on the next day. His negative attitude towards the Hungarian had gradually changed. He trusted Miklós Horthy despite the fact that the French observers regarded Horthy's soldiers as adventurer who should have been disarmed. In addition, it must be remarked that the French were not worried about Hungarian democracy, but they feared the revenge of Szeged. Clerk's positive opinion even convinced Eyre Crowe. With the help of Clerk, the Huszár government was formed. On 1 December 1919, the Hungarian delegation was invited by George Clemenceau in the name of the Supreme Council that signalled the end of the Hungarian crisis and the end of exceptional Anglo-Hungarian relationship.[202]

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197 Harold Nicolson, *Peacemaking, 1919*. (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1945), 26–27.

198 Lojkó, "Brit békemiszziók Közep-Európában: Smuts tábornok és Sir George Clerk tárgyalásai 1919-ben," 333.

199 Romsics, *The Dismantling of Historic Hungary,* 114.

200 Lojkó, "Brit békemiszziók Közep-Európában: Smuts tábornok és Sir George Clerk tárgyalásai 1919-ben," 334.

201 Romsics, *The Dismantling of Historic Hungary,* 114–115.

202 Lojkó, op. cit., 334–337.

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Péter Pusztai

EU Policies in Great Britain in the 1990s: How successful was Tony Blair's EU policy?*

Abstract

This study aims to explore the European policies of sequent political establishments in Great Britain in the 1990s, primarily focusing on Tony Blair's first term as Prime Minister. Blair's EU policies are compared to the preceding Conservative governments of John Major and Margaret Thatcher with regard to key EU projects, such as the EU's Common Defence and Security Policy, the enlargement of the EU, and the question of adopting the single currency. These three policy areas were included in the Labour Party's 1997 general election manifesto as essential means of gaining a leadership for Britain within the EU. The first chapters of the paper examine the British perception of the development of the European integration in the post-war period, and investigate the reasons of British reluctance towards joining a supranational organisation. The following chapters examine the European policies of the Thatcher and Major governments concerning the challenges and their decision-making in connection to them. The last chapters discuss Tony Blair's political career and his fundamental role in the reformation of the Labour Party, transforming it into New Labour. Also, it is investigated how Blair's policies changed Britain's marginalised position in the European Union. The study is particularly relevant, especially since the Blair government is considered to be the last government that fostered the most pro-European British policy in recent decades. Also, in light of the results of the Brexit referendum, where Britain voted to leave the EU, the period witnessing one of the most debated issues in contemporary mainstream politics came to an end.

1. Introduction

The United Kingdom's longstanding issue whether it should be part of the European Union came to an end after a referendum was held on British membership on 23 June, 2016. Brexit, as the phenomenon of the UK leaving the EU is often referred to, eventually came about by the majority of the voters choosing to leave the EU. This majority, however, represents only a slight difference in numbers.[1] Even though this paper focuses on the UK's European Economic Community/European Union policies during the 1990s, the issue whether to be in or out keeps the country heavily divided up to this day.

During the 20th century Great Britain was involved in a number of political and military conflicts including two world wars which left their mark upon the country in economic and political terms. Although the British Commonwealth emerged as one of the victors from World War II alongside its allies, the United States and the Soviet Union, the war had a devastating effect on Britain. After the war, nationalist movements considerably strengthened on its colonies leading to the gradual decolonization of the Empire. The British who once took pride in their supreme economic and military power found themselves in the middle of a tense geopolitical battle between the two new superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, which bipo-

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1 52% voted for leave, whereas 48% voted for remaining in the EU. Cf. Alex Hunt, Brian Wheeler, "Brexit: All you need to know about the UK leaving the EU," *BBC News*, 3 November 2016, available: http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics–32810887, access: 12.11.2016.

larised global relations. The ensuing Cold War was also an opposition of ideologies due to the fact that it represented a sharp difference between Western capitalism and democracy and the totalitarian communist regime of the Soviet Union.

After the Second World War, Sir Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom firmly believed that Britain was still among the most significant global powers. He placed Britain at the heart of three circles, which were comprised of the Empire, the United States, and Europe.[2] Churchill was convinced that only a unified Europe, a so-called "United States of Europe",[3] would be able to prevent another major global military crisis. Controversially, he envisioned this initiative for a European unity led by France and Germany but without active British participation. Consequently, Britain was less enthusiastic when the Schuman Plan[4] began to propagate the foundation of a federal organisation. When the six founding states[5] signed the Treaty of Paris in 1951, thus establishing the first European federal organisation, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), Britain chose to watch it from the side-line.

Before the UK could eventually join to the European Economic Community,[6] two attempts were vetoed by then President of France, Charles de Gaulle in 1961 and in 1967. De Gaulle was suspicious that Britain might have preferred its special relationship with the United States and considered the British as a "'Trojan horse' that would let the United States interfere in European matters".[7] Only the third attempt proved to be successful after George Pompidou, who succeeded de Gaulle, gave his consent to British membership application. Conservative Party Prime Minister and essentially European-minded Edward Heath led Britain into the European Economic Community in 1973.

In the second chapter, my aim is to focus on the origins why successive British governments were reluctant to participate in the European integration following the Second World War. Furthermore, the UK's road to accession is overviewed to see the initial challenges a European unification process presented to the rather suspicious British. Investigating the nature of the relationship between Britain and the European Union and its predecessor the EEC is a complex issue but it can be argued that labels, such as reluctant and awkward, can often be used to describe the British attitude.

In the third chapter, firstly, I examine the period between 1973 and 1997, that is, from the year Britain entered to the EEC to Tony Blair's general election victory in 1997. After 1973, both the Conservatives and the Labour Party were divided upon the EEC membership issue, because each party ranked Members of Parliament who either accepted or objected to membership. Even party splits occurred over the European question in 1981 within Labour[8] and within the Conservatives in 1990, before John Major took over the Tories as party leader from Margaret Thatcher.[9] In this chapter, I also take a closer look at Thatcher's and Major's European policies in order to present the most significant challenges and their repercussions in both administrations connected to European affairs.

In the fourth chapter, I discuss Tony Blair's political career and his role in modernising the Labour Party. Furthermore, his European policies are discussed in three key policy areas, name-

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[2] Alistair Jones, *Britain and the European Union* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 2.

[3] Winston Churchill, " United States of Europe Speech," *cfr.org,* available: http://www.cfr.org/europe/churchills-united-states-europe-speech-zurich/p32536, access: 27.08.2016.

[4] The Schuman Plan will be elaborated in detail in the following chapter.

[5] The six founding states were: the BENELUX countries, Germany, France, and Italy.

[6] The EEC will be discussed in the second chapter

[7] Jones, op. cit., 15.

[8] Jones, op. cit., 135.

[9] Jones, op. cit., 175.

ly the Common Defence and Security Policy (CDSP), the enlargement of the EU, and the issue of the single currency. They were all highlighted in the 1997 Labour Party manifesto[10] as essential means to pursue a leadership role for Blair and for Britain within the EU.

Polls carried out prior to the 1997 general elections suggested a comfortable Labour lead ahead of the Conservatives and the Lib Dems.[11] By the time of the elections, Labour's main rival, the Conservative Party was in a poor condition after eleven years in government. The malaise of the Tories over the EU, the electorate's vivid memory of the disastrous Black Wednesday[12] and a strong Labour campaign which promised New Labour, New Life for Britain made John Major no match for a young and charismatic Blair with progressive views in the run for premiership. Tony Blair and the New Labour's landslide victory on the 1997 general election meant the end of 18 years in opposition for Labour and it was the beginning of Blair's 10-year-long tenure of premiership, thus making him the longest-serving Labour Prime Minister in British history.

Although much of the New Labour's 1997 GE manifesto focused on domestic reforms and a landmark move to rewrite Clause IV in the party's constitution,[13] Blair pledged a more constructive European policy-making than his predecessors. His centre-left approach to politics was a method of propagating the Third Way ideology he embraced. Also, the Third Way ideology meant an additional link to sustaining an even closer Anglo-American cooperation during the presidency of Bill Clinton who was fond of the same political ideology himself. Blair also endorsed close ties with Clinton's successor, George W. Bush during his ten years in 10 Downing Street. His resignation came in 2007 mainly due to the unequivocal support of Bush and because of his unpopularity for participating in the war in Iraq.

Therefore, my thesis investigates British EEC and EU policies in the 1990s, particularly focusing on the examination of Tony Blair's European policies in comparison with the preceding Conservative governments from 1979 to 1997. In my opinion, it is important to emphasize the differences as well as the similarities of the European policies of these two political establishments in order to assess the benefits and repercussions of Blair's approach towards the EU.

The question arises to what extent the UK should have surrendered its national sovereignty to the EEC/EU amidst quickly shifting trends of globalisation. Did the New Labour have to go on a path previously taken by the Major government or should they approach Europe from a different perspective? My thesis statement is that the 1997 Labour government successfully responded to global challenges by pursuing a constructive European policy and, as a result, restored Britain's positive international image in which processes Tony Blair's progressive character had a defining role.

My methodology includes textual and content analysis of speeches and other documents as well as historical source criticism and statistical data analysis. The critical and textual analysis of speeches is a key method in order to comprehend the main driving forces behind the decisions successive British governments made in connection with the challenges presented by the European cooperation. My primary sources contain speeches, interviews, and manifestos, in-

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[10] The Labour Party, "New Labour because Britain deserves better: Britain will be better with new Labour (1997)," Political Science Resources, available: http://www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/man/lab97.htm, access: 03.09.2016.

[11] "1997–2001 Polls", *UK Polling Report,* available : http://ukpollingreport.co.uk/historical-polls/voting-intention–1997–2001. access: 03.09.2016.

[12] The events of Black Wednesday will be detailed in the third chapter.

[13] The reformation of New Labour and Clause IV will be detailed in the fourth chapter.

cluding Labour's 1997 general election manifesto[14], in which Blair put forward his main goals concerning his European policies upon winning the elections. These sources are used to facilitate a better understanding of various UK leaders' political thinking concerning European affairs in the post-war period. As for secondary sources, the study's argumentation relies on books, articles, and studies that deal with Britain's history in the post-war period, including the UK's approach to the formation and the development of the European cooperation. One of the most important sources of this study is Alistair Jones's *Britain and the European Union*.[15] The author introduces the history and the evolution of the European Union, and discusses the relationship between Britain and the EU, and how they influence each other. Moreover, Jones deals with the examination of various trends and their impact on the Union. Another key source of this study is Andrew Geddes' *The European Union and British Politics*.[16] Geddes gives an in-depth look into and a profound assessment of the relationship between Europe and Britain. He devotes a considerable part of his book to elaborating Britain's attitude towards the main European policies, such as the Common Foreign and Security Policy, the Economic and Monetary Union, and the single currency. Furthermore, I used Egedy Gergely's monography on 20th century British history (*Nagy-Britannia története*)[17] in order to get acquainted with the general course of British history in the 20th century. Egedy gives a clear and concise summary of the most important events and developments of British history in the 20th century, many of which had a direct effect on the UK's attitude towards the European integration process.

It is important to note that the study is not intended to give an overall account of how different policies and decisions have been taken in connection with the UK's EEC/EU membership. Rather, it aims to explore how Tony Blair's policies changed the course of the UK's role in global politics and to what extent he was able to elevate himself among the key players of the Union by the end of his first term.

2. British foreign policy in the post-war period

In the post-war period, there was a strong political commitment towards establishing a supranational institution of Western European countries to prevent the sheer possibility of another world war. The United Kingdom as a victor of WWII was perceived to take the initiative in the unification process even by Jean Monnet who later had a pioneering role in European integration.[18] However, it soon turned out that the British approached the matter from a completely different perspective.

In this chapter, I aim to provide a deeper insight into the origins as to why successive British governments were reluctant to participate in the European integration process. Furthermore, I investigate the background and the primary driving forces of the UK's application to membership in the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1972. Discussing the fundamentals of post-war British reluctance towards Europe is vital to understand the political decision of later generations.

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[14] The Labour Party, "New Labour because Britain deserves better: Britain will be better with new Labour (1997)," *Political Science Resources*, available: http://www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/man/lab97.htm, access: 03.09.2016.

[15] Alistair Jones, *Britain and the European Union,* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

[16] Andrew Geddes, *The European Union and British Politics*, (New York: Palgrave, 2004).

[17] Egedy Gergely, *Nagy-Britannia története. 1918–1990,* (Budapest: Kossuth, 2011).

[18] Egedy, op. cit., 103.

2.1. The origins of a reluctant attitude

British policy-makers commonly applied a laissez-faire attitude towards establishing a federal organisation of Western European states in the aftermath of the war. The ever-lasting dilemma of the British Isles' geographical and political belonging to mainland Europe further weakened the enthusiasm of the British. Before I examine the origins of this reluctant approach, I discuss the terms of supranationalist and intergovernmentalist perspectives of integration. To define these two concepts of multinational organisations, I rely on Alistair Jones' definitions. Jones specifies *Supranationalism* as follows:

> **Supranationalism** means loss of national sovereignty, greater **integration**, and ultimately the formation of the United States of Europe [...] This is where some states have ceded some decision-making powers to a higher authority [...] Part of perceived problem with supranationalism is that the authority to which powers are ceded is independent of the member states. Its decisions are binding on all member states – in fact they override national law should the two conflict.[19]

According to Jones:

> **Intergovernmentalism** is about different national governments working together [...] The emphasis is very much upon the individual state or government [...] The individual states remain sovereign. They are the supreme decision-making bodies.[20]

These two multi-organisational approaches bear different features and are vital to understand the United Kingdom's reluctant attitude towards a federal co-operation with other Western European states. I consider three main arguments along which British foreign policy was forged during the immediate post-war years.

The first argument is a historical perception that originates in the imperial past of the British Empire which ruled over dominions and colonies on five continents that in turn gave the British superiority in political, economic and military terms. Egedy summarizes the pillars of the Empire as follows: "unparallel extent of empire, along with a rule over the seas and the key role of the City of London in global economics were the fundamental pillars of sustaining British dominance".[21] The imperial status of the British paired with a detached geographical position from mainland Europe further elevated their sense of isolationism.

The second argument relates to the sovereignty of the Parliament and the Crown. Britain was in a unique position as it had not been conquered since 1066. Even the Nazis could not invade it whereas most of Europe had to re-build itself after a devastating Second World War. Thus, for a nation with a sovereign parliament, a constitutional monarchy as the form of the state, and its independent institutions, it would hardly be imaginable to surrender its independence and national identity to a supranational organisation at any time in the course of modern history.[22] Accordingly, subsequent political establishments opposed the participation in any European integration process that was led by a Franco-German axis and that aimed to operate in the form of a supranationalist organisation.

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[19] Jones, op. cit., 100.

[20] Ibid.

[21] "Példátlan kiterjedésű birodalma, a tengerek feletti uralma és a londoni Citynek a világgazdaságban betöltött kulcsszerepe a brit hatalom szilárd tartóoszlopai voltak," Egedy, op. cit., 11. Quotes from Egedy are translated for the purpose of the paper.

[22] Jones, op. cit., 105.

The third argument of Britain's reluctance towards European integration is the preference of its common history with the Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America. The relationship with the latter is often referred to as special relationship[23] since these two countries developed an exceptional bond via their common history, both speaking the same language and having a common cultural heritage.[24] Starting from Churchill, most British governments of the post-war period valued the USA as a much significant partner as opposed to Europe in terms of international diplomacy, trade, military and defence cooperation.[25]

Therefore, the preference of this relationship proved to be a major factor in British foreign policy-makers' reluctant approach towards European integration from the very outset. The lack of a wholehearted commitment towards "the embryonic EC"[26] and a tactical wait-and-see politics meant a stand-off for the United Kingdom from the negotiations of the Treaty of Paris which eventually formed the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951.

2.2. The United Kingdom's road to EEC accession

This chapter examines the most significant events of the post-war era which contributed to the UK's EEC membership accession in 1973. As I have presented it in the previous subchapter, there were several factors which made the British adopt a suspicious, rather anti-European attitude to create any supranational organisation at a European level. However, the speedy recovery and the prosperous trading figures of the EEC members made successive British governments reconsider their laissez-faire attitude and pursue a membership accession amidst the economic recession that hit the UK in the early 1970s.

After the Second World War, leading politicians in Europe urged the need for a co-operation between Western European countries to prevent another major international collision. Winston Churchill emphasized the importance of establishing a federal co-operation in order to bring stability into the fragile Western European region. In March 1946, he delivered a speech at the University of Zurich in which he called on European leaders to "build a kind of United States of Europe".[27] Additionally, in the same speech, Churchill spoke not only about the need for a united Europe but he also referred to Britain and the British Commonwealth as a leading world power alongside the USA and he emphasized that the Soviet Union posed a potential threat to this initiative. Having analysed his speech, it can be concluded that a strong, united Europe was of a high interest to Churchill whereas Stalin aggressively tried to expand the influence of his totalitarian, communist regime to the whole of Europe.

The Second World War literally left most of the European countries in ruins. The reconstruction and stabilization process of Europe was financially backed by the US via the Marshall Plan.[28] The Marshall Plan, proposed by U.S. Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, was a means

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[23] Jones, op. cit., 2.

[24] The significance of the special relationship and its repercussions on Blair's premiership will be discussed in Chapter 4.

[25] Tim Shipman, "History of Britain's special relationship with America," *The Telegraph*, 01 Mar 2009, available: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/4885895/History-of-Britains-special-relationship-with-America.html, access: 17.09.2016.

[26] Stephen Wall. *A Stranger in Europe. Britain and the EU from Thatcher to Blair.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 1.

[27] Winston Churchill, "United States of Europe Speech," *cfr.org,* available: http://www.cfr.org/europe/churchills-united-states-europe-speech-zurich/p32536, access: 17.09.2016.

[28] Geddes, op. cit., 58.

to promote European recovery.[29] As Egedy described the US approach, "Washington gradually started to realize the significance of a solvent European market".[30] Although Britain was a victor of the war, the conflict was so costly that it desperately needed a financial aid to re-balance its economy. However, after Labour Party Prime Minister Clement Attlee won the 1945 general election, his programme aimed mainly at domestic policies, such the creation of a welfare state and the establishment of the National Health Service (NHS) as well as the nationalisation of main industries, such as the coal and steel industries. In the following year, the amount of British national debt was around 250% of the GDP,[31] by comparison it stood at 89% in 2015.[32] Not surprisingly, Britain received the largest amount of aid from Marshall's European Recovery Programme as altogether 681 million pounds were obtained in the period between 1948 and 1951,[33] which exceeded West Germany's aid three times.[34]

In 1950, the French Foreign Secretary, Robert Schuman, proposed a plan in conjunction with fellow French politician Jean Monnet to promote a free market for coal and steel in Western Europe and merge these two industries under a common management. The chancellor of West Germany, Konrad Adenauer was also very keen on the idea of unification and regarded it as a chance to speed up the rehabilitation of West Germany. This new organisation should take over the coal and steel industries in order to prevent the rearmament of any of the Western European states, and thereby excluding the possibility of another European war. Hence, in 1951, the Treaty of Paris was signed by six countries (France, West Germany, Italy, and the Benelux countries), thus creating the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC).

The nationalisation of key industrial sectors meant that Attlee excluded the possibility of handing over the right of control over these industries to a supranational organisation, led by the French and the German.[35] Hostility towards a supranational organisation, maintaining the special relationship with the US, and a sense of pride after a winning world war made the Attlee government stay away from signing the Treaty.[36] Furthermore, British economic ties were significantly stronger with the US and the Commonwealth than they were with Europe. After the war, 50% of the British trade was arranged with the Commonwealth while only 20% was with Europe. Alistair Jones remarks on the British approach as follows: "the British attitude was one of "you go on, we'll watch, wait and see"".[37] This wait-and-see standpoint, however, has been a common component in the perception of successive British governments' foreign policies with regard to Europe.

Headed by Monnet, the ECSC established several federal institutions, including a High Authority, an assembly, a council of ministers and a court of justice.[38] Moreover, Paul-Henri

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[29] Ibid.

[30] "Washingtonban is mind többen ismerték fel a fizetőképes európai piac előnyeit." Egedy, op. cit., 94.

[31] Philip Thornton, "Britain pays off final instalment of US loan – after 61 years," *The Independent*, 29 December 2006, available: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/news/britain-pays-off-final-instalment-of-us-loan-after–61-years–430118.html, access: 13.11.2016.

[32] "United Kingdom Government Debt to GDP (1980–2016)," *tradingeconomics.com,* available: http://www.tradingeconomics.com/united-kingdom/government-debt-to-gdp, access: 13.11.2016.

[33] Egedy, op. cit., 95.

[34] Correlli Barnett, "The Wasting of Britain's Marshall Aid," *BBC,* 03 March 2011, available: http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/modern/marshall_01.shtml, access: 09.11.2016

[35] Jones, op. cit., 12.

[36] Geddes, op. cit., 57.

[37] Jones, op. cit., 75.

[38] Jones, op. cit., 12.

Spaak, the Belgian Foreign Minister initiated the establishment of a common market alongside the integration of the economies of the member states.[39] The Treaty of Rome in 1957 established the European Economic Community (EEC), otherwise known as the Common Market. The EEC was an organisation created to integrate the economies of European countries with the abolition of trade barriers and projected a common trade policy for its members.

In 1959, Britain came forward with its own version of economic cooperation after it has seen the initial positive results of the Common Market. It established the intergovernmental organisation of the European Free Trade Area (EFTA), which originally included seven founder states (Austria, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and the United Kingdom). EFTA members focused on promoting free trade among themselves without gathering under a supranational umbrella. Although the EFTA did not pose a threat to British national sovereignty, it failed to bring about economic prosperity due to the considerably smaller economies of other EFTA member states compared to Britain's.[40] Between 1950 and 1973, the UK's actual average annual GDP growth rate was only 2.5%, which was half compared to the average annual GDP growth of 5% in Germany and Italy, while France had a 4% average annual growth in the same period.[41] This was a significant setback to Britain and at the same time, it was a warning sign to the UK to re-evaluate its stance on joining the Common Market, as apparently, it developed at a much higher pace than EFTA did.

Harold Macmillan's first application to EEC membership took place in 1961. However, it was vetoed by French President Charles de Gaulle for fear of seeing the British as the Trojan horse of the Americans and because de Gaulle thought that Britain "would seek to dominate the EC".[42] Additionally, Geddes remarks that de Gaulle envisioned the EEC as the third superpower led by him.[43] The second application bid was handed in by Harold Wilson but again failed due to de Gaulle's second veto in 1967. It was Conservative PM Edward Heath who eventually led the United Kingdom into the EEC in 1973.

It can be concluded that the United Kingdom had multiple reasons not to join any European cooperation in the early post-war years. At the core of these reasons lies a historic distrust towards any initiative that aimed to unite the nations of Western Europe, especially in a federal-like supranationalist organisation established by the French and the Germans. Another significant aspect was the political and economic preference of the United States and the Commonwealth derived by their common history. The establishment of the EFTA was a sign of British willingness to cooperate with other nations to promote free trade. Though, in the late 1960s, it was obvious that the EFTA was not able to keep the pace with the more prosperous European Economic Community. Britain had to make the crucial decision to join the Community in order to gain access to one of the largest markets in the world.

3. Conservative governments' foreign policies (1979–1997)

In this chapter, I investigate the European policies of Conservative governments between 1979 and 1997. During these 18 years, the United Kingdom had two Tory Prime Ministers, namely Margaret Thatcher and her successor, John Major. Thatcher served as an iconic party leader and

[39] Jones, op. cit., 13.

[40] Geddes, op. cit., 15.

[41] Crafts, N.F.R. (1996) ""Post-neoclassical endogenous growth theory": what are its policy implications?," *Oxford Review of Economic Policy,* 12 (2), table 1, in Lynden Moore, *Britain's Trade and Economic Structure. The Impact of the European Union*, (London: Routledge, 1999), 20.

[42] Andrew Geddes, *The European Union and British Politics*, (New York: Palgrave, 2004), 67.

[43] Ibid.

PM from 1979 to 1990. Following her resignation, John Major took over the leadership of the Conservative Party as well as the premiership of the UK.

First, I begin with a short introduction of the challenges EEC membership presented shortly after the UK's accession. Examining these challenges is vital to understand the political motives of the upcoming Thatcher and Major administrations.

In the first subchapter, I examine the reasons and the repercussions of Thatcher's EEC decisions, focusing particularly on the issues of the single currency and the Single European Act. I argue that her approach towards the EEC was primarily dominated by the preeminent question of protecting British sovereignty and the UK's access to the Common Market. However, at the same time, it largely contributed to a split within her party that eventually led to Thatcher's resignation in November 1990.

The second subchapter looks at the EEC/EU policies of John Major between 1990 and 1997. Major was in a difficult position since he took over a party that was considerably divided over Thatcher's European policies. The chapter examines to what extent was Major able to cope with the challenges presented by European cooperation in the light of a disunited Conservative party. Discussing the politics of Thatcher and Major is relevant in order to compare the Conservative and Labour governments' European policies.

3.1. Prelude to the Thatcher years

Conservative Party Prime Minister and essentially pro-European Edward Heath led the United Kingdom's entry to the European Economic Community in 1973. Alistair Jones refers to the Conservatives' point of view at the time of joining as follows: "The cabinet, if not the rest of the party, appears to have been unanimous in supporting the application".[44]

Before joining to the organisation, each potential member has had to accept the *acquis communautaire*[45] which includes the fixation of future budgetary contributions.[46] Besides determining budgetary contributions, the other main concern of surrounding British membership was the UK's acceptance of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). According to Geddes, the CAP "was not to Britain's advantage as it effectively penalized countries with extensive trading links outside the EC and those that had efficient agricultural sectors".[47] To safeguard its internal market, the EEC set up tariff barriers which prevented the market from cheap imports from non-EEC member states.The UK had the advantage of purchasing food from its former dominions at lower prices prior to entering the Community. This collided with the policies of the EEC as it preferred circulating agricultural goods amongst member states since it tried to avoid to being reliant on food imports. As a result, Britain could not benefit from its trading links with the Commonwealth if joining the Community.

Another cornerstone of British concerns was the level of the UK's contribution to the EEC budget. By the end of the 1970s, Britain was the second largest budget contributor behind West Germany.[48] Not surprisingly, Labour MP Harold Wilson, who succeeded Ted Heath in 1974, committed himself to hold a referendum on the UK's continued membership in 1975. Prior to that, Labour promised to renegotiate the terms of entry settled by the Conservatives in a pre-

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[44] Jones, op. cit., 130.

[45] "Acquis communautaire," *European Commission*, available: http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/policy/glossary/terms/acquis_en.htm, access: 19. 09. 2016.

[46] Geddes, op. cit., 69.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

liminary manifesto issued in February 1974.[49] The most pressing issues set in the manifesto were: the Community's CAP policy, the UK's contribution to the Community's budget, and the issue of Economic and Monetary Union. Britain was expected to gain much from the renegotiation talks, but rather it upset other member states.[50]

In 1975, the referendum on British continued membership was held as Wilson promised in the 1974 Labour manifesto. Jones argues that "the referendum had little to do with the EEC, and everything to do with keeping the Labour Party in office".[51] Nevertheless, it unambiguously expressed the support towards the Common Market with the majority of the electorate voting for 'Yes' to the question of "Do you think the UK should stay in the European Community (Common Market)?"[52] The result of the referendum was a serious blow to the sceptics and caused a major disturbance within the governing Labour party, which had many anti-European MPs in its ranks.

In 1976, James Callaghan succeeded Harold Wilson as PM. Following the referendum, Callaghan inherited a Labour Party which was disunited on the issue of EEC membership. In addition, the British perception on the EEC did not change profoundly despite the referendum, as it was still seen as a "capitalist club".[53] Those who objected a closer cooperation with the EEC feared that the organisation would limit the national sovereignty and restrict the freedom of the Labour Party.

3.2. The Thatcher Years (1979–1990)

Margaret Thatcher won three consecutive elections between 1979 and 1990, two out of three by a landslide victory. Prior to the 1975 referendum, Thatcher campaigned for staying inside the Common Market along with former PM and Euro-enthusiast Edward Heath. By the end of her premiership, however, she was strongly anti-European and left behind a party which was divided over her European policies. In this chapter, I aim to present and assess the challenges she had to face concerning the process of European integration and her policies connected to the EEC, which have influenced the succeeding Major and Blair governments.

During Thatcher's first premiership, her policies mostly comprised of domestic changes and reforms, and she scarcely oriented her attention towards European matters. Her ideology is commonly referred to as Thatcherism.[54] Evans perception on Thatcherism is that: "[i]t offers no new insights and, although profoundly ideological on one level, it is better seen as a series of non-negotiable precepts than as a consistent body of thought".[55] Her political philosophy mainly rested on the ideology of neo-conservatism[56] which comprises of components of econo-

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[49] The Labour Party, "Let us work together - Labour's way out of the crisis (February, 1974)," *Politicsresources.net,* available: http://www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/man/lab74feb.htm, access: 09.11.2016.

[50] Geddes, op. cit., 75–76.

[51] Jones, op. cit., 16.

[52] "1975: UK embraces Europe in referendum," *BBC News,* available: http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/june/6/newsid_2499000/2499297.stm, access: 22.09.2016

[53] Anthony Forster. *Euroscepticism in Contemporary British Politics. Opposition to Europe in the British Conservative and Labour Parties since 1945*, (London: Routledge, 2002), 135.

[54] Eric J. Evans, ed., *Thatcher and Thatcherism. The Making of the Contemporary World*, (London: Routledge, 1997), 2.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Egedy, op. cit., 186.

mic liberalism as well as traditional Conservative social and cultural values.[57] Egedy argues, though, that Thatcher believed in promoting the benefits of capitalism for workers to gain more electoral power, whereas she did not believe in social reforms.[58] Neo-conservatism re-assessed the role of the state and promoted the freedom of enterprises instead of state intervention.[59] Thatcher was determined to tackle with high inflation by setting up monetarist economic policies, such as lessening state expenditures and reducing taxes to promote corporate investments to stimulate the economy.[60] Moreover, she committed herself to keep a check on the powers of trade unions due to her belief that they were the reason for high inflation and rising unemployment.[61] In Thatcher's first year as Prime Minister she inherited a struggling industry with high unemployment and high inflation due to rising oil prices which hit the global economy in the 1970s.[62] Robert Blake argues that Thatcher's first year in 10 Downing Street was "anything but successful".[63] This claim is backed by the fact that "inflation was running at over 20 per cent and unemployment rose from 1.5 to 2 million between April and August"[64] in 1980. Thus it can be concluded that the first measures introduced by Thatcher failed to provide the expected results.[65]

Regarding Thatcher's foreign policies concerning the EEC, she was determined to protect British national sovereignty and economic interests as well as refused to embrace wholeheartedly the ideology of a supranational organisation. She advocated a deregulated economic environment within the EC, where which British free enterprise and free market could prosper: "Our aim should *not* be more and more detailed regulation from the centre: it should be to deregulate and to remove the constraints on trade".[66] Gifford argues that "a central claim is that the defining elements of Thatcherism as an Anglo-American political project were fundamentally in contradiction to deeper processes of European integration".[67] Nevertheless, the preference of the Anglo-American relations and a strong objection towards deepening the European integration was common in the policies of sequent British governments, including Thatcher's. She pursued a pragmatic approach towards the Single Market, with the aim of making leverage from its "purchasing power of over 300 million of the world's wealthiest and most prosperous people"[68] open to British enterprises.

A cornerstone of Thatcher's European policies was her demand for a rebate on the British EEC budgetary contributions with a warning of withdrawing the UK's VAT payments into the budget provided a rebate were not to be conceded. She considered the amount of contributions unfair given that the UK was the second largest contributor behind West Germany. In June 1984, a European Council summit was held in Fontainebleau to discuss the budgetary contribu-

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[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Egedy, op. cit., 187.

[60] Robert Blake, *The Conservative Party from Peel to Thatcher,* (London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1990), 337.

[61] Egedy, op. cit., 195.

[62] Terry Macallister, "Background: What caused the 1970s oil price shock?," *The Guardian*, 3 March 2011, available: https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2011/mar/03/1970s-oil-price-shock, access: 14.11.2016.

[63] Blake, op. cit., 339.

[64] Blake, op. cit., 340.

[65] Egedy, op. cit., 193–194.

[66] Margaret Thatcher, "Speech to the College of Europe ("The Bruges Speech")," *Margaretthacher.org*, available: http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/107332, access: 12.11.2016.

[67] Gifford, op. cit., 81.

[68] Margaret Thatcher, "Speech opening Single Market Campaign," *Margarettatcher.org*, available: http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/107219, access: 12.11.2016

tions of the member states. At the summit, Thatcher's four year battle over cutting the amount of British contributions to the EEC budget ended with a success. She said during the summit: "We are simply asking to have our own money back".[69]

Thatcher fought so vigorously for a rebate and for bringing the Community's CAP under control that she could hardly make essential political allies in Europe. She was described by a senior French diplomat as follows: "That woman is an old-fashioned nationalist with no feeling for the European ideal. She reckons merely in terms of accountancy, not the broader political vision that is needed".[70] Thatcher's strong opposition towards turning the Community to a federal super-state organised around a Franco-German axis often led to confrontations with French President, Giscard D'Estaing and German Chancellor, Helmuth Schmidt.

Conversely, for Thatcher the Anglo-American special relationship was definitely more important than supporting the deepening of the EEC. At the bottom of the relationship between Thatcher and US President Ronal Reagan was a unique bond, which rested particularly on common ideological beliefs.[71] Additionally, they shared mutual distrust towards the Soviet Union which further strengthened the special relationship between the two countries in global politics as well as Britain's illusion of belonging to global superpowers through its special relationship with the USA.

However, there was another case which raised tensions between the British and the Franco-German axis. The European Monetary Union (EMU) aimed to create stability within the currencies of the EEC member states. Additionally, it was a cardinal question in the integration of the Community. From a British point of view, Geddes claims why sticking to the pound sterling has been of vital importance for successive British governments in the post-war era: "Control over the currency and economic policy go to the heart of national sovereignty".[72] The French and the German strongly supported the introduction of a single currency while Thatcher naturally objected to the idea.[73]

In 1986, Thatcher signed the Single European Act in Luxembourg which was a landmark decision towards the Treaty of the European Union (TEU) and the creation of an internal market, called the Single Market. The SEA was a means of extending the European integration and enhancing the significance of the European Parliament as well as the preparation of the introduction of the single currency. What is more, an antipathy between Thatcher and Jacques Delors began to fuel tensions between Britain and Europe.[74] Delors was a member of the French Socialist Party, and he later became the President of the European Commission in 1985. Additionally, he was an advocate of the Single Market because he thought that "the Single Market could be made to encompass a social dimension and that the scope for increased Community competence".[75] In 1988, he held a speech at the annual Trade Union Congress (TUC) which was memorable because Thatcher labelled the trade unions as enemies[76] at the time and Delors deliberately propagated the Community's social policies at the TUC.[77]

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[69] "Q&A: The UK budget rebate," *BBC News,* 23 December 2005, available: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4721307.stm, access: 23.09.2016.

[70] Martin Holmes, *Thatcherism: Scope and Limits, 1983–87,* (London: Macmillan, 1989) in Evans, Eric J., ed., *Thatcher and Thatcherism. The Making of the Contemporary World*, (London: Routledge, 1997), 87.

[71] Geddes, op. cit., 184.

[72] Geddes, op. cit., 143.

[73] Wall, op. cit., 78.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Wall, op. cit., 48.

[76] Geddes, op. cit., 89.

[77] Geddes, op. cit., 141–142.

Thatcher delivered a speech in Bruges in the same year which was a landmark moment in her premiership and it represented a major turning point in the future of the Conservative party. In her response to Delors, she proclaimed that "[w]e have not successfully rolled back the frontiers of the state in Britain, only to see them re-imposed at a European level with a European super-state exercising a new dominance from Brussels".[78] The right-wing of the Conservatives was naturally pleased with Thatcher's handling of the EEC matters. Nevertheless, those who were more European-minded within the Conservatives could not accept her rhetoric and decisions. Gifford argues that the Bruges speech "marked the clear break with Europeanists within the party [...] [it] was the beginning of the public mobilisation of the Eurosceptics within the Conservative party".[79] Therefore, Thatcher's Bruges speech can be considered as a landmark moment in the evolvement of Euroscepticism among the members of Conservative Party.

In June 1989, a European Council meeting was held in Madrid to decide over the launch of the first stage of the economic and monetary union. During the so-called 'Madrid ambush', Chancellor of Exchequer Nigel Lawson and Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe tried to persuade Thatcher to sign up for the ERM with both threatening her to resign.[80] Thatcher recalled the decision in her memoirs as follows: "I had too few allies left to resist and win the day".[81] Eventually, it was Major who was able to convince Thatcher to bring the UK to the ERM. Later that year she dismissed Lawson while Howe resigned in November, 1990. In his resignation speech, Howe directed strong criticism towards Thatcher, saying that:

> The tragedy is [...] that the Prime Minister's perceived attitude towards Europe is running increasingly serious risks for the future of our nation. It risks minimising our influence and maximising our chances of being once again shut out. We have paid heavily in the past for late starts and squandered opportunities in Europe.[82]

Howe argued that Thatcher's policies put Britain to periphery and expressed his fears on losing influence within the Community. His verbal attack on Thatcher could be noted as a warning sign to the Conservative party, which was already about to split over Thatcher's European policies.

Taking into account Thatcher's policies and decisions connected to the EEC, it can be concluded that she oriented her policies towards benefitting from the UK's access to the Common Market whilst protecting national sovereignty and opposing to further integrate into the EEC. She strongly refused to accept the single currency, and she signed up for Britain's ERM membership only because of internal party pressure. In her early years, Thatcher pursued a rather pragmatic political philosophy that evolved into a principled policy-making during her second and third terms. She strongly refused the ideology of a federal and overtly bureaucratic organisation that tries to imply its laws and measures on the member states. Some of her decisions were often received with mixed feelings even within her own party, especially after her famous Bruges speech in 1988, which can be considered as a cornerstone in the development of the Eurosceptic movement within the Conservative Party. Her policies over Europe eventually split the party.

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[78] Margaret Thatcher, "Speech to the College of Europe ("The Bruges Speech")," *Margaretthatcher.org*, available: http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/107332, access: 25.09.2016.

[79] Gifford, op. cit., 104.

[80] Geoffrey K. Fry, *The Politics of the Thatcher Revolution. An Interpretation of British Politics, 1979–1990,* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 77.

[81] Margaret Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years,* (London: HarperCollins, 1993), 722.

[82] House of Commons Debate [H.C.Deb.] Vol. 180, Col. 2, 461–465, 13th November 1990 in Gifford, op. cit., 106.

3.3. The Major Years (1990–1997)

John Major was in a difficult position when he succeeded Margaret Thatcher as British Prime Minister. He inherited a Conservative party which was divided by Thatcher's European policies and anti-European rhetoric, as the Tories also comprised of both Europhile and Europhobe MPs. Although his policies were of a different nature than Thatcher's, he was not able to gain an overwhelming popularity within the party and failed to unite it. In this subchapter, I investigate Major's EEC/EU policies focusing on how he coped with Thatcher's legacy on Europe as well as his policies connected to the upcoming Maastricht Treaty and the ERM accession. Examining Major's European policies is indispensable for understanding the challenges Blair had to face with during his first term as Prime Minister connected to the EU.

Major inherited a Conservative Party the members of which were divided according to Margaret Thatcher's European policies. Geddes quotes from Major's autobiography to describe his transformation while in office "from unbending man of principle to consensus-seeking party manager".[83] He came from the right-wing of the party, yet as Prime Minister, he placed himself at the centre of it in order to unite the party. In his doorstep interview upon entering 10 Downing Street, he reflected on his task as follows: "Our job now I think is quite clear, we're going to unite, we're going to unite totally and absolutely".[84] However, it was not an easy task for the former Chancellor who was perceived as a soft and colourless leader.

Regarding his policies towards the EEC, he stated at a Conservative Central Council meeting that he wanted "to place Britain at the heart of Europe".[85] Major envisioned three ways the UK could approach the Community:

> We can leave it, and no doubt we would survive, but we would be diminished in influence and in prosperity; we can stay in it grudgingly, in which case others will lead it; or we can play a leading role in it, and that is the right policy.[86]

Major argued that being a constructive partner in the European integration process "does not mean accepting every idea that is marketed with a European label. It does mean trying to build the sort of Europe that we believe in".[87] As this speech shows, Major aimed to pursue a constructive European politics which would raise Britain among the leaders of the Community. Nonetheless, he imagined this leadership as a means of asserting Britain's interests and not as a possibility of promoting stronger European cooperation.

One of the most considerable challenges of his premiership came with the Treaty of Maastricht which transformed the EC into the European Union (EU). The underlying notion of the Treaty was to set up an agenda for the EMU and single currency, which were among the most crucial projects of the European unity.[88] Refusing the implementation of the Euro was certainly an appeasement for the Eurosceptic fraction of the Conservative party, and in general

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[83] John Major, *John Major: The Autobiography*. (New York: HarperCollins, 1999) in Geddes, op. cit., 30.

[84] John Major, "Doorstep interview," Johnmajor.co.uk, available: http://www.johnmajor.co.uk/0002.html, access: 12.11.2016.

[85] John Major, "Speech to Conservative Central Council," Johnmajor.co.uk, available: http://www.johnmajor.co.uk/page2017.html, access: 08.10.2016.

[86] John Major, "House of Commons speech on the European Community," *Johnmajor.co.uk*, available: http://www.johnmajor.co.uk/page1017.html, access: 12.11.2016.

[87] John Major, "House of Commons speech on the European Community," *Johnmajor.co.uk*, available: http://www.johnmajor.co.uk/page1017.html, access: 12.11.2016.

[88] Geddes, op. cit., 16.

to those who traditionally objected to further integration of the European Community. Jones argues that "Major was praised for his negotiating skills by pro- and anti-TEU campaigners alike".[89] Major signed the Treaty of Maastricht, though he negotiated opt-outs of the single currency and the Social Chapter, which was seen as the Brussel's attempt to interfere in British social policies as well as a means of promoting further integration within the Community.[90]

This lack of commitment was further enhanced by the events of the Black Wednesday on 16 September 1992, when the UK withdrew from the ERM and the pound was devalued. A pursuit for a long-term ERM membership was a key element of the Major government's economic policy. The ERM locked the European currencies to a system of exchange rates which were tied to the German Mark (DM), and as such, it was considered to be the forerunner of a common European currency. It was hoped that by joining the ERM, the UK would gain low inflation and a stable economy, one that is similar to Germany's. However, Major's high hopes dissolved after the pound got under pressure due to the German reunification process, and it required such a high amount of financial contribution that "the DM was unable to operate as such a stable basis as it was previously assumed".[91] Even though the British economy suffered from recession and needed low interest rates, the German interest rates continued to be high.[92] The devaluation of the sterling was inescapable due to the insufficient volume of British foreign trade.[93] As a result, only two years after it has joined, the UK was forced to leave the system.

The ERM membership did not fulfil the economic expectations of the British, and eventually only low inflation was achieved.[94] The ERM exit was a major setback for Major's economic policy and it excluded the possibility to adopt the single currency in the coming years. Moreover, the ERM debacle, being perhaps the most controversial issue within the Conservative Party, further widened the gap between Europhile and Europhobe Tory MPs.

In sum, the Thatcher and Major governments' EEC and EU policies between 1979 and 1997 went on to pursue a reluctant, rather obstructive approach towards European integration. Even though both Thatcher and Major signed fundamental treaties, they still embraced the defence of Britain's national sovereignty and primarily focused on securing the UK's continuing access to the single market both on ideological and pragmatic grounds. Besides, it has been pointed out that the matter of European integration widened the gap between Europhile and Europhobe Tory MPs and presented a common ground for the intensification of Eurosceptic voices. The rise of Euroscepticism was inevitable during the 1990s, especially after Thatcher's Bruges speech and Britain's withdrawal from the ERM.

4. Tony Blair's First Term (1997–2001)

In the following chapter, I discuss Tony Blair's political career from joining the Labour Party until his 1997 general election victory with the redesigned party. My emphasis is on the reformation of the Labour Party, its transformation into New Labour and on his ideology which embraced the third way of politics. Furthermore, I examine Blair's European policies in his first term as PM, focusing mainly on three key policy areas of the EU, while a comparison is made

[89] Jones, op. cit., 19.

[90] Jones, op. cit., 119.

[91] "A német egyesítés finanszírozásának szükségletei miatt a márka nem működhetett olyan stabil alapként, mint korábban gondolták," Andor László, "Anglia és az Euró," *Európai Tükör*. 1 (2003): 107.

[92] Geddes, op. cit., 85.

[93] Andor, op. cit., 108.

[94] "Q&A: The ERM and Black Wednesday," *BBC News*, 9 February 2005, available: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4249425.stm, access: 09.10.2016.

to the policies of preceding Conservative governments in the same fields. These three policy areas were included in Labour's 1997 general election manifesto as essential means of gaining a leadership for Britain within the EU, namely, the construction of the EU's Common Defence and Security Policy (CDSP), the enlargement of the EU, and the issue of the adoption of the single currency, the Euro. By analysing Blair's approach to these three projects, I argue that these policies were fundamental in his constructive commitment towards the European Union.

4.1. Tony Blair and the New Labour

Tony Blair was born in 1953 to a middle class family in Edinburgh. His father, Leo Blair was an attorney and a candidate for a Conservative parliamentary seat in Durham. Sadly, his father could not fulfil his parliamentary ambitions due to a stroke but the young Tony Blair committed himself to pursue a political career similarly to his father. He was a student of the University of Oxford, where he studied law and acquired his degree in 1975. Blair got involved in politics through Derry Irvine, while he was a trainee barrister.[95] Besides, her wife, Cherie Booth was also a member of the Labour Party and Booth's father was a left-wing activist who was a link between Blair and the Labour Party. Blair became an MP for the Sedgefield constituency after winning it in the 1983 general election.[96] Despite being a fresh member of the party, Blair soon made it clear that he disliked the party's election manifesto, and he especially opposed British withdrawal from the EEC.[97]

Nevertheless, Labour was in a devastating condition in the early 1980s. According to Blair, there were primarily two reasons for Labour's successive defeats in the general elections of the 1980s:

> We were not in touch with the modern world. We could basically attract two sorts of people: those who by tradition were Labour, and those who came to a position of support for socialism or social democracy through intellectual process. [...] Together they did not remotely add up to a constituency large enough to be in a position to win and govern.[98]

He came to the conclusion that the old-fashioned Labour Party needed to adopt a progressive way of thinking and had to be redesigned in order to be competitive against the Conservatives. Blair soon made friends with young and promising figures of the party, notably with later Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown and later leading advisor to Blair, Peter Mandelson. The trio fundamentally reappraised the party's stance and distanced itself from the traditional left-wing elements of its policies, such as imposing high taxes, nationalisation of major industries, or exceeding power of trade unions. Labour's modernisation was inevitable especially after they failed to get elected in the 1992 general election. Blair obtained his party's leadership in 1994 and was set about to modernise the Labour Party, hence the reference to the modernised party as New Labour. As a result, he removed Clause IV[99] from the party's constitution in 1995, which was a cornerstone in abandoning traditional left-wing policies, thus making Labour attractive to a wide range of constituents.

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[95] Tony Blair, *A Journey*, (London: Arrow Books, 2011), 32. Irvine later became Blair's first Lord Chancellor.

[96] Blair, op. cit., 48.

[97] The Labour Party, "The New Hope for Britain (1983)," *Political Science Resources*, available: http://www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/man/lab83.htm, access: 16.10.2016.

[98] Blair, op. cit., 40.

[99] Clause IV was a fundamental part of Labour's socialist identity, the expression of its commitment to nationalisation, otherwise known as common ownership.

The 1997 general election manifesto, entitled *New Labour because Britain deserves better: Britain will be better with new Labour*[100] outlined his new, centre-left, third-way politics that was placed at the centre of Labour's renewed programme on social-democracy. The Third Way is a political philosophy developed by Anthony Giddens, a British sociologist, and Director of the London School of Economics, who set out his ideology in his book, entitled *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*.[101] Giddens discusses the traditional policy divisions of the old-Left (classical social democracy) and new Right (Thatcherism, neoconservatism, and partly neoliberalism)[102] and places the Third Way between these concepts. The author defined his term as follows: "it is a Third Way in the sense that it is an attempt to transcend both old-style social democracy and neoliberalism".[103] Giddens argues that in a hastily globalised economic environment, socialism from an economic perception could not survive against free market philosophies,[104] resulting that "[n]o one any longer has any alternatives to capitalism".[105] Blair's view about the new centre-leftist approach was as follows:

> A modernised social democracy, passionate in its commitment to social justice and the goals of the centre-left, but flexible, innovative and forward-looking in the means to achieve them. It is founded on the values which have guided progressive politics for more than a century – democracy, liberty, justice, mutual obligation and internationalism. But it is a third way because it moves decisively beyond an Old Left preoccupied by state control, high taxation and producer interests; and a New Right treating public investment, and often the very notions of 'society' and collective endeavours, as evils to be undone.[106]

I agree with Romano who perceives Blair's advocacy of the Third Way as a successful strategy to gain the upper hand of the Conservatives in the 1997 general election.[107] By adopting a new ideology, Blair wanted to emphasize his commitment to fully reform the Labour Party. This new start, then, established the opportunity for him to build new alliances as well. He thought that "[i]n the field of politics, too, ideas are becoming globalised. As problems become global – competitivity, changes in technology, crime, drugs, family breakdown – so the search for solutions becomes global too".[108]

In the 1990s, the Third Way ideology was mainly associated with European and American centre-left political parties, including Tony Blair and the New Labour, Gerhard Schroeder and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), and the Bill Clinton-led New Democrats in the US. Sharing a common ideology with the US president certainly helped Blair to act like a bridge between Europe and the US. As Geddes remarks, "Tony Blair showed himself to be at least, if not more, pro-US than any of his post-war predecessors in Number 10 Downing Street, and this

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[100] The Labour Party, "New Labour because Britain deserves better: Britain will be better with new Labour (1997)," Political Science Resources, available: http://www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/man/lab97.htm, access: 17.10.2016.

[101] Anthony Giddens, *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*, (Cambridge: Polity, 1998).

[102] Giddens, op. cit., 11–13.

[103] Giddens, op. cit., 26.

[104] Giddens, op. cit., 9–11.

[105] Giddens, op. cit., 34.

[106] Tony Blair, *The Third Way: New Politics for the New Century*, (London: Fabian Society, 1998) in Tim Brown, ed., *Stakeholder Housing. A Third Way,* (London: Pluto Press, 1999), 25.

[107] Flavio Romano, *Clinton and Blair. The Political Economy of the Third Way,* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 5.

[108] Tony Blair, "Doctrine of the International Community speech," *British Political Speech*, available: http://www.britishpoliticalspeech.org/speech-archive.htm?speech=279, access: 19.11.2016.

indicates strong transatlantic continuities in British foreign policy".[109] After George W. Bush succeeded Clinton in 2000 as the President of the Unites States, Blair had such a strong support for Bush, that many saw him as the "poodle" of the American President.[110]

Thus, it can be argued that for Blair the Third Way was an effective means of forging and strengthening political alliances in Europe and in the US as well. He issued a joint blueprint in collaboration with German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, entitled *The Third Way/Die Neue Mitte*[111] in 1998 in which they set out a common centre-left agenda for the EU. Furthermore, they called people's attention to switch welfare to work and highlight the importance of putting forward a more competitive business environment.

> The aim of this declaration is to give impetus to modernisation. We invite all social democrats in Europe not to let this historic opportunity for renewal pass by. The diversity of our ideas is our greatest asset for the future.[112]

The way I see it, Blair considered the EU and its leaders as means of assertion and extension of British interests in international politics and diplomacy. Consequently, Blair cleverly placed the Third Way ideology at the core of his political agenda, so that he could gain a significant role in the interactions between Europe and the USA.

In conclusion, when the Labour Party won the general election in 1997, it was commonly presumed that they would pursue a more constructive EU policy than their predecessors. The voters had high hopes in New Labour and Blair, and regarded him as a young, progressive, and charismatic politician. Not surprisingly, polls carried out prior to the 1997 elections saw a confident Labour lead ahead of the Conservatives and the Lib Dems.[113]

4.2. Blair's leadership in the EU's Common Defence and Security policy

The Union's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) was responsible for the EU's ability to act in conflict prevention, crisis management, or peacekeeping by using its own military resources. As a global actor, the EU had to forge a strategy which made it capable to react in conflicts which threatened either the member states or the whole Union itself. Blair outlined in the 1997 election manifesto that upon elected, he would reinforce the EU's defence and security framework together with NATO to effectively tackle possible threats presented by "the growth of ethnic nationalism and extremism, international terrorism, and crime and drug trafficking".[114] Blair wanted to strengthen the EU's defence capabilities especially after the crisis in Kosovo showed that the CSDP lacked proper leadership within the EU.[115] In this chapter, I argue that by taking the initiative in forging the EU's CSDP, Blair supported the UK's more

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[109] Geddes, op. cit., 91–92.

[110] Rob Watson, "Tony Blair: The US poodle?," *BBC News*, 31 January 2003, available: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/2711623.stm, access: 21.11.2016.

[111] Tony Blair and Gerhard Schroeder, *Europe: The Third Way/Die Neue Mitte,* (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: Johannesburg, 1998).

[112] Blair and Schroeder, op. cit., 12.

[113] "1997–2001 Polls", *UK Polling Report*, available: http://ukpollingreport.co.uk/historical-polls/voting-intention–1997–2001, access: 03.09.2016.

[114] The Labour Party, "New Labour because Britain deserves better: Britain will be better with new Labour (1997)," Political Science Resources, available: http://www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/man/lab97.htm, access: 17.10.2016.

[115] D. Gowland, A. Turner and A. Wright, *Britain and European Integration since 1945. On the sidelines*, (London: Routledge, 2010), 173.

constructive approach towards the EU and contributed to diminishing its judgement as being a reluctant member of the community.

The Common Security and Defence Policy has been a key element of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy, though this field was not sufficiently embraced in relation to its importance as the conflicts in the Balkans and in Kosovo showed in the 1990s.[116] He held a speech in Aachen in May 1999, where he pointed out that there was a lack of cooperation among member states and actions needed to be taken in a mutual effort:

> If Europe is to have a key defence role, it needs modern forces, strategic lift and necessary equipment to conduct a campaign. No nation will ever yield up its sovereign right to determine the use of its own armed forces. [...] If we were in any doubts about this before, Kosovo should have removed them.[117]

Tony Blair realized that taking the initiative regarding CDSP could give him a political heavyweight and it could be perceived as an intention to end British ambivalence towards the Union. Wall claims that "European defence is the principal area of European policy where the Labour government have moved British policy".[118] Furthermore, Wall argues that Blair had to show that Britain was a fully committed member of the EU with an ambition to gain a leadership role within Europe".[119] Forging a common defence and security policy for the EU was one of the means of Blair's seeking for allies in the Continent as well as the demonstration of his pursuit of leadership within the Union. Blair pointed out his vision for Britain's role in the post-war period in his first conference speech in Brighton:

> Again my vision for post-Empire Britain is clear. It is to make this country pivotal, a leader in the world. To use the strengths of our history to build our future. With the US our friend and ally. Within the Commonwealth. In the United Nations. In NATO. To use the superb reputation of our Armed Forces, not just for defence, but as an instrument of influence in a world of collective security and cooperation. And to lead in Europe again.[120]

Therefore, the CSDP was launched in December 1998, following British PM Tony Blair and French President Jacques Chirac's summit in St. Malo, where they signed the Saint-Malo Declaration to promote a stronger defence endeavour for the EU.[121] Both of the involved countries have had powerful military might that could be used in conflict prevention and in supporting international security. Even though conflict prevention was at the core of the initial European cooperation in the post-war period, in a quickly changing global environment, the EU could not consider itself a serious global actor without harmonizing its common assets, including the military forces of its member states to tackle with any potential threat. As a result, developing a common defence policy with other European states and the Franco-British support for the establishment of a Rapid Reactionary Force increased the likelihood of weakening NATO.[122]

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116 Jones, op. cit., 72.

117 Trevor C. Salmon, Alistair J. K. Shepherd, *Toward a European Army. A Military Power in the Making?,* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2003), 187.

118 Wall, op. cit., 172.

119 Ibid.

120 Tony Blair, "Leader's speech in Brighton (1997), *British Political Speech*, available: http://www.britishpoliticalspeech.org/speech-archive.htm?speech=203, access: 20.11.2016.

121 Geddes, op. cit., 155.

122 Jones, op. cit., 72–73.

Nevertheless, there were many member states within the EU who still relied on NATO in terms of defence.[123]

Geddes argues, however, that the CDSP brought about closer European collaboration which opposed the UK's preference towards an intergovernmental cooperation.[124] The way I see it, Blair wanted a European Union which was built on the close cooperation of its members, and which could extend its influence in global politics to counter-balance superpowers like the US. He put it in his speech in Birmingham that "[w]e have a vision for Europe - as a union of nations working more closely together, not a federal superstate submerging national identity".[125] Taking the initiative in the CDSP enhanced Blair's leadership ambition and the UK was considered less ambivalent in the eyes of other member states, especially as Britain was still considered to be reluctant on adopting the single currency.[126]

From a Conservative Party perspective, the transatlantic link was preferred in alliance seeking in terms of defence over turning to European counterparts. Thatcher believed defence was the responsibility of NATO[127] while Major inherited a Conservative Party which was divided along his predecessor's European policies. Since Major conducted a balancing politics between the Tories' pro-Atlantic and Europhile flanks, he did not show particular interest in maintaining close relations either with his American or European counterparts to appease both groupings within the party. As long as his foreign policies with Europe were concerned, he was interested in blocking the Community's stronger cooperation, and pursued an action-reaction way of policies. On the contrary, Blair broke with the UK's old conventional ways of reacting to policies instead of taking the initiative and shaped the CDSP the way he wanted.

To sum up, Tony Blair had a fundamental role in shaping the EU's Common Defence and Security Policy by proposing the Saint-Malo Declaration. Whereas the preceding Conservative governments relied mainly on NATO and on the UK's special relationship with the US in terms of the defence and security policies, Blair could find an area of European policies that he could support wholeheartedly, thus gaining a constructive and positive image for himself and for the UK within the Union.

4.3. British participation in the enlargement of the EU

In the 1997 Labour Party manifesto, Blair declared his intention to gain a leadership role within the EU. He claimed that "[t]here are only three options for Britain in Europe. The first is to come out. The second is to stay in, but on the sidelines. The third is to stay in, but in a leading role".[128] In order to elevate his political importance within the Union, he had to pursue a constructive approach, especially towards key policy areas, such as the enlargement of the EU. In this chapter, I argue that Blair considered the enlargement of the EU as a landmark opportunity to elevate himself and the UK to the narrow circle of strategic policy-making, dominated by the French and the Germans.

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123 Jones, op. cit., 72.

124 Ibid.

125 Tony Blair, "Speech to the European Research Institute (2001)," *The Telegraph,* 23 Nov 2001, available: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/1363251/Full-text-of-Blairs-speech.html, access: 19.11.2016.

126 The issue of adopting the single currency in the UK is discussed in a later chapter.

127 Forster, op. cit., 77.

128 The Labour Party, "New Labour because Britain deserves better: Britain will be better with new Labour (1997)," Political Science Resources, available: http://www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/man/lab97.htm, access: 20.10.2016.

In order to understand Blair's set of choices regarding the expansion of the EU, first, I intend to take a look at the fundamental difference between integration and expansion. Integration can be seen as a process of supranational means of promoting a deeper cooperation, which eventually results in an even closer economic, political and military collaboration of the member states. As a result, members become so dependent on each other via common institutions and joint policies that it is merely impossible to withdraw from the union.[129] In a political context in the UK, the Thatcher and Major governments were concerned about the integration process, because they saw it as a means of surrendering the UK's sovereignty.[130] In this respect, Blair shared a similar view with the Tories, pointing out that a federal Europe should have not diminished its member states' identities; rather it should have built on a cooperation between them.[131]

As opposed to integration, expansion means promoting an extended collaboration through the increase of the number of member states within the Union. Consequently, it represents an obstacle in the way of a deeper integration and limits the extent of forming an even closer union.[132] Not surprisingly, both processes have been subject to heated debates within the European Commission and the European Parliament right from the outset. In my view, it is particularly interesting to see how New Labour led by a progressive leader forged its policies in this policy area, as sequent British governments, especially Thatcher and Major, were opposed to deeper integration for fear of losing national sovereignty.

Tony Blair as a leader of the opposition, he utterly criticised the Conservatives' failed European policy, especially their ambivalence towards the EU.[133] The preceding Thatcher and Major governments have missed the opportunity to bring the UK closer to the EU and their policies marginalised Britain within the EU. In contrast, Blair stressed that "[t]o be sidelined without influence is not a betrayal of Europe, it is a betrayal of Britain".[134] He promised an entirely different approach emphasizing the importance of asserting British influence within the EU. Major said he wanted Britain at the heart of Europe, but he rather governed it into a peripheral position by securing opt-outs from the Social Chapter and the Single currency, that is from key European policies. The Conservatives backed the enlargement endeavours in principle, but they saw it as a means of preventing closer integration within the Union. On the contrary, Blair realised that Britain can only have its voice heard within the EU if he takes the initiative in key policies, such as the enlargement. Joyce Quin, Labour Party's spokeswoman on European matters emphasized the following:

> Enlargement is often described as a problem. Really it is an opportunity. We believe there is a political, economic and moral necessity to have enlargement. We are not doing it to weaken the Union and we totally reject the idea of using it to turn the Union into a free trade area.[135]

Through the process of enlargement, democratic values can be secured in the new member states and they can be potential trading partners to the rest of the EU, including the UK. Wall argues that if the process of enlargement aimed to keep peace in Europe, Britain did an outstanding job

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129 Jones, op. cit., 114.

130 Jones, op. cit., 119.

131 Tony Blair, "A New Role for Britain in the World speech (1997)," in Wall, op. cit., 162.

132 Jones, op. cit., 120.

133 Tony Blair, "Leader's speech in Brighton (1995)," *British Political Speech*, available: http://www.britishpoliticalspeech.org/speech-archive.htm?speech=201, access: 20.11.2016.

134 Ibid.

135 European Voice, "Watching from the Sidelines," *Politico*, 4 December 2014, available: http://www.politico.eu/article/watching-from-the-sidelines/, access: 23.10.2016.

with championing the idea of admitting countries that had been under communist suppression.[136] Gowland et al. point out that even though the UK was perhaps the most primary advocate of the enlargement,[137] Blair shared similar views with the preceding Conservative governments, claiming that it was an effective means of blocking closer integration".[138] The Tories understood the significance of opening the gates of the Union to post-Soviet states, but they were up to the enlargement only until it prevented the further integration of the Union.[139]

In my view, Blair was enthusiastic about exploring more opportunities that may enhance British economic interests and trading volumes. After the turn of the century, Estonia, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and Cyprus were among the candidates that were most likely to join. To have more members means creating jobs, thus reducing unemployment, a rise in standards of living and gaining access to more markets, for instance, in the post-Soviet and Central Eastern European (CEE) region. Blair believed it was necessary to involve the potential member states in the process from the beginning to show the British government's strong commitment towards the enlargement process. Consequently, Robin Cook, British Foreign Secretary delivered a speech in the Hungarian Parliament in November 1997:

> We want to create a European Union that secures peace and prosperity throughout Europe [...] Successful enlargement will enhance peace and stability throughout Europe. [...] It will increase the weight of the EU's voice in the world [...] It will create an even stronger single market with 100 million more consumers.[140]

In this speech, Cook emphasized the importance of the enlargement project and described it as key to sustaining democratic systems of government in the region as well as acquiring access to a large market. Furthermore, Blair agreed that national interests should be kept in mind but only within the boundaries of the Union's intergovernmental operations. In December, 1997, the European Council agreed to start the negotiations with six candidate countries[141] and five other candidate states were "officially admitted to a 'screening process'".[142] Thus, Blair had undisputable merit in the successful enlargement process of the European Union.

To sum up, embracing the enlargement process of the EU was of cardinal importance for Blair and the New Labour for two reasons. In political terms, notably, Blair wanted to claim a leadership role within the EU for himself. Therefore, he had to take the initiative concerning such a top priority project of the EU, such as the enlargement. In economic terms, the enlargement of the EU meant gaining access to new markets for British and European firms, thus it presented a landmark opportunity to conduct trade on a significantly enhanced single market.

4.4. The question of the single currency

As we have seen previously, Britain's fallible membership with the Exchange Rate Mechanism ended badly on 16 September 1992 when Britain was forced to leave the ERM and the pound was devalued. It was a major blame for PM John Major and the governing Conservative Party which eventually suffered a disastrous defeat in the 1997 general election. The issue of the Euro

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136 Wall, op. cit., 218.

137 Gowland et al., op. cit., 153.

138 Ibid.

139 Wall, op. cit., 96.

140 "Cook trumpets European Union expansion," *BBC News,* 26 November 1997, available: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/34737.stm, access: 29.10.2016.

141 Gowland, et al., op.cit., 162.

142 Ibid.

has raised huge concerns amongst the politicians and the general public in Britain and has been subject to heated debates ever since. Therefore, it is worth investigating how Blair and New Labour built up his politics around one of the most controversial issues in contemporary British politics.

Although Tony Blair was commonly known as a Europhile, and an advocate of the single currency, he approached the issue of the Euro very carefully. A Eurobarometer survey conducted during March-April 1997 found that prior to the elections, only 26% of the surveyed supported and 61% were against adopting the single currency while 13% did not know.[143] According to Jones, the majority of the British public is traditionally ill-informed on European matters, and especially the tabloids apply harsh criticism on the Europeans.[144] Nevertheless, Blair knew that he was not going to win the consent of the general public simply by building solely on his popularity. He needed to keep the issue on surface in order to validate British assertion of interests in the European scene. He wisely did not rule out the possibility of adopting the Euro, though, he had a very cautious approach on the matter.

Blair chose to pursue pragmatic policy-making rather than an ideology-driven one as opposed to his Conservative predecessors. Daddow et al. reflect on it as follows: "New Labour's thinking was partly inspired by the instinctive Europhilia of its architects; it also reflected their pragmatic belief that pursuing a Europeanist line would help modernize the party's image".[145] The basics of his Euro-policies were laid in Labour's 1997 manifesto, in which Blair proclaimed that any decision on the subject should be preceded by a "hard-headed assessment"[146] and that "genuine convergence among the economies that take part"[147] was inevitable for the EMU to succeed. Additionally, in the same document, he named three pre-conditions that had to be met before accepting the single currency. These were: "first, the Cabinet would have to agree; then Parliament; and finally the people would have to say 'Yes' in a referendum".[148] That is, Blair tied the decision on the adoption of the Euro to pragmatic grounds instead of an ideological one.

By comparison, Thatcher politically and ideologically opposed both taking part in the ERM and the entry to the single currency. She believed that the UK should not have joined solely on political grounds given that a common currency is a serious threat to national sovereignty and considered it as a component of the deepening of European integration. Furthermore, she did not believe that adopting the Euro would enhance the assertion of British interests within the Community and in economic terms, she mainly relied on the trading benefits given by the EMU membership, that is, the UK's continuous accession to the single market.

Her successor, John Major, was an advocate of the ERM, and led the UK's entry while being the Chancellor of the Exchequer under Thatcher, though it was under his premiership when Britain was forced to leave the ERM. As the 1997 Conservative manifesto pointed out:

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143 "Eurobarometer. Report Number 47 (1997)," *European Commission*, (2016), available: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb47/eb47_en.pdf, access: 29.10.2016. By comparison the same survey found that the relations of the EU15 was 47–40–13. The survey was conducted with 1,300 participants in the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland combined.

144 Jones, op. cit., 147.

145 Oliver Daddow, Jamie Gaskarth, *British Foreign Policy. The New Labour Years,* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 10.

146 The Labour Party, "New Labour because Britain deserves better: Britain will be better with new Labour (1997)," Political Science Resources, available: http://www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/man/lab97.htm, access: 29.10.2016.

147 Ibid.

148 Ibid.

> If a single currency is created, without sustainable convergence, a British Conservative government will not be part of it. If, during the course of the next parliament, a Conservative government were to conclude that it was in our national interest to join a single currency, we have given a guarantee that no such decision would be implemented unless the British people gave their express approval in a referendum.[149]

Similarly to the New Labour, the 1997 Conservative programme emphasized the importance of maintainable convergence and the possibility of a referendum provided the Tories won the elections. In their manifestos, both parties relied on a rather pragmatic approach and tried to distance themselves from direct decision-taking on the subject, particularly without the support of their electorate.

The way I see it, both of them were aware of the sensibility of the issue, though, a possible referendum debacle would have been a political suicide for either of them. In the case of Blair and New Labour, joining the adopting the single currency would have been one major possibility to turn down those sceptics, particularly within the EU, who had doubts whether the Blair administration was fully supportive to adopt the common currency. This option would then have enabled to see the British finally committed to European integration on a full scale and ruled out the possibility of seeking only to benefit from the Union on economic terms. Nevertheless, Gowland et al. argue that Blair's strategy was to push the date of a possible referendum as furthermost as possible.[150] If, in the meantime, other countries had decided to reject the implementation of the Euro on a referendum, it would have made the British referendum unnecessary.[151]

The Treaty of Maastricht required total independence for the central banks of the member states. This was a key policy at the European level prior to joining the European Monetary Union. On May 6, 1997, only four days after New Labour's landslide victory, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown announced that he would give independence to the Bank of England.[152] This was an unprecedented move towards a closer European co-operation and, at least seemingly, raised the possibility of adopting the Euro down the road. The Blair government favoured the participation in principle, nevertheless, they wished to make entry into the EMU only if certain economic conditions were satisfied. Gordon Brown, Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed that five economic tests had to be met prior to a referendum. Brown's five economic tests aimed to evaluate:

- sustainable convergence between Britain and the economies of a single currency
- sufficient flexibility to cope with economic change
- the effect on investment
- the impact on the UK financial services industry
- the impact on employment[153]

The convergence and flexibility tests aimed to explore the potential costs of an EMU-entry and whether a sustainable convergence can be achieved. The third test was designed to find out the Euro's influence on foreign investment in Britain, the fourth test examined its impact on the

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[149] The Conservative Party, "You can only be sure with the Conservatives," *Conservativemanifesto.com*, available: http://www.conservativemanifesto.com/1997/1997-conservative-manifesto.shtml, access: 29.10.2016.

[150] Gowland et al., op. cit., 177.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Gowland et al., op. cit., 167.

[153] Geddes, op. cit., 149–150.

future of the City and the financial services in the UK, whereas, the fifth test investigated how the implementation of the Euro could influence the employment in Britain. Although the five questions aimed to sort out whether the UK's economy was prepared to adopt the Euro, in reality, the Labour government was unlikely to take the risk of joining.

Additionally, the possibility of adopting the Euro was further weakened as Blair and Brown essentially differed on the matter. In 2002, Blair said the following with regard to the Euro:

> I would have no problem with history recording me as the person who said to the British people: 'It is in our interests for us to be a key and major player in Europe'. [...] It is an economic union. We shouldn't, for political reasons, stand aside. I don't believe that would be a fulfilment of our national interest. I believe it would be a betrayal of our national interest. [...] In my view, if the economics are in the right place, if the tests are met, then it is overwhelmingly in this country's interests to join.[154]

Blair's pro-European rhetoric overshadowed Chancellor Brown's doubts in terms of adopting the Euro. As Gowland et al. refer to the Chancellor's approach: "Brown became more and more convinced that taking Britain into the euro would be an unjustified gamble".[155] Thereby, not surprisingly, Gordon Brown endorsed the idea with less enthusiasm:

> I was ready to resign as Chancellor if I was unable to persuade my colleagues of the grave risks of taking us immediately into euro membership. [...] But having considered all the arguments, we concluded unanimously that although the euro was right in principle, it could not work for Britain at that time.[156]

Daddow et al. reflect on the cooperation between Blair and Brown as a "dysfunctional relationship"[157] and points out that:

> Blair gave unparalleled power over the economy to Gordon Brown and received, in exchange, distrust, contempt and an unprecedented withholding of cooperation between the Treasury and No. 10 Downing Street.[158]

In 2003, prior to publishing the results of the five economic tests, Brown assessed the situation of the UK's economy as follows: "Britain, even amidst global uncertainty, is not only doing better than in the past, but also doing better when we make the comparison with other countries".[159] In the same year, the UK's annual GDP growth was significantly higher than that of the EU with the former standing at 3.3% compared to EU's 1.3%.[160] This difference could have also influenced Brown to make his case against the implementation of the Euro. Taking into account that the ultimate say had to come from the Treasury, headed by the sceptical Chancellor of the Exchequer, it was unlikely from the latter to positively assess the economic tests. Not

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[154] "Key quotes from Blair on the euro", *The Guardian,* 16 May 2002, available: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/may/16/euro.eu, access: 30.10.2016.

[155] Gowland et al., op. cit., 167.

[156] "Gordon Brown: I was ready to quit over euro decision," *BBC News*, 8 December 2010, available: http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics–11947831, access: 30.10.2016.

[157] Daddow et al., op. cit., xiv.

[158] Ibid.

[159] "Brown cuts UK growth hopes," *BBC News*, 9 April 2003, available: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/2928893.stm, access: 30.10.2016.

[160] GDP growth (annual %). UK vs. EU," *The World Bank*, available: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?end=2003&locations=GB-EU&start=2002, access: 20.11.2016.

surprisingly, after the assessment of the five tests, the Treasury found that only the one on the financial services was considered satisfactory.[161]

Andor insisted that, from an economic point of view, two years after the introduction of the euro, it was still considered to be a risky business for those countries who opted-out, such as the United Kingdom.[162] Furthermore, a YouGov survey conducted in 2002 reported that if there had been a referendum on the issue that day, 54% of the asked would have been against joining.[163] Even though the survey is only indicative, and there is a difference between the number of people asked, the result of the YouGov survey compared to the Eurobarometer survey mentioned earlier in the chapter indicates that there was a slight improvement of 7% the general public's rejection towards the Euro in the course of five years. Nevertheless, these results still mirror the general scepticism towards the single currency in Britain. Though, in the same survey the Labour Party was the most preferred among the participants if a general election would be held the following day.

Additionally, Blair more and more focused on preparing for the 2001 general election, aiming at tackling issues, such as education, health, and law and order.[164] Furthermore, "European integration was outside the top ten in twelfth place"[165] on Blair's election agenda. Also, the terrorist attacks of 9/11 gradually diverted Blair's attention from European matters, especially as he was the first to stand wholeheartedly beside George W. Bush in a possible armed intervention in Iraq. Blair's case within the EU was further weakened as there were deep divisions among the members of the EU on a possible war in Iraq, which contributed to disagreements within the leaders of the Union.[166]

Consequently, even though Blair was in favour of adopting the Euro, he most likely chose the right policies given his situation. With an essentially Euro-sceptic Chancellor in his government and having a heavily divided public, he must have understood that a referendum would fail right away and the political costs would have tossed him and New Labour to a point of no return. By keeping the introduction of the Euro as an open-option for Britain, Blair was able to position himself more closely to the Franco-German axis of decision-making. As a result, he broke with the conventional ways of European policies manifested in Conservative policies and reversed Britain's marginalised position within the EU, at which he took over in 1997. However, he needed to tie the issue to political and economic pre-conditions as well as a possible referendum to have the consent of the essentially Euro-sceptic British public. Nevertheless, Blair had to accept the assessment of the five economic tests as he simply could not afford to suffer a major defeat in a referendum two years before the 2005 general election. Also, as Geddes points out, Labour was likely to concentrate on domestic issues after the five tests failed in order to secure its third term in office.[167]

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161 Geddes, op. cit., 150.

162 Andor, op. cit., 116.

163 "Euro Tracker (October). Prepared for The Sunday Times, 23–25 October 2002," *Yougov*, available: http://iis.yougov.co.uk/extranets/ygarchives/content/pdf/STI020201006.pdf, access: 30.10.2016. This survey was prepared for The Sunday Times with 2,055 participants.

164 Geddes, op. cit., 209.

165 Ibid.

166 Geddes, op. cit., 90–91.

167 Geddes, op. cit., 151.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I presented the United Kingdom's attitude towards the European integration in the post-war period. I highlighted that the opposition of the British towards a united Europe derives from their imperial past and their strong perseverance for their national sovereignty. Their reluctance to join any supranational organization dominated the foreign policies of successive British governments in 20th century. In my study, I focused primarily on the foreign policies of sequent British governments in the 1990s, especially on the European policies of Tony Blair during his first term. Tony Blair's landslide victory over the Conservative Party meant the end of 18 years in opposition for the Labour Party in 1997. Furthermore, I briefly presented his political life, including his path from entering the party to eventually reforming it, and winning his first election victory with the New Labour.

The success of Blair's EU policies has been examined through a comparison of the same policy areas with the preceding Conservative governments. These policies were highlighted in the Labour Party's 1997 general election manifesto as key ambitions. These were: the Common Defence and Security Policy, the enlargement of the Union, and the issue of the adoption of the single currency. I argued that the Thatcher and Major governments opposed a deeper European cooperation on grounds that it was in contrast with their ideological perception of Britain's role within the Community. In contrast, Blair ended British ambivalence towards the European Union, and he pursued a constructive approach coupled with leadership ambitions within the Union. He aimed to achieve this desire by advocating key European projects; however, he imagined the closer cooperation of member states as a unity of nations and not in the form of a federal superstate. Thus, similarly to the Conservative views, he protected the national sovereignty of the British as well.

Furthermore, I argued in this study that Blair's European politics dissolved the negative assessment of the United Kingdom within the European Union and elevated himself to the close circle of decision-makers, predominantly built around a Franco-German axis. To fulfil his aims, he was committed to pursue a bridging policy to mediate between the European Union and the Unites States. I pointed out that this political strategy was backed by embracing the Third Way ideology, which had advocates among the leaders of the Union and in the US as well. Maintaining the special relationship with the US was a central element of the foreign policies of most of the Conservative governments in the 20th century. Blair maintained close relationship with US President Bill Clinton and his successor George W. Bush during his 10 years in office. Blair's wholehearted support for Bush's intervention in Iraq following the 9/11 attacks caused a stir among the leaders of the Union who were divided on the matter. Blair's resignation came in 2007 after winning three general elections with the Labour Party.

Taking into consideration the examined foreign policies connected to the EU in Blair's first term, I think his approach can be seen as a promising start in a relationship that he laid on new foundations. Even though he failed to implement the Euro in Britain, I still consider his first term as a success in terms of his European policies as he realised that in a globalised world, isolation would not foster either Britain's interests or his own political ambitions. His alliance-seeking managerial style coupled with a leadership ambition in key policy areas helped to diminish the UK's negative image in general, and elevated his importance among the key players of the Union.

Had he been able to exert his pro-European attitude further in his second and third terms on home soil, he may have contributed to a less Eurosceptic general public down the line. The results of the Brexit vote showed a slight difference between the two groupings; supposedly 10-years of essentially pro-European governing might have had a larger influence on the British electorate in deciding over the matter. Nevertheless, this assumption can only be a subject to another examination.

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Roland Szalai

Sweet Desolation. Rereading the neoclassical pastoral*

"These all in sweet confusion sought the shade,
And fill'd each pause the nightingale had made"
(*The Deserted Village*, 123–24)

Abstract

This thesis investigates the rhetorical conflict between the pastoral and anti-pastoral moods present in the pastoral poetry of the neoclassical period. I shall start out with a historiographical analysis of the emergence and critical reception of the pastoral in order to obtain a better understanding of the genre's lyrical program and its semantic potentials. I shall closely examine the first Greek and Latin examples of the pastoral, tracing back the divide between the pastoral and the anti-pastoral to the genre's very roots. Afterwards, I shall move on to close read two neoclassical pieces of pastoral poetry, "The Deserted Village" by Oliver Goldsmith and "The Village" by George Crabbe, considering their respective speeches as the two halves of a single intertextual pastoral dialogue. Reading them together, I hope to capture the essence of the complex relationship between the two poems' interpretation and handling of the pastoral. The aim of the paper is to revisit the genre definition of the neoclassical pastoral, questioning the currently employed overly simplified classification, which artificially divides the pastoral into two separate subgenres, the pastoral and the anti-pastoral. In this thesis, I attempt to unify the pastoral and anti-pastoral lyrical traditions simultaneously present in pastoral verses into a single mode of poetry and, thus, highlight the great rhetorical and semantic dimensions available to this genre of sublime self-contradiction.

1. Introduction

In my thesis, I aim to explore the inherent self-contradiction present in pastoral poetry and to question the critical convention of dividing the genre into two opposing sub-genres, pastoral and anti-pastoral. The focus of my investigation will be the neoclassic pastoral tradition, historically the latest period when the literary main stream employed the genre in abundance and treated pastoral as a fashionable form of expression. I shall concentrate on two poems from the era, "The Deserted Village" by Oliver Goldsmith and "The Village" by George Crabbe.

In my investigation, to gain a fundamental understanding of pastoral poetry as a genre and to chart out the main critical approaches of literary scholarship concerning the pastoral, I shall mainly rely on the works of Terry Gifford (*Pastoral*) and Judith Haber (*Pastoral and the Poetics of Self-Contradiction*). Haber's work provides the fundaments for my theoretical approach, since I shall adopt the same method she employs exploring the world of early modern pastoral and breaking down former critical conventions of the genre that render bucolic poetry a mere escapist illusion. With her findings as an initial paradigm, I propose to open a similar discussion on the interpretation of neoclassic pastoral.

Since "The Deserted Village" and "The Village" had been linked together by critics from their very publication as an intertextual dialogue of diverse pastoral attitudes, I will also treat them as a single lyrical entity for the purpose of my analysis, reading them side-by-side as a two-

* BA Thesis. Supervisor: Larisa Kocic Zámbó

piece portrait of neoclassic pastoral poetry. While close-reading the two texts, I shall search for clues whether Crabbe and Goldsmith remain consistent in their lyrical tone or rather shift their attitudes between pastoral and anti-pastoral. If these shifts are present, as they were in early modern pastoral, I shall compare the neoclassic texts to the very first instances of the genre, to *the Idylls* by Theocritus and *the Eclogues* by Virgil. Examining the similar attitudes and consistent self-contradiction present in both the original antique and the neoclassic tradition, I will attempt to explain the presence of this curious inner conflict between the pastoral and anti-pastoral within the body of bucolic poetry.

In my conclusion, I hope to identify this consistent struggle between the pastoral and anti-pastoral attitudes as a key component of pastoral poetry that lends the genre its enormous expressive powers. In my thesis, I will attempt to highlight the genre's timeless qualities and limitless powers as a literary mode that have been long overlooked by both critics and writers, namely, its powers to contain and reconcile the most violent paradoxes and to fashion a complete lyrical picture of the empirical reality.

Before delving into my analysis, I shall introduce briefly the historical context in which the two poems were written. Oliver Goldsmith, one of the most important figures of English Neoclassic literature, "tended to interpret his own age in terms of first century Rome" (Jaarsma 1971, 449), as his Augustan contemporaries. The civil unrest of the contemporary England, and the apparent moral erosion of the English public was paralleled with the civil war between Brutus and his party and Octavian Augustus. Goldsmith and others felt close kinship with the great Roman poets and writers, such as Livy, Virgil, and Horace and their longing "for the supposed virtue of an earlier, republican Rome" (449).

For Goldsmith, these democratic virtues, which Livy so picturesquely captured in his *Ab urbe condita*, are problematized as a conflict between the city and country. Goldsmith published a poem in 1770, titled "The Deserted Village", a vivid pastoral piece describing the desolate countryside of England and the dispossessed state of the English peasantry, in which he incited a passionate uproar from the contemporary political sphere, for it was extremely sensitive to any social or political commentary aligning itself with the lower classes in the face of the currently turbulent state of France, and the growing French revolutionist sentiment. As Alfred Lutz points out in his essay, titled "The Politics of Reception: The Case of Goldsmith's 'The Deserted Village'", the historical background for Goldsmith's rustic concerns were "the two periods of most intense enclosure in the history of rural England" (1998, 175), namely the period between 1760 and 1780 and the one lasting from 1790 to the end of the Napoleonic Wars. These enclosures meant "the extinction of communal and semi-communal forms of landholding and their replacement by purely private forms" (Lazonick 1974, 5 in Lutz 1998, 175), which benefited mainly the wealthy, and hurt the poorest of the countryside who were heavily relying on traditional use-rights for their livelihood. These rights were "curtailed and abolished" (175) by the enclosure acts of the Parliament.

Unlike Goldsmith, most of the contemporary thinkers dismissed the concerns of the dispossessed peasantry, focusing instead on the "increasing national prosperity", the direct result of the strengthening of the English magnates and greater land-holders. As Lutz explains, the poorest of the country were viewed by the upper classes as "a solid mass at the bottom end of the social scale with unchanging and ... very basic needs" (1995, 176), who, in highest spirit of capitalism, were also resented by the same magnates for their objection to "a system that depended upon their labour while it exploited them" (176).

Goldsmith's pastoral is an assault against this sentiment; "The Deserted Village" (published in 1770) is considered to be a manifesto for the poet's most radical political standpoints, a plea for the dispossessed minor communities of the English countryside. The poem is also "an attack

on pro-enclosure writers' attempts", such as Alexander Pope, "to justify enclosures by associating enclosures with the beauty and naturalness of gardens" (Lutz 1995, 177) favoured by the contemporary aristocracy who installed carefully planned and religiously cultivated strolling parks on the newly expropriated landmasses. Pope, arguably the greatest literary figure and one of the most influential thinker of his time, himself harboured a sentimental appreciation for horticulture and "leased his own tiny estate at Twickenham in 1718, ... [laying] out a grotto and gardens" (Altenbernd 1955, 470).

The English critics, despite the poem's heavy political undertones, praised Goldsmith's work for its descriptive powers and, to insert the poem into a safer ideological context, emphasized its bucolic aspect. Hence, the most popular contemporary reading of "The Deserted Village" regards it as a piece of neoclassic pastoral and mainly focuses on the enchanted picture of the English countryside Goldsmith paints for his readers in the first half of the poem. Eighteenth century critics reckoned this interpretation to be an innocent reading unencumbered by radical politics and revolutionist sentiments, seeing pastoral as an overly simplified genre of idealistic scenes of ancient harmony and undisturbed nature.

This highly idealistic view of the English countryside and its inhabitants found in "The Deserted Village" incensed George Crabbe, a fellow writer and pastor, who was moved by his ire to write a counter-poem addressed to Goldsmith; he published his poem, titled "The Village" in 1783 and also made an "attack [in prose] on Goldsmith in *The Parish Register*" (Patterson 1987, 228) in 1807. Crabbe, who "has been regarded by some as an important figure in the defeat of the Golden Age Pastoral by the new realism" (Sigworth 1965, 18 in Patterson 1987, 228), was a man never at home in Arcadia; his poem is a bleakly naturalistic account of the hardships endured by the simple countrymen who attended Crabbe's modest parsonage on Sundays. His rejection of the false and, according to his views, anachronistic mode of Goldsmith's pastoral, and his own employment and interpretation of the genre encapsulates the conflict between the pastoral and the antipastoral attitudes of the neoclassic bucolic tradition and can serve as the perfect case study to explore its literary horizons.

2. Pastoral, a Historiography

The pastoral as a literary term, despite of centuries of critical inquiry, still evades a precise definition. In this chapter, I will attempt to construct a clear-cut definition for the purpose of my analysis, taking in consideration the major figures of the field and their views on the pastoral. I will begin by examining an essay by Paul Alpers, titled "What Is Pastoral?", which is wholly devoted to the complex issue of defining the term 'pastoral'. Then, I will turn to Terry Gifford's *Pastoral*, a short yet immensely informative book where Gifford investigates the issues and tendencies of pastoral criticism. From all the problems presented by Gifford, I shall place my primary focus on the conflict between the pastoral and the anti-pastoral, as viewed and interpreted by the major critical figures. Finally, I will introduce Judith Haber's study, *Pastoral and the Poetics of Self-Contradiction*, which's findings on the relationship between the pastoral and the anti-pastoral I reckon, if not revolutionary, at least refreshing for the field, rediscovering and enriching a school of pastoral criticism whose members are inclined not to subcategorise pastoral literature further, but accept its inner diversity of voices and attitudes as a feature and asset of the genre.

2.1. What is Pastoral?

In his essay, titled "What Is Pastoral?", Paul Alpers, one of the major figures of contemporary early modern pastoral criticism, aspires to define the genre in clear theoretical terms. As Alpers points out, everyone, both scholars and laymen, "[seems] to know what they mean", when they

refer to pastoral literature, and "they often seem to have certain works in mind that counts as pastorals", despite of the fact that since the beginning of pastoral criticism in the 17th century[1], there has been no "coherent account of either its nature or its history". Alpers brings our attention to the striking "heterogeneity" of pastoral scholarship and its abundantly diverse set of definitions deriving "from permanent human needs, ... from explicit themes and concerns, ... from characteristic forms and devices, ... [and] from a historical situation" (1982, 437).

Alpers highlights three major figures and three major works of pastoral criticism, on which he focuses his attention and from which's findings he constructs his own paradigm for the pastoral: these are William Empson (*Some Versions of Pastoral*), Renato Poggioli (*The Oaten Flute*), and Frank Kermode ("Introduction" to his anthology of *English Pastoral Poetry*); Poggioli's view Alpers outright dismisses as "reductive and simplistic" (Alpers 1982, 438) that places the pastoral "on the quicksands of wishful thinking" (Poggioli 1975, 2 in Alpers 1982, 438). He deems Kermode's book "a different sort of performance", where Kermode, as "a master juggler", carefully balances a set of themes, such as "Pastoral, Nature, Art, Eclogue, Imitation, and Golden Age – all capitalized, as if they stood for known and stable phenomena" (Alpers 1982, 438). Kermode's rather casual employment of these themes in his defining of the pastoral leaves his reading vulnerable to misinterpretation, as Alpers points out, by "critics less agile and intelligent than Kermode", who may distort this "mix of aspects" into a "sludge of commonplaces" (49). Empson, whose *Some Versions* is regarded by many to be the greatest piece of pastoral criticism ever written, provides his definition of the pastoral in "brilliant fragments" (Alpers 1978, 101)[2] scattered through his book. For Empson, the two most important aspects of the pastoral phenomenon, as Alpers identifies them, are "the pastoral process" consisting of "putting the complex into the simple" (Empson 1935, 23 in Alpers 1978, 101) and "the unifying social force", which "is a means of bridging differences and reconciling social classes" (Alpers 1978, 101). This latter tendency of the genre to reinforce the socio-political structure, detected by Empson, will result in the pastoral's pronounced unpopularity among the Marxist literary scholars of the 20th century who will view pastoral literature as a literary tool of subjugation and exploitation.

These Marxist voices condemning the pastoral are especially loud in Terry Gifford's *Pastoral*, published in 1999, as a part of *The New Critical Idiom* series, in which he examines the literary tradition of the pastoral and the critical concepts and approaches the term 'pastoral' entails. In this introductory study aiming to investigate both the conventional and revolutionary readings of the pastoral mode, Gifford provides a comprehensive picture of the genre and a solid foundation for any scholar aspiring to explore the literary horizons of the pastoral. In my thesis, I relied on Gifford's study to gain a basic understanding of the current state of pastoral scholarship, its prevalent critical trends and literary concepts, and also to identify the major figures of the field whose insight may later on further my research. I have borrowed almost all of my initial critical conceptions, readings, and paradigms from Gifford whose findings and conclusions

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[1] I would point out the work written by Guillaume Colletet, titled *Discours du Poeme Bucolique,* in 1657, as the first instance and the beginning of pastoral criticism, since it was "the first critical work devoted entirely to pastoral" (Alpers 1982, 442). Though Alpers did not employ Colletet's work as a milestone of literary historicism in his essays, I would highlight his work as an important point in the development of pastoral criticism.

[2] In the end of his "What Is Pastoral?", Alpers accepts the pastoral definition of William Empson as his own, but does not fully elaborate on it; instead, he encourages his reader to move on to his previous essay, titled "Empson on Pastoral", where he provides a full account of Empson's views on the genre. During my research, I did just that and found extremely helpful Alpers' comments on Empson's writing, while reading the formidable *Some Versions of Pastoral* myself. In this analysis, I rely on both essays to reconstruct Alpers' views on the pastoral.

on the pastoral as a literary mode I accept as the conventional approach of the current field, with which I shall be arguing throughout this paper. In my thesis, I shall investigate his interpretation of pastoral poetry, as Gifford presented the genre in his *Pastoral*, focusing on and challenging the clear-cut differentiation he made between the pastoral and the anti-pastoral literary moods.

In the first chapter of his book, titled "Three Kinds of Pastoral", Gifford explains the disfavoured status the pastoral 'enjoys' today, rejected by both poets and critics as an anachronistic and false literary mood, and highlights the Marxist backlash that led to the genre's fall from grace. Gifford differentiates between three kinds of the pastoral, as the title of the chapter suggests; he distinguishes between the pastoral as "a literary device", pastoral as literary "content", and the pastoral as a "sceptical use of the term" (Gifford 1999, 2). In the first case, "the pastoral is a historical form with long tradition ... deriving from certain early Greek and Roman poems about life in the country, and about the life of the shepherds in particular" (1). The second case refers to "any literature that describes the country with an implicit or explicit contrast to the urban". The third case, as the "simple celebration of nature comes under scrutiny", is a pejorative usage of the term when "the difference between the textual evidence and the economic reality would be judged to be too great by the criteria of social reality". This third employment is the one that marks the pastoral as "an idealisation of the reality of life in the country" (2), a genre that parades a beautified version of the very real struggle of the lower classes for the pleasure of the elite. Marxist critics, who read the pastoral according to this third model, understandably found the genre to be a dreadfully naïve literary mode.

In his book, Gifford continues to present the most important figures of the field, scholars like John Barrell and John Bull (editors of *The Penguin Book of English Pastoral Verse*) who identify pastoral in strictly historical and socio-economical terms, as a literary mode that dramatizes the divorce between the rural and the urbane. In their interpretation, the pastoral died "when the distinction between the country and the city collapsed" in "the late nineteenth century" (3). The Marxist critics (Roger Sales, John Lucas) condemned the genre after they "have examined the frames within which the writer is presenting a pastoral view of the world" and found "that pastoral in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" was employed to create "a false ideology that served to endorse a comfortable status quo for the landowning class who had been the reading public before the nineteenth century" (7). This heavily politicized reading paints the pastoral as a "deeply conservative ambition" (Lucas 1990, 118 in Gifford 1999, 8) that is "used to prevent the questioning of the power structures that underpinned land ownership and, indeed, the complete fabric of society" (Gifford 1999, 8).

Gifford traces this condemning interpretation of the pastoral by Marxist literary criticism back to "the pioneering analysis" of Raymond Williams, titled *The Country and the City*. In this study, Williams examines the general intent and content of pastoral literature and finds that the genre is nothing more than "the actual exploitation of the people who lived and worked in the rural landscape" (Gifford 1999, 9), since, in pastoral, "[an] idealisation, based on a temporary situation and on a deep desire for stability, served to evade the actual and bitter contradictions of the time" (Williams 1975, 60 in Gifford 1999, 9). Williams' and other similar-minded modern critics' low regard has lent the term pastoral a new pejorative semantic dimension as the bucolic vision has come to be perceived as an escapist fantasy that helped the privileged to reconstruct their even more privileged days of yore.

However, such dismissing reading is not universal even among the socialist scholars of the pastoral; as Gifford points out, some critics (Marinelli) have detected "a note of criticism [that] is inherent in all pastoral from the beginning of its existence" (Marinelli 1971, 11 in Gifford 1999, 10). Leo Marx has also identified this self-reflexive streak in certain instances of the genre but he emphasizes that not all works of bucolic literature possess such self-awareness and seeks

to divide the genre into two distinct subcategories, into "the complex and sentimental kinds of pastoralism" or "the pastoral of sentiment and the pastoral of mind" (Marx 1964, 25;32 in Gifford 1999, 10). This artificial division made by Marx between deep and superficial pastoralism mirrors a common attitude among the scholars of the pastoral to split pastoral literature into two opposing subgenres which differ in terms of their relationship with reality and their ability and inclination for self-reflection.

Later on, in the fifth chapter of his book, titled "The Anti-Pastoral Tradition", Gifford investigates the two subgenres of the pastoral, the naïvely sentimental pastoral and the grimly rational anti-pastoral. Gifford himself examines Goldsmith and Crabbe's pastoral exchange, analysing the inherent conflict between their interpretations of the genre; as he points out, Goldsmith's "Deserted Village" was originally meant to be an anti-pastoral, as it was a direct attack on the socio-economic status quo of the enclosure period, but "it came to be read as a pastoral" (Gifford 1999, 122) by critics who wished to remove the potentially inconvenient political readings from the poem. Goldsmith, though occasionally sentimental, is, indeed, aligning himself with "those dispossessed by enclosure" and attempts to create "a political anti-pastoral" (124). In his Auburn, the fictional village 'deserted' in his verse, the village values, presented in the natural are dethroned by a capitalist "culture of exploitation" (124) which manifests itself in the new mechanic mode of production introduced by the harsh realities of the enclosure period.

Crabbe, like the modern Marxist critics of the pastoral, was infuriated by the sentimental nostalgia of Goldsmith's poetry and interpreted "The Deserted Village" as an instance of the most sentimental pastoralism possible. Frustrated by Goldsmith's "pastoral structure of retreat and regret, and his idealisation of village characters" (Gifford 1999, 124), Crabbe published his own "Village" in which he shows himself as the harshest naturalist; he claims that "only the rural worker himself can have any credibility in writing about the country" (125). He also proudly declares himself not to be a so-called 'Bard' who shall not deceive his readers and frankly "paint to Cot / As Truth will paint it", a poke at Goldsmith one can guess, then he paradoxically "goes on to evoke rural depression in the fashionable images of tolling bells and moping owls for the melancholy taste of his late eighteenth-century readers" (126).

While Crabbe's critique of Goldsmith's treatment of the pastoral is focused on the formal and stylistic aspects of Goldsmith's poetry, he ignores the intent and content of "The Deserted Village". Though bitterly attacking the idealising tendencies of the pastoral, Crabbe himself fails to perform the ideological function of the anti-pastoral as a socially disruptive literary mode, since, in his "Village", his indignation and desire to paint a realistic picture of the abjectly poor soon "gives way to preaching the ... acceptance of the status quo that had been the function of the seventeenth-century pastorals of the great houses" (Gifford 1999, 126) against which he seemingly rallies. The way I see it is that Goldsmith may have written an anti-pastoral piece that came to be read as a pastoral, but Crabbe had consciously constructed a poem that looks like an anti-pastoral and works as a pastoral, a poem that, though depicting the suffering and exploitation of the poor, also invites them to surrender to their subjugation. On the other hand, in Goldsmith's poetry, only the manner is pastoral, while the matter is deeply anti-pastoral; though employing all the conventional tools and tropes of the genre, the poem's aim is to disrupt and question the current socio-political structure.

2.2. Haber & the Poetry of Self-Contradiction

After observing the persistent fluidity of attitudes present in the respective body texts of the two poems and in the struggle between Goldsmith and Crabbe's pastorals, I propose that the pastoral and the anti-pastoral moods may very well be a set of divorcing yet complementary patterns of bucolic literature that exists in an endless cycle of shifting. To gain a better

understanding of the original divide between the two subgenres, I intend to return to the very beginning of the genre and examine therein the simultaneous presence and relationship of the pastoral and the anti-pastoral moods. While reading and interpreting the pastoral tradition of the antiquity, I am relying on Judith Haber and her penetrating study, titled *Pastoral and the Poetics of Self-Contradiction* (1995). The aim of her study was to "account for the persistence of the 'anti-pastoral' in pastoral poetry" (1), and thus obtain a better understanding of the early modern pastoral tradition. In this book, Haber identified pastoral as the ideological progeny of the transition between the two great eras of Western literature, which I would call the Homeric and the post-Homeric ages.[3] Starting her investigation from this point, she closely examines the dual aspects of the genre and concludes that the paradox of the divorcing yet interwoven moods of the pastoral and the anti-pastoral is an ever present phenomenon, already detectable in the *Idylls* of Theocritus, the father of the pastoral.

Critics of the pastoral, Haber reckons, dominantly view "pastoral as static, idealizing genre, whose goal was the recovery of an Edenic past – a goal that pastoral poets pursued by creating images of idyllicism within their works, and by imitating their predecessors as closely as possible" (Haber 1995, 1). Poems within the tradition which do not fulfil these criteria were dubbed 'anti-pastoral'. This is a perception leading to definitions of the pastoral which ignores the genre's considerable tendency and power to "problematize relations between the literary and the 'real', the aesthetic and the material, and the present and the past" (2), and to express and contain the greatest contradictions.

Theocritus was born in the era of the great transition between, what I would call the Homeric and post-Homeric ages and witnessed the heated literary debate "between Callimachus and the Homeric poets over whether contemporary writers should attempt to duplicate the epic scope and style of their predecessors" (Haber 1995, 12). Theocritus' answer to their question, in the form of his *Idylls* was the birth of pastoral poetry. In the *Idylls*, he explores the contemporarily fashionable longing for the Homeric age, and its heroic aspiration, "and the attitudes toward life they represent"; hence, for him, in contrast with his successors, "bucolic simplicity is not [...] an object of longing [...]; it is a mode of acceptance" (13). Through his bucolic figures, Theocritus displays an "Epicurean acceptance of the present" (13), and salutes the epic past with a life of simple pleasures.

Haber, while defining the terms of 'bucolic' and 'heroic' in the works of Theocritus, heavily relies on the findings of Charles Segal. In Segal's interpretation, the poetry of Theocritus is "an ongoing dialect between two opposed perspectives, which one could term 'heroic' and 'bucolic'" (Segal 1981, 61 in Haber 1995, 14). This dialogue "between sentiment and factuality, between hopeless passion and the continuities of work, between dream-like aspiration and practical acceptance, between imagination and reality" (Segal 1981, 44 in Haber 1995, 14) contains the irresolvable paradox of pastoral poetry, where these two seemingly opposing ideas not only coexist in intimate proximity, but interchange and impregnate each other. Even though Segal establishes the two lyrical moods as binary oppositions, Haber rebukes the idea and points out their interwoven presence in the *Idylls*; Theocritus does not take sides between bucolic pragmatism and heroic melancholy, but rather captures both with gentle irony and a deep sense of awareness of "one's own limitations, ... [and] one's distance from the texts and assumptions of the past" (Haber 1995, 15). Segal's attempt to create a rift between the two pastoral moods and separate

[3] Under the term of Homeric Age, I do not refer to the Dark Ages of the Doric invasions and the possible birthing period of the great Homeric epics, but rather evoke the era of the literary epic when the most dominant genre of western (or in a smaller sense, Greek) literature was epic narrative poetry. This period ends, nearing the Hellenistic Era when poets (such as Callimachus) grew cynical about the great genre and start to question the legitimacy of writing epic poetry.

"bucolic community, harmony, and acceptance" from "heroic isolation, aspiration, and despair" (20) mirrors a long tradition of pastoral criticism where critics solved the inherent paradox of the genre by cleaving the one into two, pastoral and anti-pastoral poetries.

This consistent conflict within Theocritus' poetry, this struggle of the pastoral and the antipastoral did not escape the attention of his greatest successor, Virgil who was the most influential and arguable the greatest talent of the court poets of Octavian Augustus in 1st century Rome. In his *Eclogues*, he problematizes the same issues as Theocritus, but with a more desolate tone and by rearranging the attitudes of the two pastoral moods, the heroic and the bucolic. The historical upheaval of the Roman civil war Virgil witnessed had a great effect on the pastoral attitudes of his characters. Hence, the attributes Theocritus previously linked to the bucolic mood, such as "stasis, limitation, community" and maintained as "means of acceptance" are now longed for by the dispossessed shepherds of Virgil (Haber 1995, 37). These "displaced rustics" (37) are no longer mourning the heroic past and trying to recreate the heroes of old by their lyrical role-playing. On the contrary, their distress derives from the limitless dimensions of their existence outside of the material and the ideological walls of the city-state. However, despite their distress, these figures still experiment with the same ideas the pastors of Theocritus entertained, like the power of poetry in the face of crisis, the relationship between present and past, and above all, the fanciful nature of romantic love. Furthermore, in Virgil's *Eclogues* new themes appear and the speakers often arrive at different conclusions when they investigate the old ones; the question of alienation is such a theme. For Theocritus' figures, only the separation from the heroic past is dramatized, while in the *Eclogues*, several aspects of isolation are explored.

For Virgil's heroes, alienation is a much more complex issue, present both in the temporal and the spatial dimensions. For instance, the hero of "Eclogue 2", Corydon, the displaced city man laments his exclusion from the sophisticated city life and he is also forced to face his inability to adapt to the simple life of the country. He is constantly on the borderline, as Haber explains, between city and country, two worlds he is attempting to merge. His position between worlds is a resurfacing attribute among the figures of Virgil's pastoral who are "much more conscious of borders and boundaries than their counterparts in the *Idylls*" (Haber 1995, 38).

In his *Idylls*, Theocritus confesses his isolation from the heroic past; his heroic characters who still cling to the mementos of the Homeric age eventually resign their position to their bucolic partners who then convert their pragmatic stand into a different kind of a heroic pose, namely as the champions of the gloriously simple life. This unending oscillation of idea and materiality is maintained by the gentle irony of Theocritus. This irony also allows for Virgil's more liminal method, where his characters seldom represent clear polarity between the two pastoral moods, rather they are playing with or suffering from both attitudes.

In both Theocritus and Virgil's cases, the pastoral appears to be a genre of great self-awareness and self-irony. Haber provides several examples, from both the *Idylls* and the *Eclogues*, of "heroic aspirations that have been abandoned... [then] reappear in diminished forms" (Haber 1995, 38); like Polyphemus of the *Idylls*, the monstrous one-eyed giant's courtship of the beautiful sea nymph, Galatea, where the tragedy of unrequited love (a returning pose for the heroic figures) is staged in a satiric manner. This fusion of pastoral and anti- or mock-pastoral scenes becomes even more significant in the *Eclogues*, where Virgil reconstructs pastoral poetry "in increasingly darker forms" and recreates "seemingly 'anti-pastoral' situations and emotions as essentially pastoral" (41).

Virgil's more pessimistic approach to the problems which pastoral poetry originates both from his artistic temperament and his own historical setting. Virgil's Rome is a city ravaged by civil strife; in contrast to Theocritus' Epicurean episodes, his scenes and figures are constantly threatened by their context. Their pragmatic despair is at odds with the bucolic figures' heroic

frivolity; one can yet again observe the two pastoral modes' endless oscillation, as the bucolic scenes are imbued with fantasy, while the heroic figures become warily aware of their reality. This shift of attributes remains persistent in the pastoral traditions of the following ages, as the second half of Haber's study discussing the early modern tradition (focusing on Sidney and Marvell) shows. Virgil's pastoral, as "diminished reflections of a complex and threatening world and as the sophisticated reimaginings of a simpler reality" (Haber 1995, 42) will become the canonical exemplum for the Renaissance and later on the Neoclassical writers of the pastoral.

3. Sweet Confusion, an Intertextual Dialogue

In this chapter, I will attempt to open an intertextual dialogue between the two pastoral poems written by Oliver Goldsmith and George Crabbe ("The Deserted Village" and "The Village" respectively), reading them closely together and inviting their lyrical speakers into a single discourse. I will place this intertextual dialogue in the framework of two poems from the antique pastoral tradition, one by Theocritus ("Tenth Idyll") and one by Virgil ("First Eclogue"); I believe that the issues explored in these ancient pastoral pieces adumbrate the problems facing Goldsmith and Crabbe's interpretations of the genre and thus will aid my reading and understanding of the two poems' intertextual interactions. First, I will introduce the two antique pastoral poems, explain the main themes and questions proposed by them, while relying on the findings of Haber, as a paradigm for my critical approach. After laying down this analytical framework, I will close-read the two poems side-by-side, comparing their lyrical attitudes, treating Goldsmith and Crabbe's speakers as the two shepherds of a single pastoral verse, while focusing on the tension between their pastoral and the anti-pastoral moods.

3.1. The Antique Roots

The "Tenth Idyll" is the only work from Theocritus's *Idylls* that explicitly depicts a scene of agricultural work, instead of animal husbandry. The heroes of the poem (Milo & Boucaios) are reapers in the busiest time of the harvest season who clash in an impromptu duel of wits and song. The "lovelorn" Boucaios represents a dreamy longing for "what is absent", while his partner Milo is one of the most cynical figures ever presented by Theocritus. As Haber points out, Milo "identifies and censures the heroic element in pastoral" and takes Boucaios' aspiration for "being childishly self-assertive" in the face of a pragmatic problem (the harvest and their duties as reapers) (Haber 1995, 27). Milo harshly criticises his comrade for his behaviour what he considers "ridiculously inappropriate to men of their station" (27) and fails to relate to Boucaios' inner turmoil: so when asked by Boucaios whether "hast never longed for one afar?", Milo simply answers that "[n]ever; what would a swain with roving dreams?" (*Idylls* 1.10, 9–10). Milo cynicism is, of course, understandable, when one considers Boucaios' 'heroic' aspiration, which "reaches a new low in this idyll when [he] celebrates his unique ability to love an ugly girl" (Haber 1994, 27). Milo challenges and rebukes his comrade's ridiculous romantic pretence, but does not escape the fate that is waiting for those figures of the *Idylls* who relish in their own mundaneness; he himself adopts a heroic pose, as the 'swain', the rough peasant lad who "claims to be immune to the pains of love" (Haber 1994, 28), as it was never his lot to fall victim to it. The same happens when the two contest their creative powers as singers; Boucaios invokes the Muses and relies on his own creative faculties when he sings: "Aid me to sing the slender maiden, ye Muses, aid. / Goddesses, whatsoever ye touch, it is lovely made." (*Idylls* 1.10, 30–31). Milo, in turn, satirises his artistic enthusiasm and "declares that he himself is satisfied simply to repeat the song of a greater singer" (Haber 1994, 28): "Our Boucaios was a maker of sweet songs / [...] / [...] But hearken now / The song that god-like Lityerses made." (*Idylls* 1.10, 40–41).

Again, Milo's attempt to "be completely diffident" (Haber 1994, 28), by renouncing his own creative powers as a singer and following blindly and slavishly the literary tradition established by the great poets of yore, turns his bucolic attitude into a heroic one and makes his posture just as laughable as Boucaios'.

When first reading the neoclassical pastoral pieces, I could not help but make a connection between the speakers of Goldsmith and Crabbe and the figures of Boucaios and Milo. George Crabbe is truly a Milonian character; as Ronald Hatch points out in his essay titled "George Crabbe and the Tenth Muse", Crabbe elevates the lowest of subjects (the life of the poor and the base) to be the main recurring theme of his poetry, as he "wants to turn away from the grand and marvellous to detail the minute". In Crabbe's views, "the Muses, or the traditional sources of poetic inspiration, have nothing to say about the contemporary world," (Hatch 1974, 276) thus he creates a new patron, a "Tenth Muse" for himself. He venerates the unveiled and hideous Empiria, the unapologetic Truth and "wishes to take over a new province of poetry that the [other] Muses had never claimed" (277). He scorns Goldsmith for his misplaced longing and beautification of the countryside which he describes in the bleakest of terms, the same way Milo attacks the lovelorn Boucaios for his ridiculous amours. As a real life and literary painter, Crabbe creates the most authentic picture possible of the English countryside in his "Village"; he even felt the need, "in later editions of [the poem], to add a footnote ... explaining the circumstances of the peasants" (277). Clearly, his artistic intent was never to delight, but to create a truthful document of the mundane and the simple. However, just as Milo fails to maintain his bucolic stand in the face of the oscillating values of the pastoral world, Crabbe, at the end, also installs himself as a kind hero; in his poem, he fashions himself as "a man of vision set aside from his fellowmen" (275), similar to the 'vates' attitude the Romantics will take later on. He is the sole singer of the Truth, the only one favoured by Empiria, whose vision of naturalist despair seemingly overwhelms Goldsmith's enchanted village, but only to create its own illusions of grandeur.

Boucaios is not as fitting a caricature for Goldsmith's pastoral vision, as was Milo for Crabbe's, but still there is a number of interesting connections to point out. I shall venture to compare Oliver Goldsmith's attitude towards to pastoral present in his "Deserted Village" and the figure of Boucaios. Boucaios is a figure of debased heroism, matching comrade for the cynical and materialist Milo; his heroic aspirations (of loving and longing for an ugly girl) are grotesque and invite ridicule from the beginning. In contrast to the way Milo dismisses his own creative powers, Boucaios embraces them, evoking the aid the Muses, he displays a much more optimistic attitude, similar to Goldsmith's initial assertiveness in the first half of "The Deserted Village" where his didactic vision of the desolation of the present, and the lost harmony of the past is a strong stand for the agentic powers of poetry, as he believes his verse can directly affect reality, by delighting and teaching his readers and their society. Crabbe views radically differs from this at the beginning of his own "Village", as he only wishes to provide an account of the suffering of the abjectly poor; he is no revolutionary, nor idealist who credit his poetry with any powers of creation; however, he does place himself above the mortal category as he claims a special lyrical position for himself, as the only poet with the powers of realistic depiction.

Moving on to the other important poem worthy of consideration when discussing the villages of Goldsmith and Crabbe, I shall examine the "First Eclogue" of Virgil to find clues on the rhetorical structure of "The Deserted Village". The "First Eclogue", a poem which is assumed by some to be the prototype for Goldsmith's "Deserted Village", stages a scene of exodus where the dispossessed Meliboeus is fleeing from his homeland and encounters Tityrus, an old farmer who was able to hold onto his lands and fortune, thanks to a generous benefactor. The sentimental appreciation of the country life by the speaker of Goldsmith's poem is reminiscent of

the melancholic exchange between two Vergilian figures, where the dispossessed Meliboeus idealizes all the aspects of Tityrus' life and work; just as Goldsmith's speaker is primarily moved by the temporal distance, Meliboeus is also a victim of nostalgia. They both praise a paradise lost, a paradise only they consider such, their lives in the country, one's destroyed by war, the other's by enclosure; however, their beautifying longing is strongly linked to their separation, to their temporal liminality, as their perception of all the mundane realities of the peasant work are distorted by their expelled status.

3.2. Pastoral Liminality

As Haber explains, this "'on the border'" position, which I would call the temporal and spatial liminal state of the pastoral speakers, is "paradigmatic for the Eclogues" and for the Vergilian interpretation of the pastoral. In contrast to Hellenistic Greek pastoralism, where Theocritus is constantly "attempting to acknowledge his distance from the past", his Roman successor, Virgil "seeks to bring different eras, styles, and emotions into a relation of simultaneous connection and separation, to suspend oppositions through a poetic process that he regularly images as 'interweaving'" (Haber 1995, 38). This in-between experience of the shepherds in the *Eclogues* will resurface in later pastoral traditions as the most common position for the pastoral speakers.

Joan Faust, in her book titled *Andrew Marvell's Liminal Lyrics: The Space Between*, also highlights the persistent liminality of the pastoral speakers of the early modern poet, Andrew Marvell, and links liminality with the pastoral phenomenon. In the first chapter of the book, "The Concept of Liminality and Marvell's Liminal Life", Faust introduces the idea of liminality and highlights its high relevance in literary theory. Liminality (from the Latin *limen*, or 'threshold') as a concept was created by the notable anthropologist, Victor Turner who invented the term while "studying the rituals and passage rites of the Ndembu of north-western Zambia". Turner noted that "the most significant experience" of a person's life "occur[s] during the time of transition from one stage to another, during which the subject belongs to neither stage yet to both". In this stage, where the "rules and expectations governing the previous stage no longer pertain, and those governing the subsequent stage do not yet apply", the person enjoys limitless possibilities for "becoming" and "play" (Faust 2012, 13).

As Turner explains, this liminal stage is the birthplace of "myths, symbols, rituals, philosophical systems, and works of art as culture attempts to reclassify reality and the individual's relationship to society, nature, and culture". For him, this liminal state is a cultural "'subjunctive' mood" where "social distinctions are levelled and formal structure is questioned and subverted through ritual and often play" (Faust 2012, 13). The figures of this in-between stage are inherently ambiguous as they embody the "merging of traditional distinctions such as life and death, male and female, order and chaos, and secular and profane". However, this state of ever shifting ambiguity cannot be maintained for long, as "eventually the innovations become structuralized and part of the status quo"; Turner describes this development "as moving from the 'indicative' mood of cultural processes through culture's 'subjunctive' mood back to the 'indicative' mood" (14). Thus the status quo is restored, incorporating the innovations of the liminal state in its structure.

The spatial and temporal ambiguity of the liminal state is vital for the pastoral world to emerge and to work its enchantment. Theocritus first created the genre in the great liminal state of western literature, in the Hellenistic Era which linked together Homeric and Post-Homeric Ages. Virgil reworked the pastoral in the last hours of the Roman Republic, when Octavian Augustus abolished the democratic values of the Empire and forever changed its political profile. The early modern poets of the pastoral (such as Spenser and Marvell) were standing on the threshold of modern literature when creating their own versions of pastoralism. Finally, Gold-

smith's neoclassical "Sweet Auburn" is trapped between the feudal and capitalist stages of production. From these examples, I conclude that pastoralism is essentially liminal; its figures owe their inherent ambiguity and infinite powers for "becoming" and "play" to their liminal nature. The historical development of the genre also mirrors the stages of liminality, the shifting from the "cultural indicative" to the "subjective" mood, as the pastoral shifts from its heroic (socially disruptive) to the bucolic (socially submissive) moods throughout its historical interpretations. This shift simultaneously happens within the body texts of the two poems and in their intertextual discourse as Goldsmith and Crabbe's speakers constantly alter their heroic and bucolic attitudes.

3.3. Goldsmith & Crabbe

Goldsmith opens his poem with a melodramatic revisiting of the English countryside from before the devastation of the enclosures; his description of the villagers is centred on the themes of nature and play and readily revokes the Vergilian Golden Age where the fields cultivated themselves and honey and milk flowed freely from the oak trees:

Goldsmith

> How often have I paused on every charm,
> The sheltered cot, the cultivated farm,
> The never-failing brook, the busy mill, (9–11)

In this world, labour is non-existent; Sweet Auburn's village economy is sustained by merry sporting, while "toil remitting lent its turn to play" (16). Goldsmith paints a picture where men live in such harmony with nature (through the traditional mode of production based on feudal use-rights) that labour is not registered by them at all; they seem to live in a continuous state of celebration and harvest festival.

The opening of Crabbe's verse is a direct answer and offensive against this idyllic picture depicted by Goldsmith's pastoral. For Crabbe, labour is ever present figure in the poem's universe, as a looming gloomy horror. In "The Village", the temporal liminality also has a different focus; while Goldsmith mourns the Golden Age of production, Crabbe separates himself from the Golden Age of poetry, from the historical moment onto which, he reckons, the pastoral genre was tied:

Crabbe

> Fled are those times, if e'er such times were seen,
> When rustic poets praised their native green; (*Book I*, 7–8)

In Crabbe's poem, there is no idyllic merry-making and festival; the figures of the village are presented in the bleakest terms as they toil to sustain themselves. Throughout his poem, he again and again invites Goldsmith – and any other sentimental soul, who may agree with and delight in Goldsmith's pastoralism – to visit the humble homes of their pastoral figures and see with the eyes of Crabbe, the eyes of empirical perception their real circumstances, the poverty and starvation.

The lines of the two poems depicting the livelihood of the peasantry create the first exchange of their intertextual dialogue as the two world, the village of Goldsmith and the village of Crabbe clashes:

Goldsmith

How often have I blest the coming day,
When toil remitting lent its turn to play,
And all the village train, from labour free,
Led up their sports beneath the spreading tree,
While many a pastime circled in the shade,
The young contending as the old surveyed; (15–20)

Crabbe

Oh! trifle not with wants you cannot feel,
Nor mock the misery of a stinted meal;
Homely not wholesome, plain not plenteous, such
As you who envy would disdain to touch.
Ye gentle souls, who dream of rural ease,
Whom the smooth stream and smoother sonnet please;
Go! if the peaceful cot your praises share,
Go, look within, and ask if peace be there: (*Book I*, 168–175)

These lines, in my opinion, perfectly convey the two poems opposing attitudes on the theme of labour. Crabbe dedicated the greater part of his poem to precisely describe the mundane realities of the peasantry whose very real struggle Goldsmith ignored for the aesthetic effect of natural harmony. Crabbe's treatment of his subjects is as grim and unforgiving as his attack on Goldsmith's pastoralism; the lowly figures of the country are presented with brutal honesty in their uncouth baseness, their suffering in its uninspired tragedy.

As in any work of pastoral literature, the oscillation of the pastoral and anti-pastoral moods, between the heroic and the bucolic are constantly present in the two poems. For instance, the theme of labour acquires several readings while it travels from the handling of Goldsmith to Crabbe's, from the extremes of pastoralism to anti-pastoralism. Goldsmith displays a heroic longing for the lost bucolic, very much like Meliboeus of the "First Eclogue", and initially places labour in the realm of bucolic nature, the dimension of the rural as a tool of harmony and a way to common prosperity. However, as the theme of labour moves towards to city, in the second part of "The Deserted Village", labour becomes a slave of luxury[4], and "[t]he toiling pleasure sickens into pain" (262), as labour shifts to the state of despair, to the realm of heroism.

Within the body of Goldsmith's poem, the pastoral oscillation of values and ideas occurs several times over the theme of labour, just as readily as in Crabbe's. In "The Village", labour is initially placed in a strange state devised by Crabbe; taken out of the realm of bucolic community where traditional neoclassical pastoralism places it, labour is retained into the heroic category of despair and remains there for the better half of the poem, then eventually, with a cruel fall in Crabbe's pitch, labour returns to the bucolic attitude of submission. Namely, the speaker of "The Village" starts to preach acceptance to the poor and oppressed, calling them to submit to the divinely ordered status quo: "Grief is a foe, expel him then thy soul; / Let noubler thoughts the nearer views controul" (*Book II,* 192–93).

The theme of poetry undergoes similar transformations through the poems, as the two speakers' attitude towards their creative powers shifts from one pastoral stand to another.

Crabbe

What forms the real picture of the poor,
Demands a song—the Muse can give no more.
Fled are those times, if e'er such times were seen,
When rustic poets praised their native green;

[4] I emphasize the difference between luxury and prosperity; luxury is always established at the excess of the community for the benefit of the individual, while prosperity is a common blessing, shared by the all.

No shepherds now, in smooth alternate verse,
Their country's beauty or their nymphs' rehearse;
Yet still for these we frame the tender strain,
Still in our lays fond Corydons complain,
And shepherds' boys their amorous pains reveal,
The only pains, alas! they never feel.
On Mincio's banks, in Caesar's bounteous reign,
If Tityrus found the Golden Age again,
Must sleepy bards the flattering dream prolong,
Mechanic echoes of the Mantuan song?
From truth and nature shall we widely stray,
Where Virgil, not where Fancy, leads the way?
Yes, thus the Muses sing of happy swains,
Because the Muses never knew their pains. (5–22)

Goldsmith

And thou, sweet Poetry, thou loveliest maid,
Still first to fly where sensual joys invade;
Unfit in these degenerate times of shame,
To catch the heart, or strike for honest fame;
Dear charming nymph, neglected and decried,
My shame in crowds, my solitary pride;
Thou source of all my bliss, and all my woe,
That found'st me poor at first, and keep'st me so;
Thou guide by which the nobler arts excell,
Thou nurse of every virtue, fare thee well! (407–16)

As seen previously with the theme of labour, poetry travels the nexus of pastoral values in both Crabbe and Goldsmith's cases. In Goldsmith's, poetry initially is equated with heroic lamentation and at the end, arrives at bucolic acceptance of its own limitations. For Crabbe, the theme first appears as bucolic cynicism of the artificiality and powerless nature of art then eventually turns into heroic self-assertion. Goldsmith's speaker, in the real fashion of the melodramatic pseudo-heroes of the pastoral of Theocritus, initially demonstrates the attitude of the heroic singer who mourns the lost Golden Age and wields poetry as a tool of remembrance. He also praises poetry for the moral powers he attributes to her, a stand he deserts at the face of the dire present that forces him to surrender his heroic posture to the bucolic realism. Crabbe's handling of the theme of poetry is the exact reverse of Goldsmith's. From a state of bucolic cynicism, he arrives to the state of heroic self-realization and empowerment where he carves out his own realm of poetry, and celebrates himself as the singer above others, who alone can depict true ugliness. His attitude is akin to both Boucaios and Milo's from the "Seventh Idyll"; as Milo, he displays a morbid fascination with the most gruesome naturalism, while, just as Boucaios, he creates a stand of debauched heroism when he celebrates himself as the singer of truth, which, in his interpretation, equals the depiction of the base in the basest of terms. Crabbe's shift is exemplary for the bucolic figures of the pastoral world who relish their mundanity so much, they lose it and become a sort of heroes of their own baseness.

In my conclusion, the poems of Goldsmith and Crabbe cannot be categorized as classically pastoral or anti-pastoral pieces of poetry. The continuously shifting liminal state of the pastoral world, where the oscillation of the bucolic and heroic values create a nexus of ideas and attitudes where no man can stay fixated for long, does not allow them to create a stable rhetorical positions for their pastoral speakers. Our two shepherds, Goldsmith and Crabbe eventually abandon the stand they occupied at the beginning of their respective speeches, meanwhile they are forced accept positions contradictory to their original attitudes, losing themselves in the vortex of pastoral literature, as both "The Deserted Village" and "The Village" contain pastoral and anti-pastoral elements which constantly interact with each other in an interwoven network of ideas and lyrical moods.

4. Conclusion

The intertextual dialogue between Goldsmith's "The Deserted Village" and Crabbe's "The Village" encapsulates the great arsenal of attitudes and moods of both Theocritus' and Virgil's pastoral poetries. Goldsmith's Epicurean naivety concerning the life in the countryside meets with Crabbe' stern and tragic naturalism describing the abjectly poor, as the shepherds of the *Idylls* meet with the pastors of the *Eclogues*. The two attitudes, the bucolic heroism of Goldsmith and the heroic bucolics of Crabbe seemingly clash as the two poems become as single pastoral discourse in the analysis offered in this thesis, yet their speakers only swap places with each other. The pastoral and the anti-pastoral moods in the respective speeches of Goldsmith and Crabbe's speakers contain, complement and complete each other to create the picture of the pastoral world, an *eidolon* depicting a place of ever-shifting principles, a country of play and never-ending becoming.

In my thesis, I have attempted to comment upon this lyrical duel of wits between Oliver Goldsmith and George Crabbe to highlight the rhetorical and semantic dimensions of neoclassical pastoral poetry largely overlooked by the general criticism of the pastoral. My primary aim was to undermine the artificial distinction made between the pastoral and the anti-pastoral moods within pastoral poetry and redefine the genre in broader, more complex terms that describe pastoralism in its full glory as a compound literary mode. During my analysis, I found that not only pastoralism naturally contains both the pastoral and the anti-pastoral attitudes, but also that they are the two halves of the same circle that recreate each other through the endless oscillation of the principles of the pastoral world.

In conclusion, pastoral poetry, in contrast to the former critical approaches to the genre, is a greatly complex literary mode of divorcing yet interwoven ideas. From the moment of its emergence, the genre was defined by the oscillation of the heroic and the bucolic, the pragmatic and the fanciful, the pastoral and the anti-pastoral. The conflict between pastoral and the anti-pastoral attitudes does not sunder the pastoral mode into two radically different subcategories of one-dimensional extremes, as it was previously suggested by the vast majority of pastoral scholars, but rather imbues the pastoral with a rhetorical tension that profusely enhances its semantic powers of expression. The pastoral is not a genre of idle scenes of idealistic harmony and retrospective longing, but rather a mode of poetry that problematizes these attitudes of the human condition. It is a genre that plays with types, dismantles order, ruthlessly scrutinizes our perception of the real, questions our obstinate devotion to tradition and continuously makes us redefine ourselves as cognitive creatures blessed with an infinite faculty of imagination.

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Réka Szarvas

Metafiction in *The New York Trilogy*[*]

Abstract

Paul Auster's *The New York Trilogy* shows the characteristics of a hard-boiled detective fiction but does it in a postmodern way. This paper intends to prove that from the postmodern characteristics of the novel the most prominent are the metafictional elements. The first part of the thesis presents the theoretical background of the analysis. The detective fiction and its traces in the trilogy will be introduced: the detective characters, supposed crimes and investigation, and how the novels fail being detective fictions altogether. The paper provides an insight into other analyses of The New York Trilogy as a postmodern detective fiction, and then outlines the characteristics of metafiction as a genre to provide a basis for the analysis in the next half of the thesis. The second part offers examples from the trilogy for elements of metafictional novels. Intertextual references, self-conscious devices such as frame-breaking, writing-writers as a topic and the characters self-awareness will be outlined. The author's entrance to the text, a special kind of frame-breaking will also be demonstrated. In conclusion the thesis through theoretical background and examples from the novel demonstrates how *The New York Trilogy* is a metafictional novel.

1. Introduction

The New York Trilogy (1987) is Paul Auster's early work consisting of three loosely connecting novels: *City of Glass, Ghosts* and *The Locked Room*. They were published sequentially between 1985 and 1986 and later as one volume known as *The New York Trilogy*.

In *City of Glass* Quinn, the writer of detective stories through a misunderstanding gets hired for a detective job: he needs to protect Mr. Stillman from his father. As Quinn engages with the investigation, he starts losing his life piece by piece. Finally, his hard work proves to be pointless: the Stillmans vanish like they have never existed – and so does Quinn, leaving only his red notebook behind.

Ghosts' main character is a detective, Blue who is hired by White to monitor Black and write reports about him. He moves to a house facing Black's apartment and watches him every day. After weeks of observing and reporting he finds out that it was Blue who arranged the whole situation to remind himself what he needs to do: writing. Blue then attacks Black and leaves him on the floor not knowing whether Black is dead or alive and walks out of the story.

In *The Locked Room* the narrator's childhood friend, Fanshawe is gone missing. Fanshawe turns out to be a closet writer, so the narrator becomes his literary executor and adopts his whole life until Fanshawe sends him a letter. From that point on the narrator becomes obsessed and starts seeking Fanshawe through countries. At the end of the novel the narrator finds Fanshawe in a closed room, gets his red notebook and walks away.

All three novels of the trilogy deal with investigation using the characteristics of hard-boiled detective fiction novels. Auster depicts typical investigation stories that can be found in detective fictions, but these in *The New York Trilogy* never bring the reader the satisfaction of solving the case. This suggests that the trilogy is a postmodern literary work of art. All three novels' text become a literary maze where the characters' identity gets lost and the narratives get tangled.

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[*] BA Thesis. Supervisor: Péter Bocsor

The novels also generate questions regarding the relationship between fiction and reality, reading and writing. The texts contain intertextual references and are intensely self-aware: there are comments on the texts' creation and the novel's frame breaks when the author enters the text. Because from the novel's postmodern elements the text's self-aware characteristics are the most prominent, Paul Auster's *The New York Trilogy* can be read as a metafictional novel.

The first part of the thesis is a theoretical background that offers a context to the trilogy's analysis. The detective fiction will be introduced, and I also give a summary of how the referenced studies analyse The New York Trilogy as a postmodern detective fiction. Then I outline the characteristics of metafiction as a genre to provide a basis for the analysis in the next half of the thesis. The second part analyses the trilogy through the metafictional characteristics and devices presented. The novels' intertextual references and self-conscious devices will be demonstrated through examples from *The New York Trilogy*.

2. Theoretical Background

There are several genres that can be taken into consideration when talking about The New York Trilogy: the detective fiction, the postmodern detective fiction, and metafiction. The trilogy uses elements of the detective fiction but overall subverts the genre. In this part the novel's relation to detective fiction and its postmodern analysis will be presented. The cited postmodern analyses show that the trilogy's metafictional elements are outstanding, thus metafiction as a genre will be illustrated to introduce the arguments for the second half of the thesis.

2.1. The Detective Fiction

This chapter intends to show what is common in *The New York Trilogy* with detective fiction demonstrating the genre's most typical characteristics while showing with examples how the novels cannot fulfil the genre's basic requirements. The detective fiction is based on a crime investigation and puts the detecting method and character into focus (Scaggs 2005, 144). The genre dates back the to the middle of the 19th century with Poe's short stories, however throughout the history of literature several literary works of art were centred on crime and the process of finding its culprits, from the *Bible* (for example *Susanna and the Elders*), through ancient Greeks (like Sophokles' *Oedipus the King*) to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, just to mention a few. It was in the 20th century where it really became a genre on its own with the so-called "Golden Age" between the two World Wars with Agatha Christie as the most prominent author (Scaggs 2005, 7–13).

Just like most other genres, the detective fiction has several sub-genres. The two most known and popular are the British-associated "whodunit" and the more American hard-boiled detective fiction. One type of the whodunit detective fiction is the locked room-mystery, where a dead body is found in a room where it was seemingly impossible for the murderer to enter or exit, and the story focuses on the deductive abilities applied by the detective as solving the case. While the whodunit concentrates on the puzzle and the clues of the crime rather than the characters, and also challenges the reader to solve the case before the detective; the hard-boiled detective fiction puts its main character, the private investigator in the focus and frequently deals with "violence and betrayal" (Scaggs 2005, 26–7).

The hard-boiled detective fiction can be traced back to the interwar period in the United States, where it became popular due to the pulp magazines: these magazines contained all sorts of fiction and they were printed on cheap (pulpwood) paper, hence the name (Scaggs 2005, 147). Examples of early hard-boiled detective fictions were based upon the western stories, translating them into modern, urban environments that were thought to be sexually and morally infected, where the private investigator was like a "quick-fisted urban cowboy" (Scaggs 2005, 57). Their

rise was parallel with the rise of organized crime, and the depicted cases were from people's everyday life: "bootlegging, prostitution and gamble" (Scaggs 2005, 57).

As the genre developed, its defining characteristics took form and became clearer. In hard-boiled detective fictions the story centres on the character of the private investigator or as shortened, PI, who has a client (who the PI distrusts). The story takes place in a city, and the corrupt police and a femme fatale is essential. The narrative is told from the PI's viewpoint in a neutral style, and the tone is often ironic (Scaggs 2005, 58).

This definition shows that the PI is the most important element in a hard-boiled fiction, as opposed to the classical detective fiction, like the whodunit, where the story is focused on the plot and clues. Here the main drive is the lonely "tough-guy", who works with "direct questioning, (. . .) moving from place to place" (Scaggs 2005, 59–60). The PI is usually a professional who works self-employed, and a "'direct, neutral observer', who provides 'minimal interpretation and analysis for the reader'" (Willett 1992, in Scaggs 2005, 59–60). The PI is also called private eye sometimes – Scaggs identifies this eye-metaphor with surveillance, and notes, that the "private" part refers to the PI's "secretive nature" (Scaggs 2005, 60). This secrecy can come from the tendency of disguising themselves or adopting a new identity while abandon their past, that sometimes return and "haunt" them (Scaggs 2005, 60).

Auster's *The New York Trilogy*, especially *City of Glass* follows the path of the hard-boiled detective fiction. The protagonists are lonely, isolated from society: Quinn lost all connection with his family and former friends, Blue spends his time alone in his room observing Black, the narrator in *The Locked Room* cannot tell anyone he have found Fanshawe, so he is detached from his environment. Moreover, both Blue and Quinn abandoned their past.

Ghosts has a classic private eye as a main character, and *City of Glass* more or less also: Quinn writes detective fictions with a PI as a main character, and later on in the novel he becomes one because of a misunderstanding. Mrs. Stillman provides the femme fatale to the novel. Both Quinn and Blue distrust their clients and use direct questioning and sometimes even move around while doing the investigation. *The Locked Room* is a twisted locked room-mystery, or maybe a prequel to it – not only the title suggests this, but the novel's end takes place outside of a locked room, where the chased person is found. Though all these characteristics show relation to the hard-boiled detective fiction, all three novels fail in having a true case and a solution.

In *City of Glass* Quinn needs to protect Mr. Stillman from his father, because he thinks his father wants to kill him. Quinn investigates and follows the elder Stillman, but the man never shows any sign that he indeed intends to kill, he rather disappears after a few weeks. Later Quinn observes the Sillman-house in case he needs to intervent a crime and by doing so completely abandons his former life and identity. When he finds out that the Stillmans vanished from the house without trace, he spends his remaining days in the house where he disappears as well.

In *Ghosts* the case seems normal, Blue needs to observe Black and write weekly reports. When he becomes suspicious of the case and enters Blue's flat, it is revealed that it was Black who hired him simply to remind himself that he needs to work and write all day.

In *The Locked Room* the investigation is not a classical detection, rather the narrator's own obsession is the drive behind it. The narrator adopts his childhood friend's, Fanshawe's life, who is gone missing, but after a while Fanshawe writes him a letter. Later he chases Fanshawe through countries and when he finally finds him, Fanshawe have locked himself behind closed doors and they don't even meet, just speak to each other through the door.

These suggest that the characters' quests are meaningless and never lead to anywhere, so they cannot fulfil the demand of classical, hard-boiled detective fictions: they cannot give the satisfaction of solving the case. This suggests a new kind of detective fiction.

2.2. The Postmodern Approach

The former summary showed that *The New York Trilogy* employs some characteristics of the hard-boiled detective fiction, but overall it fails in the most important part of the genre: the existence of the case is questionable and the reader never gets the solution of the mystery. By doing so it "subverts traditional detective-story conventions" (Merivale & Sweeney 1999, 2), which often occurs in postmodern detective stories.

Literary critics debate on naming the genre, calling it anti-detective, metaphysical detective, postmodern detective or metafictional anti-detective story (Kravitz 2013, 45), yet they all describe these fairly similar. The most common and obvious characteristic of these types of detective fictions is the absence of answers: we never get to the solution of the mystery and/or never know who did the crime (Kravitz 2013, 45). Merivale and Sweeney say that sometimes these mysteries are even unable to be solved and are about the detective's own identity (Merivale & Sweeney 1999, 2). The clues of the case often overpower the detective, and this leads to the lack of solution. Kravitz argues that classical detective stories usually can be broken into two parts: the commission of the crime and the investigation. The postmodern breaks this rule, the two stories flow into each other, or simply omits the actual crime (Kravitz 2013, 46–7).

The breaking of the most basic principle of detective fiction: the arch from the crime to the solution also deprives the reader from the comfort of identification. Sorapure argues that in classical detective fictions the reader identifies themselves with the detective as they get together by collecting the mystery's puzzles to the solution of the story and shares their victory, and since it was the author who put the clues together, the identification happens with the author – this creates the joy of reading detective fiction. In postmodern detective stories this doesn't happen, rather it "denies this satisfaction [by lacking the solution] and instead portrays the detective's frustrated pursuit of authorial knowledge" (Sorapure 1995, 71–2). Another shared characteristic is that the mystery becomes a maze, from where there is no escape – this can be either the world, an actual city or even a text (Merivale & Sweeney 1999, 8–9).

These components are all present in *The New York Trilogy*. Kravitz argues that in *City of Glass* the reader cannot get to the bottom of the mystery on the first place because of the confusing, maze-like naming – Quinn, Wilson, Work, Auster: they all cover the same character, not to mention the intertextual references to for example *Don Quixote*. The language here cannot depict the world or reality, but it confuses the reader with ambiguity (Kravitz 2013, 50). The city of New York becomes a "postmodern labyrinth" where Quinn disappears (Scaggs 2005, 142). The novel's narrator is not an omniscient one, but also a character in the novel, who – like Quinn, who plays a detective's role in the novel – fails in putting together the clues of the case. This way the narrator also fails in becoming the author of the novel, which widens the mystery itself (Sorapure 1995, 75–6). Sorapure argues that Quinn has a certain characteristic that makes him an anti-hard-boiled detective: while a hard-boiled detective has a steady personality, Quinn likes to "lose himself" (Sorapure 1995, 76), mainly in different personas or by walking alone in the city. Quinn's detection gets targeted towards identity. When Quinn takes on being Paul Auster the detective and accepts the case, he develops into his writing persona, Max Work, and engages himself in a real mystery, only to realise that the way he wrote Work's actions are not the true representation of a real investigation. His personality is unstable, which hinders him from concentrating on the case fully, which leads to the unsolved case (Sorapure 1995, 76–8).

In *Ghosts* Blue gets overpowered by his "impossible task" (Kravitz 2013, 49). His mission becomes insoluble, and he also faces the problems of identity: it turns out that the man he was supposed to observe was the same who hired him for the job. He cannot trust in language and his reality any more, making his own identification questionable. This applies to *The Locked Room* as well: Fanshawe has multiple names, the narrator obtains "double existence" (Kravitz 2013, 49–51) as he replaces Fanshawe in his life, and he is unable to solve Fanshawe's mystery (Kravitz 2013, 49–51).

However, Scaggs argues that "postmodern detective fiction emphasises at every turn (...) the clear parallels between reading, detection, and interpretation" (Scaggs 2005, 142). Merivale and Sweeney also say that these detective stories "speculate about the workings of language, the structure of narrative, the limitations of genre, the meaning of prior texts, and the nature of reading" (Merivale & Sweeney 1999, 7). Scaggs also states that detective stories that are centred on the crime's investigation are "narratives about narratives": metanarratives (Scaggs 2005, 143). Hutcheon suggests that "the detective story is almost by definition intensely self-aware" (Hutcheon 1980, 72). Nealon explains this with the phenomenon that the reader usually becomes one with the detective, as they both seeking the clues that will bring them to the solution of the mystery (Nealon 1999, 117). These explanations suggest that postmodern detective stories often can be read as metafictional ones. Since as Christensen argues while quoteing Gass: "Indeed, many of the so-called antinovels are really metafictions" (Gass 1970 in Christensen 1981, 9), I suggest examining *The New York Trilogy* as a metafictional detective fiction.

2.3. Metafiction

In this chapter I want to briefly outline metafiction as a genre and discuss some of its techniques, especially those ones that are important in regard to *The New York Trilogy*. If we consider metafiction strictly as Hutcheon defines it: "fiction about fiction" (Hutcheon 1980, 1), then it is nothing new, since as an example Cervantes starts his 17th century novel, *Don Quixote* depicting the way he found the novel he will represent to the readers making his novel fiction about fiction. However, it was in the mid–20th century when it came into the spotlight (Hutcheon 1980, 1).

If we take a step further in defining metafiction, Patricia Waugh offers a more specific description: it is a "fictional writing which self-consciously and systematically draws attention to its status as an artefact in order to pose questions about the relationship between fiction and reality" (Waugh 2001, 2). Christensen also puts emphasis in his description on the reflecting characteristics on the writing and writing processes itself, saying that in metafictional novels the main issue or subject is specifically the making of the fiction (Christensen 1981, 9–10). This makes clear that literary theorists tend to highlight the self-conscious and self-reflective features of these types of fictions, which is highly understandable, as the prefix "meta" also suggests speaking about itself. In the next part I want to talk more of intertextuality, which according to Waugh helps making clear that the fiction is not reality (Waugh 1984, 112); and the above-mentioned self-consciousness and self-reflectivity, these two aspect, that are often blended together when talking about metafiction.

Waugh argues that the main reason writers use other literary texts in their own works (in other words making intertexts) is that the "literary and mythical allusion reminds the reader of the existence of [the novel's] world outside everyday time and space" (Waugh 1984, 112). Intertextuality plays a major role in assuring the reader that the novel is only a fiction, which is a significant pursuit of metafictional texts.

Self-consciousness and self-reflectiveness are the main concerns of metafiction, though these two concepts tend to be merged together by literary theorists. Hutcheon talks about them as one under the idea of literary "narcissism", referring to the "textual self-awareness" (Hutcheon 1980, 1) of these types of fictions. In this chapter for the sake of simplicity I will not differentiate between the two, though self-reflectiveness and self-consciousness are not exactly synonymous expressions (Hutcheon 1980, 1).

A literary text's self-consciousness can be achieved through language, the form, or the act of writing. The narrator enters the text, and often "frame-breaking" (Waugh 2001, 28) occurs. The frame here means the construct of the novel, which helps distinguishing fiction and reality. Metafiction has several ways of breaking this frame. Regarding the endings and the beginnings

of a novel, starts and ending can be discussed, for example the novel can reflect upon the impossibility of endings. The narrator's or the author's, even the reader's presence also breaks this fictional frame, especially when characters make comments of being in the novel (Waugh 2001, 28–34). Hutcheon states that when the author writes himself into the novel, on the one hand they are creating a mirror, but on the other hand, it becomes more, than mirroring, this way they make themselves "part of the composition (. . .) itself, signalling the artist's presence as witness and virtuoso" (Hutcheon 1980, 9).

Waugh says that metafictions' aim is to tell that the text is a "play", only fictional, not the reality, and it makes visible through the above-mentioned intertextuality, or with "metacommentaries" (Waugh 2001, 35) (i.e. referring to itself). The ways of signification also can be different to the usual, signs of language do not necessarily refer to the everyday meanings, and this can happen with "playfully" using the language (Waugh 2001, 34–5).

Metafiction often works with an artist as a character – this is also a self-conscious method. The characters can be found in roleplaying scenarios, they personate themselves as somebody else (Waugh 2001, 116). Their freedom is also questionable since characters are only "trapped within the novelist's script", not existing in real life, so their being can only be a "self-conscious roleplaying" (Waugh 2001, 119). This way the author has a God-like function (Waugh 2001, 119–120). In true self-conscious manner, these characters can be aware of the fact that they are written into a text and making metacommentaries on this. It can also happen that the characters "believe they are creating their own fictional identity" (Waugh 2001, 120), they control their own story, but for the reader it is always made clear, that this is not the case (Waugh 2001, 120–1).

Admitting that a story is being written or talking about the novel's creation is an essential to metafictional works – Christensen says that this becomes the main subject of metafictions (Christensen 1981, 13). These texts tend to "search for" the narrator, the author, the lonely God-like figure, who is constructing the fiction's world. The shift between the third and first person narration makes this obvious, and sometimes the narrator, or the "Real Author" "breaks into" the text (Waugh 2001, 130–5).

After this brief summary in the next part of my paper I want to present these devices in relation to *The New York Trilogy* with examples from the novel.

3. Metafictional Tools in *The New York Trilogy*

Metafictional novels tend to employ intertextuality and several self-conscious devices which will be presented in the next chapters in regard to The New York Trilogy.

3.1. Intertextuality

Patricia Waugh in *Metafiction* states that textuality and intertextuality help accentuating that the literary fiction is not the reality: it is an "alternate world" (Waugh 1984, 112). Intertextuality did not came about with metafiction, but it plays an important part in these literary works. According to Abrams intertextuality

> (. . .) is used to signify the multiple ways in which any one literary text is made up of other texts, by means of its open or covert citations and allusions, its repetitions and transformations of the formal and substantive features of earlier texts, or simply its unavoidable participation in the common stock of linguistic and literary conventions and procedures that are "always already" in place and constitute the discourses into which we are born. In Kristeva's formulation, accordingly, any text is in fact an "intertext"—the site of an intersection of numberless other texts, and existing only through its relations to other texts. (Abrams 1999, 317)

As we can see, intertextuality is the way how texts are built up from already existing texts, and this is an important factor in *The New York Trilogy*, since Auster creates a literature-universe within it with doppelgängers and intertextual references that are evoking different novels and literary works, and *The Locked Room* even recalls the *Trilogy*'s preceding novels as well. *City of Glass* has the most intertextual elements in it, but we can find it also in the other two. The most important and the most obvious ones are Poe's *William Wilson*, Thoreau's *Walden* and Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.

City of Glass' main character is Daniel Quinn. He is a writer, who works under a pseudonym, William Wilson – he is the titular character in Poe's short story about doppelgängers (Barone 1995, 3). Quinn's initials are DQ: a reference to *Don Quixote*, which, as Bernstein says, one of the most significant in the novel:

> The reference to *Don Quixote* is essential, because that is a central metafictional intertext in the trilogy. Not only does the narrator of *The Locked Room* consider himself "an adolescent Sancho astride my donkey" to Fanshawe' Quixote, but the plot of *City of Glass* is significantly motivated by several references to Cervantes's novel of quests gone mad. The Auster Detective Agency is recommended to Virginia Stillman by a retired policeman, Michael Saavedra; Quinn ponders late in the novel "why Don Quixote had not simply wanted to write books like the ones he loved – instead of living out their adventures ... [and] why he had the same initials as Don Quixote". (Bernstein 1999, 139)

As Bernstein points out, the recalled novel, *Don Quixote* has an effect on the character in a way that Don Quixote's figure becomes parallel to the fate of Quinn: he cannot solve the case he gets, moreover, the case itself becomes pointless to the point that the supposed victim literally disappears. Another parallel is that as Don Quixote reads books of chivalry and thinks he is a knight, Quinn writes detective novels and starts acting as a private investigator, as they both want to experience their fictional worlds in real life. The Don Quixote-analogy will be important in the "Seeking the Self" chapter as well.

The parallel with the evoked novel can also be witnessed in *Ghosts*. Black – and later Blue – is reading *Walden* from Thoreau, where Thoreau tells about his self-isolation. Blue is also isolated from the world to a certain extent because of his job, his quest, which is to observe Black and make reports, the same way as Thoreau did. The young Peter Stillmann in *City of Glass* says about himself that "In the winter I am Mr. White" (Auster 2006, 18)– the man in the disguise who hired Blue calls himself Mr. White as well.

The Locked Room, the final part of the trilogy is the most interesting intertextuality-wise: it refers back to the two previous novel the most. It can be seen in connection with one of the main characters, Fanshawe, who becomes an "everycharacter", an opposite to the narrator as he evokes characteristics from the previous novels, he is "twinning" with Quinn, Stillmann, Blue, Black and Henry Dark (Alford 1995, 29):

> (...) like Stillman, Fanshawe claims to have been followed by a detective, Quinn; like Black, he says he travelled in the West; like Quinn, he claims to have camped outside Sophie's apartment for months, observing Sophie, [the narrator], and the child; Fanshawe uses the name Henry Dark in his travels and so forth. (Alford 1995, 28)

All these men through the novel seem to be great in disguising themselves, given they have in their own original story a job which requires writing and private investigating – here Fanshawe becomes all of them at the same time. He also has a red notebook, like Quinn, and similarly, when the last page is full and there is nowhere to write anymore, he ceases to exists (for the reader, at least), like Quinn did at the end of *City of Glass*.

Bernstein talks about another interesting literary parallel, which also can be an intertext: the references to Beckett's trilogy, *Molloy, Malone Dies* and *The Unnamable*. Both trilogies are supposed to be detective ones, and Beckett's one is "an excellent model for the literary text as the wandering ruminations of the intensely limited psyche" (Bernstein 1999, 148). Bernstein states that Beckett's trilogy could have been the formal model to Auster's attempts with his own one, moreover, it is a "wholesale revision", since they both deal with unnamed narrators, doppelgängers or "pseudocouples", linguistic questions of self-reference, or even the linguistic questions of writing itself (Bernstein 1999, 148–9).

3.2. Self-conscious Devices

Intertextuality helps accentuate the fact that the text is fiction, which makes the fiction meta, but it also happens with self-conscious and self-reflective writing, where the author comments on the writing process and breaks the fiction's frame in several ways. In this chapter I present how these techniques appear in *The New York Trilogy*.

Christensen states that the main subject of a metafictional novel is the making of the fiction (Christensen 1981, 9–10), or in the case of *The New York Trilogy*, making fiction in general, since all three stories revolve around writing and its problems. *City of Glass'* main character is a writer, we get to know his troubles with the writing process, why he uses a pseudonym, and how he approaches writing. It also touches upon the question how writers generate texts: in the end of the novel the narrator reveals that he only presents what he read in Quinn's red notebook: "I have followed the red notebook as closely as I could" (Auster 2006, 130) and at the same time blurs the lines between fiction and reality, which is an ongoing phenomenon in *The New York Trilogy*.

In *The Locked Room* there is Fanshawe, a talented closet writer, whose texts are published by the narrator – a journalist, his childhood friend – after he's gone missing. The narrator recalls with nostalgia from their childhood how Fanshawe became a writer, how his artistic style evolved, and later how the narrator felt becoming an editor of his friend and shares the process of arranging his work into publishing. After that, the narrator is accused of using the name Fanshawe as a pseudonym, then he himself gives a try to writing fiction, and shares his process along the way. Moreover, at the end of the novel the narrator states that he wrote all three novels of the trilogy, as different interpretations of the same story (Auster 2006, 288).

Having an artist, especially a writer as a main character or having a character with these features is not unusual to metafictional works. As Waugh mentions:

> Such novels tend to present characters who are involved in a duplicitous situation requiring the perpetration of some form of pretence or disguise. These characters usually appear as inauthentic artists. They may be professional artists such as actors, writers or painters. (Waugh 1984, 116)

This appeals to *The New York Trilogy* as well: the first and the last novel are about writers and fictions that only exist in the novel. In *City of Glass* Quinn is an author of detective stories under a pseudonym. He is hired to look after Peter Stillman senior, who wrote a book as Henry Dark. There is also a character named Paul Auster – as the novel's writer himself – who is also a writer and he introduces the reader (and Quinn as well) to the problem of Don Quixote's authorship. In *Ghosts* Blue is a detective, whose task is to observe Black and register everything he sees. This way he technically becomes a writer. In *The Locked Room* the narrator is a writer seeking his old friend, Fanshawe who also turned out to be a writer. The narrator arranges Fanshawe's work to get published – more fictional books within the fiction. And not only are they artists initially in two of the novels, but all of them are also "role-playing": writers become detectives, detectives become writers: with Waugh's words they are "making fiction" (Waugh 1984, 116).

The text's self-consciousness can be achieved through frame-breaking which means destroying the novels construction that helps telling fiction and reality apart. This often occurs In *The New York Trilogy*. Auster breaks the frame when there are comments about the start of the novel and the ending, and in the last novel as the story goes the narrator makes comments of reaching the end. The narrators reveal that they are writing the novels: in *City of Glass* the narrator says that he got Quinn's red notebook and he presents it to the reader; in *The Locked Room* the narrator reveals that he wrote all three novels.

Waugh calls the next aspect of frame-breaking "script-writing": there are subtle hints that the characters may be aware of the fact that they are in a novel, not in the real world – this often occurs in metafictional novels (Waugh 1984, 121). In *City of Glass* Quinn repeatedly feels that he has been controlled: he feels himself the dummy, not the ventriloquist in his writing-triad with his pseudonym William Wilson and his hero, Max Work; he ceases to exist when he finishes the red notebook and runs out of words. These are textual evidences that Quinn only exists in relation of his words: being the dummy means that his existence is dependent on his pseudonym's writing, he loses himself in the novels he writes; and this exact thing happens from the reader's perspective when Quinn finishes the notebook: he dissolves in the text, his existence is not important anymore. The situation is similar with Fanshawe as well: the narrator gets his red notebook, and Fanshawe becomes non-existent – at least for the text.

The following excerpt from *City of Glass* shows the way Auster hints the sign of the characters awareness:

> Auster saw the yoyo in his [son's] hand and said, "I see you've already met. Daniel," he said to the boy, "this is Daniel." And then to Quinn, with that same ironic smile, "Daniel, this is Daniel."
>
> The boy burst out laughing and said, "Everybody's Daniel!" "That's right," said Quinn. "I'm you, and you're me." "And around and around it goes," shouted the boy, suddenly spreading his arms and spinning around the room like a gyroscope (. . .)
>
> "So long, Daniel," he said, walking towards the door.
>
> The boy looked at him from across the room and laughed again. "Good-bye myself!" he said.
>
> Auster accompanied him to the door. He said, "I'll call you as soon as the check clears. Are you in the book?"
>
> "Yes," said Quinn. "The only one." (Auster 2006, 100–101)

In this part Daniel Quinn meets the character Paul Auster and his son. If we read the section as the character Auster is the novel's writer, then Quinn is his "son", he created the character via writing him into the novel. "I am you, and you're me" not only refers to the fact that they share their names, but it can suggest that they both are Auster's "sons"; indeed, they are the same person – the younger Daniel's farewell suggests the same thing. The author Auster also plays with the words' different meanings, the question "are you in the book" on one hand refers to the telephone book, where he can find Quinn's telephone number, but also can suggest the fact that they are written into a novel – though there are several characters who share their names, Quinn is the only one with this name. Another hint is in *Ghosts*: Blue says when he finds out that his romantic relationship is about to end that "It's time to turn the page" (Auster, 2006, 162), which is a cliché, but it also can show the character's awareness.

Another frame-breaking happens when the "real author", Auster becomes a character in *City of Glass*, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

3.3. Seeking the Self

Metafictional texts often break the novel's frame and present the author in the text, or the narrator makes metacommentaries on the making of the text (Waugh 2001, 131). This is another self-conscious device. In this chapter I want to examine this in *The New York Trilogy* and present some ideas why Auster did this.

As I mentioned in the previous chapter as well, the narrator both in *City of Glass* and *The Locked Room* makes comments about how he wrote the novels. The narration in *City of Glass* is in third person until the last pages where it shifts to first person and the narrator tells the reader he got Quinn's red notebook from Paul Auster, and presents it without interpretation, just in its true form. In *The Locked Room* the narration is in first person throughout and at the end the narrator confesses that he wrote the whole trilogy: "These three stories are finally the same story, but each one represents a different stage in my awareness of what it is about" (Auster 2006, 288). Moreover, in *City of Glass* there are three Paul Auster present in the text: Paul Auster, the detective from Auster Detective Agency; Quinn, when he personates himself as this detective to the Stillmans; and the "real" Paul Auster, the only one in the telephone book, who happens to be an author, who gives the narrator Quinn's red notebook, and gives us an interesting theory of the author of *Don Quixote*.

The character Auster states that Cid Hamete cannot be the author of the text, as the novel presents, since it is said that the reader reads the only true version of the story. This way Hamete must have been an eyewitness to the story, but his presence is never stated throughout the novel. Auster says, that the novel was "written" by four characters: Sancho Panza, who dictated it, the barber and the priest, who wrote down in Spanish and Samson Carasco, who translated it to Arabic – and after all that Don Quixote personally translated it back to Spanish after Cervantes hired him. They did this to "cure Don Quixote of his madness" (Auster 2006, 98). But Auster argues that Don Quixote was not mad at all, in fact he arranged this whole scenario to test whether his men are foolish, easy to deceive (Auster 2006, 97–8).

This theory presented in *City of Glass* about *Don Quixote* can be seen as parallel to *City of Glass* and *The New York Trilogy* as well. Sorapure argues that this way Don Quixote is visible and invisible in the novel at the same time: he is the titular character and the mastermind behind it – in *City of Glass* the author "disappears within a multi- layered maze of fictional embodiments, the author-characters" (Sorapure 1995, 84). She argues that according to Auster's theory if we discover the "true author", we can understand the novel. Sorapure says that Paul Auster made Quinn and the red notebook up then presented to the narrator, to test his theory – this would solve the mystery: *City of Glass* is a parody on detective fictions, and "there is no crime, no solution, and, by the end, no hero" (Sorapure 1995, 84). This way Auster becomes a "metamaster", being responsible both for the plot and the writing itself, as she continues:

> The novel undermines a reading that would reinforce the interpretation of detective fiction in terms of a master plot, master plotter, and master reader. Here the space between Auster and "Auster", between the author and the author-character, is crucial. In that "meta" space- the space of metafiction, as it were – Auster stages a complex play with his name, simultaneously associating and dissociating himself and his mode of authorship with an author-character who is either a marginal character or the major figure, the master plotter. (Sorapure 1995, 85)

This way, as Sorapure argues Auster can highlight in the novel the author-function of the detective novels.

Steven E. Alford's study, "Mirrors of Madness" also investigates the parallel between Auster's Don Quixote-theory and the novel. He connected this with the question of who narrates the three stories. He argues that the question of the narration is the question of self-identity and textology – and since the "real" author is part of the "real" world, if we make author and make narrator, we make fiction (Alford 1995, 17–9).

Alford with the help of the Don Quixote-theory states that in *City of Glass* as the narrator never met Quinn, he can only rely on the notebook and Auster. This way we can presume that the narrator is {Auster} (as Alford signifies in his study for clarity), and just like with Don

Quixote, the real-life Quinn and Stillmans made him the story up to reflect him on his "madness", but in the end, just like with the above-mentioned theory, there is a twist: Auster arranged the whole story. This way Auster the writer is a character in the novel made up by {Auster} the narrator, the same as with *Don Quixote* (Alford 1995, 19–21).

Alford states that the reason for all these is that a self's knowledge of itself can only be gained through language. This way the self is a text, and as the text's "knowability is endlessly deferred", gaining self-knowledge is impossible. Alford says that Auster's characters are realizing this (they become aware of their limits caused of the text) and react with violence.

This happens for example in *Ghosts*: Blue is a detective, who believes in his freedom, but through his case he realizes that he is neither free nor independent, reacts with violence and anger, and denies Black's existence. What he does not realize though is that his existence is solely dependent on Black's, thus by denying him he denies himself, since the "I" only exists in relation to others – at least in the world of *The New York Trilogy* (Alford 1995, 23–5).

Alford argues that the question of narration in Ghosts is more difficult than in the other two novels, since it happens in a different time: approximately thirty-five years earlier. Because Quinn and the narrator of *The Locked Room* is around the same age as Auster, this novel is probably set around the birth of Auster. Since the narrator in the last novel says that all three story is written by himself, Alford argues, that given the paradox of the story and the vague, random names and places, with *Ghosts* Alford made up an "imaginative narrative space around the time of his birth" (Alford 1995, 26) to reflect on the creation of his own self, and "the search for the narrator [becomes] the search itself"(Alford 1995, 26–7).

Alford already discussed that the narrator of *The Locked Room* is the same who narrates the other two stories: {Auster}. Like with Ghosts, the "self-other opposition" occurs here as well: Blue thinks he is in charge, the narrator supposes he controls Fanshawe, and when he realizes that it is not the case, he also reacts with violence (Alford 1995, 27–29).

Alford concludes his study citing the Don Quixote-theory again. He argues that Cervantes is generated by the text and hence he is Don Quixote, and since the self is constructed by the text, the reader also becomes Don Quixote. Following this analogue, Auster is the same as {Auster}, and the readers of *The New York Trilogy* also become Auster (Alford 1995, 30). Barone also suggests this, but goes one step further when citing Borges:

> "Why does it disturb us that the map be included in the map and the thousand and one nights in the book of the *Thousand and One Nights?* Why does it disturb us that Don Quixote be a reader of the *Quixote* and Hamlet a spectator of *Hamlet?"* Why, I might add, does it disturb readers that "Paul" is a character in, is the narrator of, Paul's own fiction? Borges answered: "I have found the reason: these inversions suggest that if the characters of a fictional work can be readers or spectators, we, its readers or spectators, can be fictitious" (Borges 1962 in Barone 1995, 5)

This suggests not only the self-reflection and self-consciousness of the text, but also by gaining self-knowledge through the text also creates the reader: the author yet again becomes a God-like figure, and the relationship between fiction and reality gets questioned.

These studies talked about the aspect of the narrator and author being present in the text, and described its self-reflective nature, which is an important factor in metafictional works: it makes comments both on the making of the text, and the text as world, the barrier between fiction and reality, and its possibilities and limitations.

4. Conclusion

Although *The New York Trilogy* shows the characteristics of the hard-boiled detective fiction: in all three novels there is a lonely, isolated hero, there is a case, an investigation, and *City of Glass* also have a femme fatale-type of character; the novels do not satisfy the basic requirement of the genre of hard-boiled detective fiction: the detective-characters cannot solve the mystery, and even the case loses its purpose.

The missing solution suggests that the trilogy is a postmodern anti-detective novel, as the cited studies describe the novels. The case itself seems questionable or pointless and the mystery is rather a maze where the characters lose their identity through confusing names and doppelgängers. The novels' characters are writers, they deal with making texts, and the novel's texts suggests a connection between detection, reading, and writing. Though these are postmodern topics, it shows a stronger connection with metafiction.

Metafictional literature reflects on the nature of text, the relation between fiction and reality, authorship and writing. Metafictional works are above all self-conscious and self-reflective, and this is shown in *The New York Trilogy* as well. The novels are loaded with intertextual references from Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, Poe's *William Wilson*, Thoreau's *Walden* and Beckett's Trilogy: *Molloy, Malone Dies* and *The Unnamable*. Intertextuality is an important element in metafiction, since it helps strengthen the fact that the text is an artefact, fiction, not the reality.

The novels' self-reflective nature shows through its language and form. The trilogy's plot revolves around writing and writers: the main characters are writers (Quinn, the narrator, Black), or needs to write everyday (Blue). Both in *City of Glass* and *The Locked Room* the narrator makes comments on how he wrote the novels: in *City of Glass* the narration shifts to first person and the reader gets to know how the novel was written; at the end of *The Locked Room* the narrator reveals that he wrote all three novels of *The New York Trilogy*. These metacommentaries are breaking the novel's frame. Another frame-breaking happens when the characters show awareness to the fact that they are only part of a fictional world: they comment on being written into a book, and their actions are generated by the author, their moves and existence are limited.

City of Glass also have a special kind of frame-breaking when the author, Paul Auster enters the novel's text as a character. Since in the novel the character Auster depicts a theory about the authorship of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* which is parallel to *The New York Trilogy*, the author's entrance questions the relations of fiction and reality. This enhances the novel's self-reflective nature.

Paul Auster's *The New York Trilogy* uses elements of hard-boiled detective fiction and postmodern novels, and uses them to write about writing, writers and the relationship of fiction and reality, thus creating a metafictional novel.

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Tamara Tamás

Reading Aloud and Foreign Language Learner Communication*

Abstract

In my paper, I will examine the liability of advanced English language learners to foreign language anxiety (FLA) and in what ways they could cope with this phenomenon. I will also examine the impact of the reading aloud (RA) technique on the oral performance of my participants. I focus on speaking skills in my paper because these skills proved to be the most anxiety-provoking to the majority foreign language (FL) learners. The improvement in speaking skills were the most important for many FL learners (see those studies I note in the introduction and in the literature review). My results showed similarities with other studies: advanced language learners are also liable to experience FLA (six out of twelve participants were considered anxious students based on their answers in the questionnaire) and they find the same situations anxiety-provoking. My participant reported that the RA technique had positive impact on them; I achieved higher level anxiety in the case of one participant who did not want to continue the tasks. Despite critics' doubts, if we pay attention to the length and complexity of sentences, learner proficiency and we have a clear objective, the RA technique can indeed be a useful learning aid both for those learners who have higher level of anxiety and those who only would like to practice and get into the language before performing a task in English.

1. Introduction

Foreign language anxiety (FLA) has been a main focus of applied linguistics research for decades with many researchers having attempted to identify sources of anxiety and possible solutions for the reduction of the negative impacts of this phenomenon among foreign language (FL) learners. In first defining FLA, researchers differentiated those anxieties which are present in learning a foreign language from those which are considered as general anxiety. For example, Gordon and Sarason (1955) who separated test anxiety from other anxieties and examined how test anxiety is affected by other, more generalized anxieties.

The study which can be considered as a milestone in distinguishing FLA was Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986), which determined three interrelated manifestations of FLA and Horwitz (1983), which introduced the Foreign Language Anxiety Scale (FLAS) which is still used even today for measuring language learners' anxiety level.

With the greater recognition of FLA, more and more studies have investigated which techniques can offer possible solutions to mitigate its adverse impacts on FL learners' performance in the four skills (speaking, writing, reading, and listening) with a particular focus on speaking skills since these skills seem to create the most anxiety-provoking situations among language learners.

However, many of these studies, including some I note later, mainly concentrated on those FL learners who were at the beginning stages of their language learning or those who learned English in tertiary education but not as their major or minor.Therefore, little is known about how advanced foreign language learners, particularly English majors are liable to experience

* BA Thesis. Supervisor: Thomas Williams

FLA and how the available techniques and solutions can be beneficial to them. There are even fewer studies in this field in connection with how English majors in Hungary are affected by FLA and how they cope with this phenomenon.

In my paper, I will demonstrate the complexity of FLA through Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986). I will also show how volition and perfectionism affect FL learner's performance, how FL learners themselves perceive the notion of FLA and how they can cope with it both in foreign and Hungarian contexts. Furthermore, I will highlight some techniques and possible solutions from previous studies in connection with improving speaking skills because I have also chosen a topic which measures and examines FLA through speaking: the reading aloud (RA) technique.

The utility of the RA technique is highly questionable among academics; in that, if it is not used properly, it can easily intensify FL learners' anxiety. I have chosen this technique because I have used it myself in the past for improving my pronunciation and intonation in English and I have also used it as a warm-up activity for those students who had difficulties in speaking English and asked for help.

The paper examines advanced learners' liability to experience FLA; furthermore, it explores the anxiety-provoking situations which may contribute to their FLA and the way in which the RA technique affects the oral performance of the participants of my study in terms of fluency and level of anxiety. I will also focus on the following hesitation phenomena: silent and filled pauses and repetitions. I will analyse my recordings based on the proportion in which these phenomena are present in the participants' talks, thus exploring possible relationships between the number of hesitation phenomena and my participants' fluency and level of anxiety. Then, I will compare my results with previous studies and propose some recommendations for further studies on this topic due to the limitations of this study. The research questions of my paper are therefore the following:

1) In what way(s) are my advanced language learner participants liable to experience FLA?
2) What do my participants consider as anxiety-provoking situations compared to the answers from FL learners of previous studies?
3) How does RA impact their fluency and level of anxiety during our discussions?

2. Literature review

Foreign language anxiety (FLA) has been studied extensively in recent decades with the aim of identifying factors that contribute to this kind of anxiety and find solutions which can mitigate its adverse impacts on foreign language learning. Although a lot of research has been conducted in this field and possible causes have been identified, there are still some aspects which require more investigation to understand the notion of FLA and to help those foreign language learners in whom this phenomenon generates difficulties in learning and performing in a foreign language.

Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986) attempted to define FLA to differentiate it from other anxiety reactions and interpret it within the framework of specific anxiety reactions perceived in other areas and they conceived FLA as "distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings, and behaviors related to classroom language learning" (p.128).

The term specific anxiety reaction is used by psychologists to refer to stress in a specific situation only, in this case in language learning. After interpreting previous studies in this field (e.g. Savignon, (1972) and Krashen, (1980)), they concluded that there are three related performance anxieties: communication apprehension, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation.

Communication apprehension is manifested in various ways, including a general fear or anxiety of communicating with other people, speaking in groups or in public. This tension can

increase in a foreign language class when students need to communicate in a language from which they could only use limited vocabulary and grammatical structures.

Test-anxiety is connected to fear of failure on tests in any forms and in many cases, anxious students are more affected by it than their non- or slightly anxious peers. Fear of negative evaluation can lead to lack of motivation in participating in tasks in foreign language classes but it can also influence any utterances in other social contexts which pertain to an evaluative situation.

The results of this study suggest that with the alteration of the foreign language curriculum, both teachers and students should pay more attention to this phenomenon, since with the ever-growing requirements, teachers may encounter more anxious students than before, particularly in speaking which the authors indicated as one of the most anxiety-provoking aspect of FL learning. However, with careful awareness and firm suggestions, teachers can shape students' experiences in such a way that the hindering effects of FLA can be overcome to the extent that anxious students might be able to cope with any emerging difficulties.

For today, with the increased recognition of FLA and its effects, a growing body of research has been conducted to provide a better insight into this notion and recommendations for reducing those responses which have hindering effects on students' performance.

As previously stated, test-anxiety is a component of FLA which can derive from, for example, students' perfectionism which often includes impossibly high performance standards, fear of failure, and all-or-nothing evaluations. For example, Reza Pishghadam, and Akhondpoo (2011) examined the relationship between perfectionism and its effects on foreign language learning in an educational context. They observed the extent to which learners' perfectionism plays a role in reading, listening, speaking, writing, academic achievement, and learner anxiety. After analysing data, they found that the present features of perfectionism impede the performance of students in all of the listed skills and enhance the level of anxiety.

Trang, Moni, and Baldauf (2012) also examined how FLA affects students' determination and sought a link between motivation to study English and ways of coping with FLA through volition theory. Volition theory perceives motivation as how students are willing to participate in tasks and how they achieve their goals in their FL and it was found that volition plays a huge role in maintaining motivation. The authors observed that students with higher volitional control could overcome their FLA more easily than those who were reluctant to study English harder or who showed the least volitional control. This study shows that lack of volition and perseverance hinders students' performance and motivation to engage in tasks and improve their language proficiency.

Dörnyei and Kormos (2000) examined the individual and social variables which can influence how FL learners are willing to communicate and engage in different oral tasks. They found that motivation has a huge impact on learners' willingness to communicate (WTC) and on their engagement in tasks. The results also showed that self-confidence in the L2, WTC, and social status are also significant variables during oral tasks. The researchers emphasised the importance of choosing the task because if the learners have a negative attitude to a given task, there will be a negative change in most of these variables.

The manifold manifestations of FLA have been supported by von Wörde (2003), in which the phenomenon was examined solely from the perspective of language learners with a high level of anxiety, thus providing a substantial insight into these learners' personal feelings, beliefs, and experiences. The participants answered questions about what they considered the most anxiety-provoking situations, how the effects of these situations could be mitigated, and how they felt during their foreign language classes.

The students reported extremely negative feelings and experiences concerning their classes. They noted various sources which contributed to their anxiety, including speaking activities due

to limited vocabulary and incomplete knowledge of the grammar, negative classroom experiences from their previous studies, or the teachers themselves. They reported both physical and psychological manifestations of their anxiety, thus also indicating the complexity of FLA. However, these participants already felt better when they understood they were not alone with this problem and in answering the questions, they became more aware of this phenomenon and of some possible solutions to cope with their FLA more efficiently. This can indicate that the recognition of FLA is key to coping with its effects on language learners.

The previously listed anxiety-provoking situations and the possible reductions of their effects were acknowledged by Williams and Andrade (2008), which proposed that although there is no solution which is applicable to all anxious students, such activities which are connected to students' previous knowledge or related to them on a personal level could be a good start to enhance their confidence and their willingness to participate in classroom activities.

So far, this paper has focused on the manifold manifestations of FLA and the possible solutions to mitigating its adverse impacts on foreign language learners at the beginning stages of learning or on those who studied English in tertiary education but whose major was not English. The following section will discuss how advanced language learners, specifically Hungarian L1 English majors are liable to experience FLA and how the possible solutions noted above may apply to them.

Nagy and Nikolov (2007), proposed the idea that it is not only low-proficient EFL learners who are affected by FLA. They examined willingness to communicate (WTC) among English majors at the University of Pécs through a written assignment. The participants were asked to write about the situations in which they felt most willing to communicate and those in which they felt the least WTC. Most of them felt most willing to use the language outside the classroom environment or in informal contexts. Further situations were private lessons and language classes abroad. The majority of the participants reported unfavourable experiences during their English courses at the university. They noted that they perceived their peers as more proficient speakers of English, thus contributing to their avoidance of speaking in front of their classmates. Other examples when they felt least willing to communicate were the topic of the conversation, fear of imperfection, and communication apprehension.

The presence of FLA among advanced EFL learners was examined in Tóth (2010), in which data was collected from first-year English majors at Pázmány Péter Catholic University through an anxiety survey, an open-ended anxiety questionnaire, and interviews with five students who proved to be the most anxious from among the participants. Tóth found that although a minority of the participants showed a strong degree of FLA, they reported similar responses and pointed to factors which were identified in previous studies which were carried out with non-English majors. Fear of making mistakes and not meeting the requirements, competition with peers, and fear of negative evaluation all seem to play a major role in creating FLA among English majors.

Tóth (2011) also carried out a study in which she interviewed five English majors at Pázmány Péter Catholic University to reinforce her findings that FLA is present among advanced learners of English as well. This study has demonstrated again that some English majors show similar behavioural, emotional, and physical reactions than less proficient EFL learners. The participants felt insecure in their classes, particularly, during speaking activities, where they found themselves unable to express their thoughts as they wanted. The possible reasons they reported were the fear of making mistakes in front of teachers and peers, the constant feeling that they cannot achieve the perceived standard which they had established by monitoring others or the lacking sense of competence compared to their classmates. Consequently, a general avoidance of speaking has evolved in them to minimise the anxiety-provoking situations in their

English classes. The evidence provided by the participants points out that a higher level of proficiency does not necessarily coincide with lower FLA. The author suggests that the explanation for the presence of FLA in the case of advanced language learners could be the fact that the importance and the situation of using English have altered, thus possibly contributing to the participants' responses to certain situations. These alterations can entail other changes, for example the change of status as a language learner: before they went to university, they might have been one of the best students in their classes but at university, advanced EFL learners might feel or observe a constant competition with their peers.

The previous sections have attempted to provide greater insight into the various factors which can cause FLA and some possible solutions both teachers and students can apply to reduce the debilitating effects of FLA.

The following section discusses studies that offer techniques which can help those foreign language learners with a moderate or high level of FLA. These studies mainly focus on speaking activities, as noted earlier, speaking has been found to be one of the most anxiety-provoking situations which needs reinforcement to mitigate FLA.

Nipa Bhattacharjee's (2008) study confirms that despite having a great many class hours in language learning and teaching methodology, Bangladeshi learners face many problems as regards their speaking skills. Although this study describes the situation in Bangladesh, the problems are present in other countries and the possible solutions apply to all language learners who are in the same situation worldwide. Bhattacharjee claims that speaking activities inside the classroom are not sufficient to acquire good speaking skills because of the limitations in the classroom environment. Apart from discussing responses noted in the previous section in connection with creating a high level of FLA, it is emphasised that personality factors such as introversion or extroversion, can also play a role in the oral production of EFL learners. Bhattacharjee suggests that teachers should create more real life activities for EFL learners to increase their confidence in speaking.

This view was also illustrated by Jack C. Richards (2006) who supports the idea that speaking skills are the most important indicators of proficiency for foreign language learners. He points out that language learners often evaluate their improvement in a foreign language on the basis of how their proficiency in speaking developed, neglecting other areas such as writing or listening; therefore, developing classroom speaking activities is advisable to enhance students' confidence. He discusses the different functions of speaking using Brown and Yule's (1983) framework, but he also introduces a third component of the interactional functions of speaking: talk as performance. The distinction between the functions of speaking (talk as interaction, talk as transaction, and talk as performance) is essential, since all three functions require different teaching methods and planning to achieve improvement in speaking. The correct use of the functions of speaking can differ widely among foreign language learners. If there is a problem using one function correctly, students might feel that they are not proficient enough in the given foreign language and, therefore, there is a possibility that they will avoid communication in the TL, no matter how proficient they are in other functions of speaking or in other language skills.

In a later study, Richards (2014) demonstrated that with the advance of technology, FL learners have more opportunities to improve their language skills, particularly their speaking skills outside the classroom, despite the limitations of their foreign language classes. The internet, the media, and technology in general provide such meaningful opportunities with which interactive and self-educated language learning is possible. In chat rooms, students can engage in real-time communication with people who have similar interests or experiences from all over the world which creates a calmer and safer situation to practice English. Moreover, chat rooms

which are specialised in practising foreign languages on different proficiency levels provide an environment in which foreign language learners with limited language proficiency do not feel the same pressure as they do inside the classroom. Self-access centres which provide various learning resources would also be a good option for improving language skills. The author further points to digital games, listening logs, online resources, and television which can facilitate the acquisition of better speaking skills and all of the strategies can be applied inside the classroom later.

Chie Ogawa (2016) examined effects of different kind of pretask plannings (no planning, teacher-led planning, solo-written brainstorming, and paired-interactive planning) on oral performance among Japanese university students. Pretask planning proved to be useful to students focusing on a task, increasing their motivation, competence, and improved their fluency, accuracy, and the complexity of their utterances. The data supported the fact that accomplishing a task without planning has the worst results on students' performance. Teacher-led planning was the most successful in terms of accuracy, the complexity and length of the units of speech; thus, before an oral task, it is beneficial to use techniques which can help FL learners focus on the fact that for the following minutes they are to accomplish a task in English.

Although a great deal of research has presented effective techniques and devices to help students improve their skills in foreign languages, some available instruments are rather neglected and one of them is the reading aloud technique.

The application and utility of reading aloud in language learning is a controversial issue among academics. For example, Grabe and Stoller (2002) point out that RA can impede the comprehension of texts because readers concentrate on individual words and not the meaning of the text. Furthermore, Celce-Murcia, Brinton, and Goodwin (1996) contend that RA cannot be a useful learning aid because edited and unnatural texts does not really help FL learners to improve their language skills.

However, Sally Gibson (2008) argues that reading aloud can be a useful learning tool in various areas, from reinforcing grapheme-phoneme correspondences through improving pronunciation to reducing FLA, or it can help students to reduce speaking-related stress. However, the author emphasises factors which should be considered during the application of this technique to avoid its adverse impacts on the performance of language learners. For instance, reading aloud must be used with a clear objective; the teacher or the language learner needs to decide which skills they wish to improve. Learner language proficiency and motivation must also be considered because selecting the wrong text can cause boredom or a higher level of FLA. Therefore, the users of this technique need to be aware of text length as well as the complexity and content of the text. However, after choosing the aim clearly and selecting the appropriate text, reading aloud can indeed be a useful learning tool in classrooms or in individual learning.

It is important to note, however, that some characteristics of speaking must be considered while using the reading aloud technique to produce more valid results. Hayshi, Raymond, and Sidnell (2013) point out the fact that real-time interaction with other people has its unique characteristics which include such hesitation phenomena as false starts, silent and filled pauses, lengthening, and self-corrections, seeing that these interactions are not planned.

False starts encompass the phenomenon in which a speaker begins an utterance but does not finish it; instead, they start another utterance whose wording and syntactic structure may be completely different from the original, unfinished utterance. The difference between silent and filled pauses is that applying the latter, the speaker uses fillers which can be otherwise meaningless units, for example 'eh, ehm', or meaningful words like 'well'. In the case of lengthening, one or more syllables are prolonged. Self-corrections include, for example when a speaker uses the wrong word or tense and they repair that unit where the correction is needed.

People use these tools to maintain interaction and intersubjectivity and to develop the action(s) in a given interaction. Therefore, these phenomena should not be considered as by-products of the interactions but rather as a system, through which the participants handle those emerging problems which could halt the action that they wish to accomplish. In this way, real-time interactions could be defined more effectively and it can provide a better understanding of why people behave the way they do in oral interactions.

3. Methods

3.1. Participants

The participants of the study were twelve university students in their first or second year in the English Studies or, American Studies BA programme, or in the five-year teacher education MA-equivalent programme. Two of the students had already known me before their participation, which is a potential factor in influencing their performance during the recordings.

Three of them were males and nine of them were females, between the ages of 18 and 21, who had been learning English for five to seventeen years at the time of the study. None of them had attended a language school or worked in an English-speaking country, so they can be considered as typical EFL learners in Hungary.

They were chosen based on their results on their placement and vocabulary tests, which all students take at the beginning of the academic year. I selected volunteers who had achieved approximately the same scores, seeing that a similar level of proficiency was important to provide comparable results in this study. Since everyone completed the same tasks and read aloud the same texts, much lower or higher proficiency levels compared to the average could have been disadvantageous both for the participants and the results of this study. This was thus an important controlled variable.

3.2. Procedures

At the beginning, the participants were asked to complete a three-part questionnaire in English, which was sent to them via e-mail and they completed it at home (see Appendix C). In the first part I enquired about their motivations and goals as regards the English language. In the second part I measured their anxiety level and their attitude toward their classes with a mixture of previously written questionnaires (Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope, 1986; Dörnyei, 2010) because I wanted to collect questionnaire items which were relevant for this study. In the third part, I was curious about their educational background and habits in connection with English.

They were separated into two groups based on their answers in the second part of the questionnaire which contained statements about how they felt during their classes and in situations where they needed to use English, anxious and confident students. This was done to observe the impacts of the reading aloud technique on their performance more efficiently.

I also compiled a Hungarian questionnaire (see Appendix A) for those who had learnt or were still learning English at the university or in other ways (language schools, private teachers, or other ways) and I wanted to compare their results with the responses from my participants and ascertain whether the respondents to the Hungarian questionnaire exhibited a higher, approximately the same, or a lower anxiety level, and whether these respondents had different motivations and goals for learning English than the twelve participants of my study who were all studying English at the university as their major or minor.

Before the Hungarian questionnaire was given to the respondents, I asked ten testers to read them and provide some recommendations or suggestions for improvement. I chose those volun-

teers who had no knowledge about the topic and had only studied English until they finished secondary school.

The Hungarian questionnaire was completed online. In the case of this questionnaire, the second part was composed of statements which were connected to common and everyday situations rather than the classroom environment, since I was aware that the majority of those who completed the Hungarian questionnaire were probably no longer learning English in classrooms.

After completing the questionnaire, the first task of the twelve participants of my study was to discuss a book or a film they liked for approximately three minutes. This could be a familiar task for them as they have a similar task on the speaking part of their Academic English exam at the end of the first phase of their studies.

Then, we had two occasions when they read aloud excerpts from the stage play *Harry Potter and the Cursed Child* (2017) (see Appendix D) and after that we discussed a topic which they did not know about in advance. I found choosing a play script advantageous to minimise monotony, considering the fact that reading these kinds of dialogues are closer to natural speech than reading excerpts from another genre because the excerpts were interactive, like in our everyday life. These conversations lasted between six and eleven minutes and they read aloud nearly one page long excerpts before the conversations.

During the last meeting they talked for three minutes again, but this time everybody talked about one film I had asked them to watch, an adaptation of Neil Gaiman's book, *Stardust* (2007).

All the conversations were recorded for further analysis to differentiate those notions which could indicate a higher anxiety level from those which are part of natural spoken language. The recorded data was analysed with VOICE mark-up conventions 2.1 (2007) (see Appendix E–P). I used the reading aloud technique to observe whether my participants had become more fluent and relaxed during the conversations. Other aspects like accuracy in pronunciation, grammar, and comprehension were not measured due to the limited recordings and scale of this study.

Not all students' speech was recorded in the same environment; most of the first three-minute talks were recorded at the university library; in the case of one student it was recorded in her sublet.

The two discussions when they read aloud excerpts before discussing the topics and the second three-minute talks were recorded in a classroom or a corridor in the university building except for three students, in the case of whom the recordings were made at the dormitory where we lived.

Only one participant did not complete the tasks; in the case of this participant, I achieved higher anxiety during our first discussion when he needed to read aloud before discussing the given topic. After this first reading aloud discussion, he did not wish to continue the remaining tasks.

When the participants were finished with the three-minute talks and the two discussions, their final task was to give an evaluation of the whole process and their personal opinion about the reading aloud technique because I wanted to see their perceptions to obtain a more valid picture of the results.

Seeing that with the reading aloud technique it is easy to create anxiety-provoking situations, such as far more errors in pronunciation because the individual can even make errors reading aloud words which they know how to pronounce properly when engaged in an everyday conversation, or the given text is not appropriate for their level of proficiency in terms of its grammar, vocabulary, or length. Therefore, I also asked them about whether the texts were difficult to read, whether they found the lengths of the texts appropriate, and whether they would use this technique in the future, for example, before giving presentations or preparing for oral exams. Only eight participants sent the evaluation back to me.

3.3. Results and Discussion

Although this study was small-scale and had more limitations (participants, time, and data), it has still managed to provide comparable results to those studies I discussed in the literature review. It also acknowledged some points which might affirm that more studies could be conducted in the area of how advanced learners of English are affected by FLA and what techniques might be able to help them to mitigate its adverse impacts on their performance on tests and oral tasks.

The first part of the questionnaire my participants completed contained 15 statements about their motivations and goals in connection with English. All statements started with "Studying English is important to me...". They completed a Likert scale, where they could choose from five possibilities where 1 meant "not important to me" and 5 meant "very important to me". In this part, I looked at the mean of their answers to determine which aspects they found very important and which ones were the least important to them for learning English as advanced language learners. The standard deviation (SD) was 1.25.

Table 1 Least important aspects of learning English

Statement	Mean
"because I would like to think and behave like the English/Americans do"	1.83
"because it offers a new challenge in my life"	2.83
"because an educated person is supposed to be able to speak English"	3.5

Table 2 Most important aspects of learning English

Statements	Mean
"because I would like to travel to countries where English is used"	4.25
"because I think it will someday be useful in getting a good job and/or making money"	4.25
"so that I can read English books, newspapers or magazines"	4.33
"because I would like to make friends with foreigners"	4.33
"because I would like to spend some time abroad"	4.58
"because with English I can work globally"	4.58

In the second part of the questionnaire, which contained 21 statements, I also measured their anxiety level with a Likert scale, but in this part, they could choose from six options, where 1 meant "strongly disagree" and 6 meant "strongly agree". Based on their answers, I separated them into "confident" and "anxious" students because I expected that there would be some differences between the performance of participants who reported no problem in connection with talking in front of others and those who had experienced difficulty in speaking inside or outside the classroom in English.

After analysing their answers, I divided them into six confident and six anxious students. Determining the anxious students, I needed to examine different aspects of anxiety-provoking situations because some of them only answered with "agree" or "strongly agree" in connection with speaking activities or speaking in general with foreigners or classmates, while others showed a high anxiety level considering almost every statement connected to their language classes, not only speaking inside or outside the classroom.

Based on the answers from anxious students, the most anxiety-provoking situations proved to be making mistakes in language class and feeling pressure to prepare well for their classes; furthermore, they usually did not feel confident when they spoke in their L2, and they reported strong worry about failing their university classes. For four participants, the fear of being laughed at when they spoke in their L2 was also a great anxiety-provoking factor.

The attitude to native speakers was diverse; some anxious participants reported that they would rather talk to a native speaker because in that case, they do not need to concentrate so much on accuracy and they would feel more free to speak, while others would not feel more confident among native speakers and they would not like talking to them either.

I would like to note that, although there were students who otherwise proved to be confident based on their answers in connection with speaking, they were worried about some aspects of their studies. For example, Participant 1 responded with a 2 (disagree) and Participant 5 answered with a 3 (slightly disagree) to the statement "I am usually at ease during tests in my language class"; furthermore, Participant 5 and Participant 12 gave a 5 and a 6 respectively to "I worry about the consequences of failing my foreign language class". This indicates that although they reported no problem with speaking, other factors could create a higher level of FLA in the case of these students as well.

The responses on the questionnaire showed that although there are students who have no difficulties in speaking, there are also students among English majors who feel anxious and have negative feelings not only in a testing situation but also in speaking inside and outside the classroom. The participants of my study who were in the anxious group reported test anxiety, fear of making mistakes in classes where they had to speak up, uncertainty and anxiety during their language classes, or stress even if they prepared for a speaking activity before a class. These kind of feelings and reactions are also reported by participants in von Wörde's interview study (2003).

On the last part of the questionnaire where I asked them about their educational background and habits in connection with English, there were no significant differences between the confident and anxious students. This part was necessary to provide answers as to whether the number of years of learning English, the number of teachers, or other educational aspects contributed to the differences in students' FLA level.

The mean of years of studying English in the case of confident students was 10.3 years, (MIN= 5; MAX= 14; SD= 2.92), while in the case of anxious students it was 12.3 (MIN= 9; MAX= 17; SD= 3.08); the number of teachers who taught the confident students was 4.8 (MIN= 2; MAX= 11; SD= 3.13), whereas the anxious students had 4.6 teachers in average (MIN= 3; MAX= 6; SD= 1.21). Although the means did not show notable differences, the standard deviations, minimum and maximum show that the participants in the anxious students group had less teachers but they learnt English for more years than the participants in the confident students group, whereas participants from the confident students group had more teachers but they learnt English for fewer years. Two of the confident students had had a pre-year in secondary school with intensive English classes, while in the group of anxious students, there was only one. Three of the confident students reported that they did reading aloud before presentations and exams; from the anxious students group there were only two students who answered yes to this question. No one from the confident or from the anxious students' group had spent time in an English-speaking country, in a language school or working in these countries.

It could be concluded that in the case of the participants of this study, these data did not show a clear correlation between FLA and those educational aspects which I asked them about.

The Hungarian questionnaire, which was completed by those respondents who were still learning English at the university or any other ways, for example in language schools, could provide a useful comparison in connection with motivations, goals and what situations could be anxiety-provoking for these respondents compared to the participants of my study. This online questionnaire was originally completed by 134 respondents of whom 33 were males and 101 were females, between the age of 18 and 49 (M= 22.67; SD= 4.51). The vast majority of respondents were aged between 20 and 22. Four respondents were excluded because of their inappropriate answers. For example, two respondents used dirty words on the last part of the questionnaire.

The mean of the years the respondents studied English was 9.6, although there was one person who only studied English for a few weeks at the time of the study (MIN= 1; MAX= 19; SD= 4.19). The standard deviation reinforces that there is not a solid correlation between the number of years and level of anxiety in the case of the respondents which will be visible from their answers I present in the following paragraphs.

There were 27 respondents who had a year in secondary school when they studied English intensively, 21 respondents studied in a school in which they learnt some of their subjects in English, only 28 respondents said that they went to a language school in the summer or during the school year. In this regard, they can be considered as typical EFL learners.

Before analysing the first and second part of this questionnaire, I created two groups: those respondents who were learning or had learned English at a university at the time of the study (35 respondents) (Group 1), and those ones who either finished learning English when they left school or continued learning English in language schools or other ways (95 respondents) (Group 2). This distinction could provide evidence that there were respondents in the first group who showed some signs of FLA despite the fact that they were advanced language learners. Although the number of respondents in the second group was almost three-times higher than the first, I could not accomplish any extensive quantitative analysis; however, with the separation of the two groups I was able to examine some similarities and differences between their answers.

The first part of this questionnaire was similar to the one that my participants completed. It contained 15 statements about the respondents' motivations and goals in connection with learning English. They could choose from five possibilities on a Likert scale from "1–egyáltalán nem tartom fontosnak" to "5–nagyon fontosnak tartom". I determined the least and most important reasons with the sum of the respondents who chose 4 or 5 to a given statement.

Table 3 Least important reasons for learning English

Statements	Number of respondents
"mert szeretnék külföldön tanulni"	47
"mert új kihívásokat állít elém"	55
"mert a felsőoktatásba kerüléshez/diploma megszerzéséhez szükségem van nyelvvizsgára"	75

Table 4 Most important reasons for learning English

Statements	Number of respondents
"mert lehetővé teszi számomra, hogy többet tudjak meg a világ történéseiről", "mert szeretnék olyan országokba utazni, ahol az angol nyelvet használják"	108
"mert úgy vélem, a későbbiekben hasznos less, ha megakarok kapni egy jólfizető állást"	112
"mert úgy vélem, manapság elengedhetetlen az angoltudás"	123

Travelling/working abroad and financial reasons were also at the top of my participants' list (Table 1), thus showing that there are shared reasons and preferences for learning English between advanced language learners and their less proficient EFL counterparts.

The second part of the questionnaire in which I asked them about their English language use in different situations provided rather unexpected answers. Although both groups reported that they would rather use English in written situations and according to their own perceptions they are better in writing than in speaking, they do not avoid situations when written communication is not possible. The majority are not afraid of talking either because of the limited grammar or the

limited vocabulary they might have. They found fluency the most important factor in speaking (94%), proper pronunciation (81%) and grammatical correctness (69%) came only after that. However, more than a half of the respondents would like to be as confident as their friends or peers.

Their attitude to native speakers of English was also similar: the answers showed that although the respondents consider good grammar and correct pronunciation important, they would not be anxious to talk to a native speaker despite a lack of vocabulary, grammatical knowledge, or proper pronunciation.

What I consider important to note in connection with the answers from Group 1 is that despite not having difficulties in written and oral communication, a little more than half of the respondents (51%) chose "4–egyetértek" and "5–teljes mértékben egyetértek" to this statement: "Szeretnék olyan magabiztos lenni, mint társaim.", which could indicate that altough they might have the necessary qualifications and abilities in English, they could feel anxious or stressed in some situations when English is required.

Furthermore, despite the small number of respondents who studied or were studying English at the time of the study, the Hungarian questionnaire also strengthened the fact that there are anxious language learners among English majors. Seeing that there were no significant differences between the answers from Group 1 and Group 2 because Group 1 respondents also preferred written language and 51% of them wanted to be as good as their peers, it is worth examining the extent to which advanced learners of English are liable to experience FLA with speaking inside or outside classroom environment, where data is not as small as in this study.

This data supports Tóth's (2011) observations in the case of five anxious English majors when the participants reported various physical and psychological anxiety reactions in connection with their classes and speaking and her conclusion that higher levels of proficiency in English do not necessarily mean that advanced language learners are not affected by FLA and the level of proficiency cannot be a solid and reliable measurement of FLA.

After analysing the recordings, I chose four participants whose recordings were notable for the study: one participant from the anxious students group (Participant 8); Participant 9, who did not wish to continue the tasks after our first discussion; and those two participants who had already known me before the recordings (Participants 4 and 5).

During the analyses, I did not pay attention to grammatical accuracy or appropriate pronunciation; I only examined the recordings from the perspective of fluency and the possible changes in the number of self-corrections and pauses, which may also be indicators of a lower level of FLA. The changes in the case of confident students will be demonstrated through three examples (Participants 3, 6, and 12).

The different environments where the talks were recorded are very important to note since they showed opposite effects compared to what I expected. For example, despite the fact that the first three-minute talk by Participant 8 was recorded in her sublet, her performance was the worst. The two discussions when she read aloud were recorded in a university classroom, which provided her a more relaxed environment, although I thought that being in a classroom environment would intensify her FLA. The last recording was made in a corridor but she did not feel intimidated when other people were walking around us; she could still concentrate on the task.

The familiar environment did not help for the three participants with whom I did the recordings at our dormitory either. Two of them were people who had already known me before the study; this may be the reason why they were unable to relax enough despite the location. I would like to note here that another reason for their anxiety could be that they had heard me speaking in English before the recordings and both of them admitted that they were worried about making any kinds of mistakes in front of me.

The third person was the participant who did not wish to continue the tasks after our first discussion. His first talk was recorded at the university library, while other participants were waiting for their turn and were listening to him talking, but he seemed more confident and relaxed on that occasion which is also clear from his transcribed recording. When we were in the dormitory, he looked more anxious and even frustrated after he read aloud the first excerpt and there were more repetitions and hesitations in his speech.

Some participants reported in their evaluations that although the noises were a little bit distracting, they did not feel that a main problem during the recordings. Interestingly, those recordings which were made at the library or a noisy corridor were neither better nor worse than those which were recorded in a classroom. The explanation may be they felt calm in the classroom environment because they were recorded there individually but they did not feel more anxious in the library or in the corridor because they perceived that situation as if it were a discussion between friends between classes, where the only difference was we were talking in our L2.

Participant 8 displayed the most notable change between her first and last recordings. On our last occasion, she managed to talk more fluently and produced longer units where there were no pauses, compared to her first recording. There was no change in the number of filled pauses, which can be explained by the fact that filled pauses are considered as one of the best techniques to gain time to think about what we would like to say or if we do not want to give the turn to others in a conversation. Table 5 presents the silent pauses in seconds; other phenomena are indicated by the piece.

Table 5 Three-minute talks (Participant 8)

Phenomenon	First	Last
Silent pauses	44 s	5s
Filled pauses	45	46
Repetitions	2	5

In the case of Participant 9, I achieved a higher level of FLA on the first occasion when he read aloud. Because a three-minute talk cannot be compared to a discussion when RA was used quantitatively, I will not present numbers here.

What is interesting is that his three-minute talk was more fluent and his speech was clearer than during the RA occasion. While he read the excerpt aloud, he spoke haltingly; in some places, his speech were even unintelligible. This kind of speech continued when we discussed the topic, with many repetitions and corrections; his pronunciation also became worse compared to his three-minute talk. Furthermore, he used "I don't know" as a filler, seven times in total, almost in every turn he had.

Participants 4 and 5 had already known me before the tasks. What was a notable difference between them and those participants who had not known me beforehand was that they produced many more repetitions and word changes and far more lengthening; furthermore, they were more anxious about their pronunciation than their counterparts, which manifested in the fact that they pronounced some words differently when they repeated them or they used a rising intonation after the words and watched my reaction to see whether I would allow them to continue or correct them.

This "waiting for correction" behaviour was also noticeable in terms of using certain words or even giving the proper opinion although there were certainly no right or wrong answers or opinions about anything we discussed. They used 'I don't know' more often than the other participants who completed every task, which also indicates that they may have felt more as if they were in an exam situation and they could not give the "correct" answer to a question.

Table 6 Three-minute talks (Participant 4)

Phenomenon	First	Last
Silent pauses	25 s	10 s
Filled pauses	31	31
Repetitions	2	7

Table 7 Three-minute talks (Participant 5)

Phenomenon	First	Last
Silent pauses	32 s	26 s
Filled pauses	32	28
Repetitions	9	14

These examples suggest that if a participant knows us, and especially if they consider their skills inferior to ours, we should take into consideration whether it would be best not to have them participate in a study because it may have a substantial effect on the results.

The recordings of confident students also showed a decrease in the number of silent pauses despite the fact that the majority of them felt no difference during our discussions. They only noted that RA helped them to focus on English better because with RA they could prepare themselves to use their L2 for a few minutes.

Table 8 Silent pauses in three-minute talks (Participants 3, 6, and 12)

	First	Last
Participant 3	26 s	9 s
Participant 6	19 s	10 s
Participant 12	6 s	2 s

Sally Gibson (2008) emphasised that the RA technique could only be useful if it is "used sensitively and with clear aims" (p.30). My aim was to measure the change in the participants' confidence and fluency through the complexity of their sentences and the number of self-corrections and pauses. I did not focus on grammatical or pronunciation accuracy and reading comprehension due to the limited occasions we had, since this time would not have been enough to take the factors into account.

Although my participants only had two discussions when they read aloud, this technique proved to be a good tool for measuring how confident and anxious students' performance changed during the conversations. Although my participants only had two discussions when they read aloud, this technique proved to be a good tool for measuring how confident and anxious students' performance changed during the conversations. As I expected, in the case of confident students, the number of pauses, self-repetitions and false starts did not show significant differences. Only the silent pauses showed a notable decrease among confident students as well.

Based on my data my participants' improvement in fluency can be measured most efficiently by the number of silent pauses and the lengths of the units, which the speakers could produce without any hesitations, repetitions, or pauses. The number of other phenomena like filled pauses, repetitions and false starts did not indicate any improvement in fluency or the complexity of sentences, owing to the few occasions we had. Therefore, silent pauses and the lengths of sentences without any hesitation phenomena may be good tools for measuring an EFL learner's L2 proficiency in speaking even after a few occasions.

The participants reported that reading aloud before the conversations helped them to prepare for speaking English and they could better focus on the conversations. However, in the case of the most anxious students, the decrease in the number of pauses and repetitions showed that the RA technique can indeed be a useful tool to reduce FLA during speaking activities and the anxious students thought the RA technique was useful: "Yes, it helped me to relax" (Participant 9), "Yes, it helped because it made it easier to change to English" (Participant 5).

These results confirmed when it is properly used the RA technique can help anxious FL learners to feel more confident and relaxed during speaking activities and can enhance their WTC as well.

In the case of the one participant who did not wish to continue the tasks after the first RA discussion, he serves as a good example of what Williams and Andrade (2008) stated in connection with speaking activities, namely, that there is no universal solution which could mitigate the reactions of FLA, but everyone can find a technique to help them overcome or reduce their anxiety.

The participants' answers to the evaluation questions were promising: they found the length and complexity of the text appropriate and they only had difficulties with some names from the texts. Only one participant wrote that she found the texts difficult and they were a little bit long for her. The majority of them had not read aloud before this study, or only occasionally, but they reported that they would use the RA technique to practice before presentations or speaking exams. Both the anxious and confident students felt that RA helped them to focus on English and in the case of anxious students it also reduced their anxiety and they felt that they could perform better after reading the excerpts. "I'm not an anxious person, so there was no difference. But it helped me to shake into the language" (Participant 1 – confident) "It definitely helped, I was able to get my mind to focus more on English" (Participant 2 – anxious)

4. Conclusion

My aim was to examine in what ways advanced learners of English at the University of Szeged are liable to experience FLA and whether the RA technique could prove a useful tool to enhance my participants' confidence and fluency during our discussions. I have chosen my participants from these students because although a number of studies have been conducted on how FL learners react during testing and various kinds of activities, little is known about whether English majors struggle with FLA and react the same way as their less proficient counterparts.

I measured the anxiety level of my L2 participants with a questionnaire which was a mixture of two previously written questionnaires (Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope, 1986; Dörnyei, 2010) and I selected those items which I found relevant for this study. I also compiled a Hungarian questionnaire to observe differences and similarities between English majors and other EFL learners.

After analysing the data, my results showed a correspondence with previous studies in this area: advanced EFL learners can also experience the effects of FLA and it can influence their performance in speaking skills.

However, my study did not measure the participants' general anxiety level, which could have provided more information about their attitude to their classes and could have explained their improvement in their oral performance more efficiently.

I would also like to note that their improvement in fluency cannot solely be attributed to the use of the RA technique, seeing that my participants were in an environment where they used English and were exposed to their L2 on a daily basis. This fact cannot be neglected when interpreting the results.

I applied the RA technique to measure the development of my participants with regard to fluency and the complexity of their sentences during the conversations. The data showed that the number of silent pauses proved to be the best indicator for my participants' improvement in fluency. Another aspect which also indicated the positive effects of FLA was that my participants managed to produce longer units without any hesitation phenomena.

Both groups (confident and anxious participants) reported in their evaluations that they found the RA technique useful either because it helped them to focus on English or because they felt less anxious and stressed during the conversations. Furthermore, they might use it in the future, for example when they prepare for a presentation or oral examination.

The results of this small-scale study suggest that advanced language learners' liability to experience FLA is not negligible despite the limitations of the study in terms of participants and occasions when they read aloud before a conversation.

The findings could imply that students and teachers in tertiary education should also pay attention to anxious FL learners and apply such techniques which might mitigate students' FLA in order to enhance these learners' achievements in an academic environment.

The success of the RA technique in this study illustrates its effectiveness despite critics' doubts because it could provide opportunities which can help FL learners to become more confident in their L2.

In the future, I would like to expand my study, paying attention the previously addressed limitations of this paper. I would measure the future participants general anxiety level, which would allow me to draw a clearer picture about to what extent a general anxiety in other areas of live contribute to foreign language anxiety and whether generally anxious students show higher level of FLA.

Furthermore, I would like to examine the long-term effects of the RA technique focusing on not only improvement in fluency and complexity of sentences but also in pronunciation and grammar.

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Zsolt Tóth

Bestial Parts of Ourselves: A Comparative Analysis of Adrienne Kennedy's *The Owl Answers* and Peter Shaffer's *Equus*[*]

Abstract

The animal and the human share a long and intricate relationship in the history of art and philosophy. Many arguments have been proposed in Western critical thinking in order to establish a power relation in which the animal and the human occupy the inferior and superior position respectively. In the first part of my paper, I map various proposals that had been made along the lines of language use and I examine the implications these had concerning the status of the animal in Western culture and the emergence of the human Self. With the advent of postmodernity, these previously heavily institutionalized aspects of culture come to the fore and are rigorously problematized. Thanks to the growing concern regarding the human subjugation of animals, the first animal rights discourses are formulated. At the same time, the human Self which used to be conceptualized as a homogeneous, transparent, and definite entity was now revealed by postsemiotics and deconstruction to be socially constructed and performative in nature. In the second part of my investigation, I examine the ways in which these phenomena manifest themselves in two Anglo-American plays, namely Adrienne Kennedy's *The Owl Answers* and Peter Shaffer's *Equus*. Via the comparative analysis of the dramatic texts and theatrical adaptations of the two plays, I illustrate how the theatre and especially the theatre of Adrienne Kennedy, which uses corporeal modes of signification extensively beside linguistic ones, is more capable to achieve the egalitarian representation of animals and humans.

1. Introduction

'You are an animal, *a beast.*' If someone were to address these words to us, we would most probably be offended. After all, it is an assault on our very selfhood. But whence comes this notion of violation which is so embedded in our culture that upon the mere hearing of these words we are immediately flushed by a sense of grievance? The notion that the animal — or especially the beast — is inferior is one of the foundational elements of the unit we call culture; it has a very long and intricate trajectory in history and it has guided a great proportion of Western philosophy. Various premises have been articulated regarding why and how this subordination comes about but, in my essay, I will only address one, the one which I believe has been the primary instrument for the subjection of animals: their lack of language. Besides the subjugation of animals, language has also been the tool for the creation of the concept of the human Self. In the first half of my paper I will briefly chart how language shaped these aspects of Western culture. I analyse these institutionalized features from the perspective of postmodernity, the era when both are rigorously problematized. On the one hand, there emerges a growing concern for the well-being of animals and hence the first major animal rights discourses are formulated. On the other, postsemiotics and deconstruction reveal the human Self to be a social construct, a performative act. It is this notion of performance which ultimately organizes the investigations of my paper for I examine these cultural phenomena of the postmodern scene within the institu-

[*] BA Thesis. Supervisor: Attila Kiss

tion of the theatre. Through the comparative analysis of two Anglo-American plays, Adrienne Kennedy's *The Owl Answers* and Peter Shaffer's *Equus*, I aim to show how a theatrical performance is better equipped than purely linguistic modes of signification to represent animals and humans in an egalitarian fashion. Besides exploring the dramatic texts, I scrutinize several adaptations of these works in order to reveal the paramount importance of embodiment Corporeal forms of meaning are signifiant because, as opposed to language, they are not monopolised by humans. I contend that the theatre of Kennedy is more capable to do animals justice, however, both playwrights' work seems to imply that perhaps the notion of the animal, the beast, which permeates Western culture is nothing more than a performance, a part which perform for ourselves.

2. Articulating the Self and Its Beast

The entity referred to as Self is not a definite, sharp and stable element of the human subject, it is rather something fluid, constantly shifting and changing, an infinite series of 'becomings', to borrow Gilles Deleuze's term. According to him, "becoming isn't part of history; history amounts only the set of preconditions, however recent, that one leaves behind in order to 'become,' that is, to create something new" (1995, 171). The Self can be conceptualized as a series of such becomings. Within Western critical thought many propositions have been articulated regarding what it means to be a self, to have a self or many selves, and these premises were systematically recycled, rejected, left behind in order to allow new understandings to emerge. In my opinion, the process is similar to a snake shedding its skin, continuously producing layers of skin "to grow both young and old in" (Deleuze 170). In addition to being always in the process of becoming, the Self is also relational, it develops in relation to something or someone else, an Other. Stephen Greenblatt formulates this notion as follows when explaining his theory of self-fashioning:

> Self-fashioning is achieved in relation to something perceived as alien, strange, or hostile. This threatening Other – heretic, savage, witch, adulteress, etc., must be discovered or invented in order to be attacked and destroyed. (1980, 9)

When it comes to the human Self, the most foundational Other is the animal. The problem which the animal Other engenders, however, is that no clear demarcation line can be drawn between what constitutes a human and an animal. For this reason, from the second half of the 20th century onwards, critical thinkers have been aiming to denounce the prominence allotted to the idea of borders between these entities, and instead foreground ideas such as hybridism, metamorphosis, becoming, etc. However, before I can delve into the many ways in which borders are subverted, I am going to briefly illustrate how these borders came to be in the first place. In contrast to the contemporary attitudes which seem to share the desire to accord subjectivity and agency equitably, in the past the dominant tendency was to separate the two organisms, in which binary opposition the human was established as the favourable and superior species. Since the question of according to what logic to separate humans and animals has been addressed countless times in Western philosophy, I am unable to and, as such, have no intention to offer a comprehensive and in-depth overview of how this issue was problematized in history. Instead, I focus on one of the major anthropocentric arguments which have been posited within this ontological debate, a project which Matthew Senior calls 'self-humaning' (2015, 53) and Giorgio Agamben as 'anthropogenesis' (qtd. in Senior 53). That argument revolves around the use of language.

As highlighted by the terms of Senior and Agamben, the 'human Self' is an artificially constructed category. Its creation was and is not something achieved by individuals independently, out of their own volition, but rather it is the discursive product and function achieved by

"external social and internal psychic forces that produce the socially posited human being as a subject" (Attila Kiss 2010, 13). During his discussion of the postsemiotics of the subject, Kiss refers to these external and internal forces as the 'macro- and microdynamics of the subject'. Within this essay, I focus on the former because I contend that these are the factors which predominantly govern the human-animal debate and which engender the 'institution of speciesism' (Cary Wolfe 2003, 2) by which Wolfe means the ultimate form of Othering, on which sexism, racism, ableism, and all other forms of Othering are founded.

Greenblatt alludes to the external dimension of the self when he claims that "self-fashioning [...] involves submission to an absolute power or authority situated at least partially outside the self" (9). The concept of authority and the expressions thereof are referred to as 'technologies of power' by Michel Foucault by and through which human beings can transform themselves into the subjects these technologies make accessible for them. These technologies of power usually take the form of institutions which all produce their own knowledge of the world and human beings can only participate in reality if they accept and act accordingly to the knowledge produced by the various institutions. Thus, power and knowledge are indivisibly conjoined (Kiss 15–16). It is paramount to note that such subjection is always embedded within and is informed by language; the various knowledges are mediated through discourses and, as such, only through language can subjectivity manifest itself. "'Ego' is he [*sic*] who says 'ego'. That is where we see the foundation of 'subjectivity', which is determined by the linguistic status of the 'person'" (Émile Benveniste qtd. in Kiss 14). When defining humans, it is the linguistic element which first emerges, as highlighted by Aristotle, from whom the earliest Western definition of the human being derives. He deemed human beings to be "animals having *logos*" (qtd. in Senior 57) meaning speech, which is the foundation of reason, which in turn enables humans to practice politics with their fellow human citizens. "Man, when perfected, is the best of animals" (57). This description arises in a time when the animal was conceptualized in mythic proportions, their wildness and power were the subject of awe. The animal was not yet an inferior category. Besides, as Senior points out, he still regards humans as animals (57). However, I argue that by emphasizing the instrumentality of language, he provided the primary tool of negation and exclusion which was later utilized to expel the animal from the human. Whereas the human comes to be defined through the faculties of the mind, like language, reason, spirit, morality, etc. the animal is denied any degree of these reference points. Instead, the animal is simply associated with the body and everything it symbolies: nature, instinct, sexuality, wildness, savageness, which are conceived to be inherently negative..

I posit that it is not accidental that the institution which primarily generated knowledge regarding the differentiation of humans and animals, and subjectivity in general, was Christian theology. Judeo-Christian theology — out of which all other Christian theologies arise, most notably Catholicism when it comes to the animal — first and foremost derives its understanding of the world from the power of the word, exemplified by the capacities of the single phrase 'Let there be'. Language appears primarily as a tool of creation, but under close inspection it also becomes a tool of subjection. God designed the world, humans, and animals with the help of speech, yet with the same voice he rendered the relationship between humans and animals hierarchical: he provided humans "dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth" (Gen. 1:26). Thus, humans and animals were not only created separate, but humans were also made superior of the two and this power relation was sealed by God making the humans *name* the animals as Jacques Derrida highlights in 'The Animal That Therefore I Am (More to Follow)'. Naming is key, according to Derrida, because it allows humans to exercise a power on other beings which is similar to the one that God used upon them: "he has created man in

his likeness *so that* man will *subject*, *tame*, *dominate*, *train*, or *domesticate* the animals born before him and assert his authority over them" (2002, 386). In this setup, the animals are locked in their vulnerable position because they are excluded from God's and humans' common tongue and being "deprived of language [means that] one loses the power to name, to name oneself, indeed to *respond* to one's name" (Derrida 388). As a result, the animals have no means to defy their subjection. This act of naming is particularly intriguing because it also betrays the logic of chronology regarding who is naming who.

> God lets [Adam] call the other living things all on his own, give them their names in his own name, these animals that are older and younger than him, these living things that came into the world before him but were named after him... In both cases, man is in both senses of the word *after* the animal. (386)

On one hand the human is after the animal because it was created later by God, but on the other, it is also after it in the sense that it follows, chases, persecutes the animal. Derrida argues that these two *afters* dictate the nature of the two entities through time, it is in fact "the very genesis of time" (386).

Although not in the above-mentioned quote, but the Bible — in its various translations — uses terms such as 'beast', 'animal', 'human' and 'man' extensively, therefore it would be profitable to examine what denotations these words possessed and how did they come to acquire them in the first place.[1] With the exception of 'man' which is of Germanic descent, all have Latin origins and they arrived into English via French mediation. 'Man' and 'beast' are the oldest of these and are the only ones which are present in the King James Version, the version which I cited earlier. They both possess conflicting meanings: 'man' denotes the figure of the hero, but at the same time, it can signify the male servant. Plus, intriguingly, it can be related to the root 'men-' which means to think which could indicate the linguistic origins of the notion that the human is the only owner of higher mental capacities. 'Beast' similarly denotes a lowly animal but a mythic creature as well. It was also applied to humans in which case it meant a stupid man. Its French counterpart in the literal sense conveys a wild animal while its figurative usage also invokes stupidity. 'Animal' used to denote any conscious being, including humans, however, it was rarely used before 1600 and then it was only applied to non-human animals. Finally, 'human', the newest of these words, resonates with the meaning of 'man' related to thinking for it derives from the Latin *humanus* which denoted notions like gentle, polite, learned, refined, civilized. These elevated concepts are surprising, since the Proto-Indo-European '*(dh)ghomon-' from which it supposedly derives meant "earthling, earthly being". Overall, it is apparent that the mere terms are very contradictory, therefore, it is quite surprising to see that the technologies of power present the animal-human debate in a very simplistic manner. Perhaps the dissonance signals a latent human awareness of the difficulty of the issue which is why Western critical thought has been so adamant in constructing this problematic in a homogenous fashion.

Such homogenization is exemplified by René Descartes who formulates his ideas in a very oppressive tone, similar to the one found in Genesis. Descartes did not define the human through the soul or morality like the Judeo-Christian and subsequent theologies did, but instead reduced the subject to the mere function of thinking: "But what am I? — "A thing that thinks." (qtd. in Senior 58). Since the emphasis is on this sole faculty, it is at first unclear in what kind of being this function resides in. Only once the subject observes the melting of wax and ruminates about the experience can it determine that it is a human subject.

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[1] All of the following information derives from the Online Etymology Dictionary, www.etymonline.com and BibleGateway, www.biblegateway.com.

> When I distinguish the wax from its exterior forms, and, as though I had removed its clothes, I consider it totally naked, it is certain that, although there could still be errors in my judgment, I could nevertheless not conceive it as such without a human mind. (qtd. in Senior 59)

It is critical that rational thought surfaces via language because Descartes further reinforces the inferiority of the animal via the absence of language. In this respect, he completely aligns himself with Aristotle and Judeo- Christian theology, but in a sense is even more radical because he reduces the animal to the level of a machine. Neither "could use words or put together other signs as we do in order to declare our thoughts to others" (qtd. in Senior 61). The likening to a machine is to be considered a reduction because he believed that although both machines and animals could mimic human language and communication, neither could give a valid response to "true questioning" (Derrida qtd. in Senior 61). Derrida later completely deconstructs Descartes's argument by illustrating that what we traditionally understand by term 'response' originates from a purely anthropocentric perspective and as such is unable to capture any non-human responses.

Via the close inspection of Aristotle, the Judeo-Christian understanding of scripture, and Descartes, it becomes obvious that all three prioritize the *meaningful* communication between entities, moreover, the communication must be meaningful for the *human.* John Berger analyses the unilaterality of this relationship in his essay titled 'Why Look at Animals?'. He posits that the uneven nature of the relation develops from the human's inability to confirm itself in the face of the animal. He illustrates this by comparing the connection to one which occurs between two humans.

> Between two men [*sic*] the two abysses are, in principle, bridged by language. Even if the encounter is hostile and no words are used (even if the two speak different languages), the *existence* of language allows that at least one of them, if not both mutually, is confirmed by the other. Language allows men to reckon with each other as with themselves. (2007, 252)

This falls in line with Benveniste's and Greenblatt's propositions that the self can only emerge within language and in the face of an Other. However, in the case of an animal encounter, the human must always endure the animal's "lack of common language, its silence" (253) against which the human has no chance to establish its self. Therefore, the human is unable to occupy the role of the subject, it lacks agency and the only way it can recover it is if it subjugates the animal. For this reason, since the very beginning of their emergence, humans have tried to define and assign meaning to animals because — preferably only an inferior — meaning was their key to regain subjectivity. As such, animals became the most primary symbols of human language and culture as suggested by cave drawings depicting animals, ancient texts like the aforementioned Bible, or the natural encyclopaedias of Antiquity, or literary works like *The Iliad* which Berger himself refers to (254). Derrida encapsulates this aspect of human culture by coining the chimerical word of *animot*[2]. The *mot* indicates "the unique and indivisible limit held to separate man from animal, namely the word, the nominal language of the word, the voice that names and that names the thing as such, such as it appears in its being" (416). Subjectivity and subjugation both derive from language. It is in light of this that W. J. T. Mitchell declares that "the nonlinguistic [...] matters just as much as the capabilities of the higher animals—the silence, the stare, the gesture, the reflex" (in Wolfe xiii). Both Derrida's and Mitchell's proposition imply that if one is to understand animals, one must abandon human language as a vantage point because animal subjectivity and agency adhere to a different kind of syntax.

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[2] Fusion of the French words *animaux* meaning 'animals' and *mot* meaning 'word'.

From the second half of the 20th century onwards, it is this new kind of logic which researchers, theorists and activists on a very wide interdisciplinary spectrum become determined to find. By rejecting to observe the world via the lens of human language and culture, people grew profoundly aware of the living quality of their surroundings. Mitchell and Bruno Latour articulate this phenomenon in a very similar manner: the latter claims that humans must "not only police the boundary between what is human and what is animal [...] but [explore] the protean nature of what it means to be 'animated'" (in Vinciane Despret 2016, x) whereas the former posits that "there is [...] a new kind of animism in the air, a new interest in Nature with a capital *N*" (in Wolfe xiii). Animals and other animated beings were now beginning to be recognized as agents in their own special ways. Vinciane Despret, for instance, coined the French term *agencement* specifically to capture the plethora of processes and conditions through which such human *and* non-human agency manifest themselves. In addition, as the examples mentioned as of yet imply, this egalitarian spirit reveals itself also in the appreciation of plurality. This is another major issue which Derrida intends to stress with *animot*[3].

> I would like to have the plural of animals heard in the singular. There is no animal in the general singular, separated from man by a single indivisible limit. We have to envisage the existence of 'living creatures' whose plurality cannot be assembled within the single figure of an animality that is simply opposed to humanity. (415)

Similarly to humans, where distinct individuals are discernible, Derrida points out that individuality is present within the animal kingdom as well, humans have merely reduced their plurality into an inferior, singular Otherness.

Finally, due to the simple fact that *animot* is a hybrid word, Derrida also underlines that there exist no clear-cut demarcation lines between animals, non-human or other. He encourages us to "move from 'the ends of man,' that is the confines of man, to 'the crossing of borders' between man and animal" (Derrida 372). Another term which emphasizes this chimerical aspect of animals is Kalpana Seshadri's *humanimal.* Animals never exist in a singularity, they occupy various animal subjectivities for varying time periods or as Donna Haraway articulates it: "To be one is always to *become with* many" (2008, 4).

Yet, recently, even such pioneer words like humanimal became problematic. Mitchell criticizes the fact that despite the centrality of notion of animism, humanimal appears to be stuck in the human-animal binary (in Wolfe xiii). As a result of the rapidly growing animated categories which subjects can occupy, I think it is more productive to focus on the process of being animated. This is the element which Una Chaudhuri's term, *zooësis* aims to highlight. She intends to

> acknowledge the manifold performances engendered by such ubiquitous or isolated cultural animal practices as pet keeping, dog shows, equestrian displays, rodeos, bullfighting, animal sacrifice, scientific experimentation, species preservation, taxidermy, hunting, fur wearing, meat eating—each with its own archive and repertory, its own spatialities and temporalities, its own performers and spectators. (2007, 9)

Although these animal performances include acts which subjugate animals, I believe it is easier to separate these instances into pro-animal and anti-animal performances rather than address each single entity one can inhabit.

Nevertheless, these neologisms are still somewhat problematic because they are still embedded within language which is a medium monopolized by humans. I support the notion that non-human animals can only be properly emancipated via efforts realized beyond the realm of

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[3] This word is singular, however, sounds identical to *animaux* which is plural.

language. It is for this reason that I turn to one specific form of zooësis, the *theatre of species,* to follow in Chaudhuri's footsteps (2015). According to her and other theorists, the theatre is more capable to represent non-human and human animals in an egalitarian manner than many other artistic media because it employs corporeal means of signification extensively and is not solely dominated by linguistic signs. I compare two plays written in the '60s and '70s, the period when scrutinizing the status of animals just started to establish itself as a discipline, namely animal(ity) studies. I believe the main objective of Adrienne Kennedy's *The Owl Answers* and Peter Shaffer's *Equus* is to criticize certain human institutions, such as race, gender, or the concept of normality in general. However, because they achieve this via employing animals as symbols, they simultaneously inscribe their plays into the school of animal(ity) studies and offer intriguing examples of how the animal component of the human can be conceived.

3. Animal Parts on the Stage

When describing postmodernity, Elinor Fuchs employs the words of Karl Marx: "All that is solid melts into air" (1996, 2). She claims that by unveiling the social constructions that govern human life, and by obscuring previously firm-seeming boundaries, reality emerged as "an unstable if vital theatricality" and that the notion of postmodernity fused with that of the theatre (7). As such, she analyses postmodern culture through the lens of the theatre. In her understanding, the most significant structure that was dismantled is that of subjectivity and within the theatre too she identifies a similar change which happens to characters, hence the title of her book: *The Death of Character.* According to Fuchs and Kiss, "there is no underlying truth or core identity that could serve as a foundation of the socially composite subjectivity" (Kiss 2012)[4]. The postmodern play posits the following questions:

> What is a person? Can one "have" an identity, "own" one, achieve "self-mastery," the highest evolution of subjectivity under the old paradigm? Or does identity consist of continuously changing personae with no inherent self? (Fuchs 6)

I believe such turning of tables allowed postmodern culture to focus on the manifold ways of subjugation, of Othering which eventually reached the point where animal Otherness must be investigated. According to Una Chaudhuri, the theatre is amply capable to tackle the question of the animal because the theatre itself is founded on structures of difference:

> the similarities and differences between actors and characters, stage and auditorium, spectacle and spectators – can be used to expose the kinds of distinctions that underlie various human understandings of the other animals. (2015, 138).

The plays of my choice, Adrienne Kennedy's *The Owl Answers* (1965) and Peter Shaffer's *Equus* (1973) both problematize the animal Other *within* the human subject. In this chapter of my thesis, I will only focus on the dramatic texts of the two plays and examine how animality emerges on the level of the text only. In both plays, the plot revolves around a disintegrating human subject where the disintegration results from the disharmony between the subject and its culture, the technologies of power which try to dominate it. The animal arises amidst the protagonists' efforts to reconcile their own sense of self, their embodiments with the realities the technologies of power make available for them. I think it is essential that the human subject

[4] The article was published in *Americana*, an electronic journal which does not utilize page numbers, therefore I am unable to indicate the exact location of my quotes within the original text.

is desubstantiated before it can effectively meet the inner animal because only in such a state are the internalized, layered constructions, parts of humanity weakened to the extent that the common animality which they were trying to efface can become visible. Although the project to placate the externally imposed human with the inner animal ultimately fails in both plays, nevertheless, I maintain that and will examine how the plays illustrate certain methods with which the animal can be faced effectively. However, beforehand, I will briefly summarize the action of each play in the following paragraphs to provide a better understanding of the context in which the animalistic arises.

The plot of *Equus* revolves around Martin Dysart, a psychiatrist, and one of his patients, Alan Strang. The boy has blinded six horses and the heinousness of his crime is perceived to be so repulsive even in the eye of other psychiatrists, that only Dysart is deemed able to handle the case. During therapy, Dysart discovers that Alan is an unintelligent individual, even primitive, because he was unable to develop properly due to the highly suppressive environment that dominates his family. His mother is a devout Christian and she has injected the Christian doctrine into Alan from the moment he was born, while his father is an atheistic socialist who subjugates his son to the passionless, vacuous dullness of everyday life. As a child, Alan acquired a strong faith in God thanks to his mother which grew to be his sole interest in life as is embodied within the crude depiction of God in front of his bed. However, thanks to the clashing worldviews of his parents, at one point the image was removed by his father, which left the young boy devastated. He was only consoled once he could imbue his worship into another god. This new god took the mythic form of a horse named Equus. Alan builds his own religion around this new godhead which develops into an amalgamation of Christian and pagan ideas and practices. As he starts working at a stable, he devises his own rituals which he performs with the horses. However, on a particular night, when Alan and Jill — the girl who also works at the stable — discover Alan's father in a cinema watching a film containing pornographic elements and later he and Jill are engaging in intercourse in the stable which he understands to be holy, Alan is overcome by a panic attack. The realization plagues him that he disrespected his own religion and he imagines Equus to be mocking him for it as a result of which he blinds the aforementioned six horses. It is Alan's inability to cope with his deed which the play presents for the major part of the action, however, on a subtler level, the play can also be understood as a Freudian projection of Dysart's existential crisis. As Dysart is mapping out Alan's journey, he begins to envy the boy because he believes that, despite his lack of intelligence, Alan successfully created an opportunity for himself in which he can experience true passion. A passion that Dysart can entertain mentally but is unable to experience in reality because he has accommodated himself to the expectations of his era which founded on the concept of normality. Upon this realization, he begins to doubt his profession, visualizing it as an aseptic religion in which children with passion are sacrificed to the god of Normality. During the whole play, Dysart seeks to come to terms with Equus — the animal within Alan and himself — however, at the end of the play in the state of utter dejection agrees to extract Equus from Alan for the sake of normality. Nonetheless, the closure is ambiguous for it is not revealed whether he will be successful in doing so. Dysart is seen admitting to himself that he does not, in fact, understand what he does when he cures his patients and he most definitely does not understand Equus, who defies any attempt to be understood. Finally, Dysart states that he feels a chain inside his mouth.

In contrast, *The Owl Answers* is much more resistant to any such straightforward interpretation. This trait of Kennedy's plays is most ingeniously articulated by Gerald Freedman: "Kennedy is a poet of the theatre. She does not deal in story, character and event as a playwright. She deals in image, metaphor, essence and layers of consciousness" (qtd. in

Rosemary K. Curb 1980, 189). Nevertheless, by the careful rearrangement of the protagonist's monologues and brief dialogues with other characters, a hazy plot still becomes apparent. The protagonist is She Who Is Clara Passmore, a middle-aged black woman. She is the daughter of the Richest White Man In The Town and his black cook and during the play it becomes clear that she was conceived during the raping of her mother. As her father dies, she gets adopted by Reverend Passmore — played by the same actor as his father —, a black preacher, and his wife, who might be her actual mother as well and is also played by the same actress. Now she works as a school teacher and is in the process of writing her thesis which she carries with herself all the time. She is hopelessly enamoured with English culture, the culture of her father, so much so that she desperately wants to explore England. She envisions touring London with her father, who happens to drop dead near the Tower of London. His corpse is taken to St. Paul's Chapel, but she cannot go with him, because Shakespeare, Chaucer and William the Conqueror hold her hostage in the Tower of London. Amidst these fantasies she also spends her nights riding the New York subway, looking for black men to take to a hotel in Harlem and in these pursuits of love, she seeks the guidance of Anne Boleyn. Seeing all this, her mothers are tormenting her by repeatedly emphasizing the gruesome realities of black women in a world dominated by white men. As the action progresses, her mothers fuse together and gradually turn into an owlish creature and, in the end of the play, they build an altar of Owldom in St. Peter's Church and commit suicide. This is followed by the rising of Clara's dead father who attempts to rape her, but as they struggle, he eventually abandons pursuing his desire. The play then concludes by depicting Clara transformed into an owl and cooing.

The concept of an external, cultural governing force which is in a hegemonic position is heavily present in both works. Although the realities which these forces offer the protagonists are conceived to be dominant, they are also presented to be inert, sterile, hollow, and oppressive. Shaffer communicates this aspect of culture in relation to spirituality. He equates passion with worship, the sole thing that Alan possesses and which allows him to truly experience life. "Without worship you shrink, it's as brutal as that..." (Peter Shaffer 1982, 82). Based on this, Madeleine MacMurraugh-Kavanagh proposes that the postmodern human being is defined by a "spiritual hunger" and if the individual based on such need

> has no capacity for worship, he or she is swamped by a sense of alienation, is cut-off from the life-affirming extremities of instinct and passion, and is depicted as only half-alive, drifting like a ghost towards a point of spiritual crisis. (1998, 80)

Sensing this threat, people of the postmodern era seek the seemingly safe shelter of organized communities, which often, but not always, take the form of churches. Shaffer was highly critical of these establishments:

> I resent deeply all churches. I despise them. No church or synagogue has ever failed to misuse its power. [...] To me the greatest tragic factor of History is man's [*sic*] apparent need to mark the intensity of his reaction to life by joining a band. For a band, to give definition, must find a rival or an enemy. (qtd. in MacMurraugh-Kavanagh 82)

Alan's mother is a member of the Christian church, while Alan's father is an atheistic but practical socialist. Although they disapprove of each other's organized faith and community, they do not direct their enmity towards each other because they possess membership to a non-subversive band. Rather, they reject their son and his individualistic spirituality because it does not function according to customs of their numb culture. Kennedy offers a similar impression in *Owl,* however, the emphasis is not religion — although it is present in the play — but rather whiteness and maleness. These are conveyed through She Who Is's obsession with white, English culture, and

her efforts to travel to England, the land of her ancestors and descendants. Yet she is continuously reminded that she does not belong there based merely on her race. "If you are his ancestor why are you a Negro?" (Adrienne Kennedy 2001, 30) Also, the characters that keep chiming this reminder in her ear while they also keep her locked up are all men: Shakespeare, Chaucer, William the Conqueror. Finally, the play ends with her dead, white father rising and wanting to rape her. Whiteness and maleness, therefore, are depicted as alienating, confining and also violent entities. All in all, both plays envision culture as something intrusive and damaging, to the extent that the subjects crumble under its pressure when they try to attune their animalistic self to its expectations.

The inability to cope is expressed as the unravelling of protagonists' self and consciousness. Kiss labelled this phenomenon in postmodern theatre as 'character liquidization' (2012) and one of the most conspicuous results of this is that the characters' pre-eminence on the stage is overtaken by the entity which Fuchs refers to as 'the landscape stage' (12). This given landscape is always present on stage, it is the element which is always principally produced for the audience.

> There are, of course, human figures on these natural/conceptual landscapes, but the landscape itself is the central object of contemplation. The result could be seen as a new kind of pastoral, one appropriate to an ecological age when the human figure is no longer the measure of all things. (Fuchs 12)

In the case of *Owl* and *Equus* too, the primary characters' consciousness provides the setting, the other characters and the actions they perform can be understood as the interaction with that given consciousness. In *Owl,* what complicates the play is that the characters are already staged as heterogeneous, constantly metamorphosing beings, and the setting is presented similarly. The protagonist and the scene are introduced in the following manner:

> CHARACTERS: SHE who is CLARA PASSMORE who is the VIRGIN MARY who is the BASTARD who is the OWL [...]
> The characters change slowly back and forth into and out of themselves, leaving some garment from their previous selves upon them always to remind us of the nature of She who is Clara Passmore who is the Virgin Mary who is the Bastard who is the Owl's world.
> SCENE: The scene is a New York subway is the Tower of London is a Harlem hotel room is St. Peter's. The scene is shaped like a subway car. The sounds are subway sounds and the main props of a subway are visible—poles. (Kennedy 29)

Furthermore, "two characters speaking alternatively do not seem to be conversing as separate consciousnesses but as alternate visions of the same divided consciousness" (Curb, 180). She Who Is has internalized the various individuals in her life according to what she interpreted them to represent, and now the conflicting fragments use the theatre of She Who Is's psyche to collide with each other, each hoping to dominate the others. Two great hosts of such forces exist within She Who Is: on the one side, there is womanhood, blackness, corporeality, sexuality, owldom; the other side is occupied by everything which is associated with the previously discussed oppressive culture: maleness, whiteness, intellect, frigidity, or the exact opposite, aggressive sexuality, ie. rape, and finally, the inert God's dove. A similar, yet slightly less multifaceted fragmentation is observable in *Equus*. The characters on the stage of Dysart's mind are also embodied internalization of various ideologies. However, the internalization is perhaps more pronounced here than in *Owl* because all characters are present on stage throughout the play, highlighting that anything which is internalized becomes an ever-present component of the individual. Once again, the characters and the ideologies they stand for can be divided into two groups which want to overcome to other. On one side, we have the dominating notion of normality encapsulated by this quote:

> The Normal is the good smile in a child's eyes — all right. It is also the dead stare in a million adults. It both sustains and kills — like a God. It is the Ordinary made beautiful; it is also the Average made lethal. The Normal is the indispensable, murderous God of Health, and I am his Priest. My tools are very delicate. My compassion is honest. I have honestly assisted children in this room. I have talked away terrors and relieved many agonies. But also — beyond question — I have cut from them parts of individuality repugnant to this God, in both his aspects. Parts sacred to rarer and more wonderful Gods. And at what length... Sacrifices to Zeus took at the most, surely, sixty seconds each. Sacrifices to the Normal can take as long as sixty months. (Shaffer 65)

This sentiment is personified through Alan's parents and Hesther, the lawyer who persuaded Dysart to take on Alan's case. Passion, on the other side is represented solely by Alan and occasionally by Equus himself. Dysart, as the guilt-ridden Priest of Normality, occupies the intermediary position between the sides, struggling to decide where his ultimate loyalty lies. The central animal in both plays is depicted as an innate element of the protagonists which generates a tension with the other party of the oppositions. Therefore, a directionality can be constructed. The animalistic parts act from the inside out, while the opposing sides operate from the outside in, trying to claim the protagonists on the battlefield of their own consciousnesses.

These animalistic inner dimensions of the characters are embodied by the figure of the horse in *Equus* and the owl in *Owl.* Both playwrights infused these animal images with pagan and archetypal values. These inner components are depicted as innate to the protagonists, arising from "the black cave of the Psyche" (Shaffer 75). The figures of the horse and the owl are fertile symbols of archetypal meanings for both have been used extensively throughout Western culture. For example, Poseidon's horses, the chimerical characters of the centaurs, Minerva's owl, or the owl familiars of witches, just to name a few. MacMurraugh-Kavanagh cites Jung regarding the meanings attached specifically to the horse and he notes that it is "a symbol of the animal component in man" (91). Kennedy articulates a similar inherent, psychic understanding of owls when she says, "I had this thing about owls which is wild that if you be awake all night the owls are answering your thoughts, are talking to you, your psychic state" (qtd. in Curb 193). In her play, besides She Who Is claiming that she "belong[s] to God and the owls" (35) Kennedy highlights this inherent aspect of animality by incorporating the animal godhead into the very costume and movements of the black female characters, animality becomes part of the actresses' body. In the case of the Reverend's Wife, this manifests, for instance, as follows: "Some of the red rice has fallen near her, she says, 'Oww,' and starts to peck at it like a bird" (Kennedy 34). It is solely the black female characters with which owls are associated "because, like them they are dark as night, warm, round, maternal, and possessors of intuitive female wisdom which men fear because they cannot fathom it" (Curb 193). Although I do not examine *Owl* from the intersection of race and gender, I do believe that these binary oppositions must be highlighted briefly for on the one hand, animality is associated with black female characters and on the other, the play's action hinges on these two binary oppositions. In *Equus,* the positive aspect of innate animality is not concerned with wisdom, but with a passion in and for life. "[Alan] has known a passion more ferocious than I have felt in any second of my life. And let me tell you something: I envy it," (Shaffer 82) admits Dysart.

Nevertheless, these animals are also portrayed to possess negative qualities. By the end of *Equus,* the horses transform into ominous creatures on the stage, as illustrated by the stage directions:

> Three more horses appear in cones of light: not naturalistic animals like the first three, but dreadful creatures out of nightmare. Their eyes flare — their nostrils flare — their mouths flare. They are archetypal images — judging, punishing, pitiless. (Shaffer 106)

Although Equus is shown to be an integral part of Alan's being, he has a sentience and will of his own. If his honour is besmirched, for example when Alan attempted to engage in intercourse in his holy stable, he grows furious, violent and merciless, as implied by the description of his minions above. Furthermore, when Dysart agrees to extract him out of Alan, Dysart articulates the following concerns: "When Equus leaves — if he leaves at all — it will be with your intestines in his teeth" (Shaffer 107). Even though the owls of Kennedy are not presented as independent beings, they too retain a frightening quality. After all, simultaneously to She Who Is's mother's transformation into the owl-like creature, she grows mad and ends up committing suicide.

> MOTHER: [...] There is a way from owldom. [...] Owl in the fig tree, do you know it? Do you? Do you know the way to St. Paul's Chapel, Clara? (Takes her hand.) I do. Kneel, Mary, by the gate and pray with me who is your black mother who is Christ's Bride. (She holds up the butcher knife.) Kneel by the High Altar and pray with me. (They kneel; she smiles.) Do you know it, Clara, do you, Clara Bastard? (Kisses her.) Clara, I know the way to St. Paul's Chapel. I know the way to St. Paul's Chapel, Clara.
> (MOTHER lifts knife. She stabs herself.) (Kennedy 41)

As argued by MacMurraugh-Kavanagh, contemporary organized communities and/or faiths lack potency and are unable to satisfy human beings' need for transcendence. It is perhaps due to this phenomenon for which the playwrights' chose to utilize pagan animal deities to animate their characters (84). These divinities allow the characters to experience full-fledged reality, but at the same time, they ask for a price for this service of theirs. Along with heightening the intimacy with one's being, these animals also bind their worshippers to face the brutality of being alive too.

Despite the fact that the animals are presented to have great potentials for humans, the characters seem to be unable to adapt to their negatively-conceived attributes which renders their relationship unsuccessful. Dysart admits his inability to comprehend Equus while She Who Is arguably goes mad, dies, or commits suicide after she is transfigured into an Owl. I believe Gilles Deleuze's and Félix Guattari's theory of 'becoming-animal'(1987) is useful to uncover the reasons why these relationships with animals do not fare well. Deleuze and Guattari, in accordance with Derrida, first and foremost reject the singularity of *the animal*, they maintain that every animal, humans included, forms a 'multiplicity'. However, one can only interact with the multiplicity through the 'Anomalous'. The Anomalous is a specimen of the given animal and represents the border of the multiplicity with whom an allegiance, a symbiotic bond must be created. However, this bond is relational, it depends on the recognition of another multiplicity. In the plays, the position of the Anomalous is occupied by Equus and the owldom of She Who Is, bordering between Alan/Dysart, She Who Is and their respective horse and owl multiplicities. The bond between the two multiplicities fails because it is not acknowledged by the other great multiplicity present, humans and their culture. As discussed above, human culture is starkly different from animal culture, it operates according to different principles and concepts, but most importantly, it deems inferior everything which does not play by its rules. Dsyart and She Who Is cannot prescind from the confines of human culture, therefore they conceive their animalistic parts to be mostly negative, dangerous and evil.

4. Adapting by Ourselves

The prospect of reconciling the two species is only unsuccessful on the level of the plot. From the perspective of form and representation, the two plays present solutions to the problem of human and animal contact. To illustrate the potentials of these two modalities I will rely on MacMurraugh-Kavanagh's understanding of dramatic and theatrical elements. The former "in-

clude aspects such as structure, characterization, plot development and exposition, all of which can be recorded in a text and subsequently analysed" (15) while the latter

> refers to the total emotional, psychological and intellectual experience of a production, its atmosphere, the effects of communal spectatorship, the fact of live performance, and the direct channel of communication between stage and auditorium. [... It] is an entire *experience* [my emphasis] and one that finally evades concrete definition. (16)

MacMurraugh-Kavanagh identifies the dramatic realm with Brechtian intellectualism. Bertolt Brecht was a German playwright and theatre practitioner whose plays were renown for engaging the audiences mind and altogether functioning like a parable, where the moral of the story was left for the audiences to decide. As such, it fits the institutionalized conception of the human, in which the human was thought to represent higher, mental faculties. In contrast, MacMurraugh-Kavanagh deems the theatrical realm Artaudian after Antonin Artaud, the French theatre practitioner. Instead of engaging the mind, he wanted his plays and performances to affect the senses, the body of the audience, his works were to be experienced rather than processed "like [a] spoken language" (Antonin Artaud qtd. in MacMurraugh-Kavanagh, 25). At first glance, Artaudian theatre resembles the marginalizing conception of the animal, in which the animal was identified solely with the bodily dimension which was in turn marked as inferior to mental capabilities. However, here the emphasis on corporeality becomes something to be desired, it is the realm conceived to be utilized by both humans and animals, therefore engaging it allows for a pro-animal zooësis to materialize.

According to MacMurraugh-Kavanagh, Shaffer excelled at using both the dramatic and the theatrical, nevertheless, he aimed at producing works which fell more on the theatrical end of the spectrum. While I recognize his intentions, in my opinion, Shaffer remains remarkably Brechtian. For instance, the structure of *Equus*, although not standard, still follows a very rigid linearity: the past of Alan is reconstructed from the present, and when the two threads of time join together, they progress in unison. Another example would be Dysart's narrative role, his narration is the seam that links all of the play's episodes together, until the very end of the play, he always remains in control of the actions which occur on the stage and as such he almost acquires an omniscient characteristic. Talking of narration, Equus, the horse god speaks in human language. The story arc is also very traditional, it clearly obeys the Freytag triangle and the action is neatly divided into two acts as well. Finally, although the figure of the horses is evoked by actors wearing horse-masks, other than this default assortment of species-roles, there is no merging or swapping species, every character remains within its original categoric part. One could argue, that the final scene, where Dysart senses a chain in his mouth is an instance of 'becoming-animal', however, I am inclined to reject this proposition since, unlike in other segments of the play, there are no stage directions that would indicate a corporeal shift, a transformation of the actor's body and/or costume. As such, this moment of transformation simply remains on the level of words and language which are, as established earlier, very human in nature. This is the aspect of Shaffer's play which I believe makes it in adequate or at least less adequate to tackle the animal problem: it behaves very much like spoken language. It is very structured, and it operates with very distinct categories and it mainly engages the intellect. This perhaps stems from his conviction "that words are the basis (though not the whole) of theatrical communication" (Shaffer ref. in MacMurraugh-Kavanagh 26).

Certain adaptations of the play possibly place so much emphasis on the theatrical because they want to appeal to the senses of the audience to a greater extent than what the dramatic text originally suggests. For instance, the Theatre Rhinoceros produced the play in 2016 under the direction of John Fisher and as Figure 1. clearly shows, the audience is visually very much engaged through the use of projections and nudity.

Figure 1. Theatre Rhinoceros production of *Equus* from 2016. Director: John Fish. Photo by David Wilson.

Figure 2. Main Street Arts production of *Equus* from 2018. Director: David Stern. Photo by Ea Maples.

Another example would be the Main Street Arts adaptation, directed by David Stern in 2018, illustrated by Figure 2. In this case, I would highlight the use of materials within the costumes. Many adaptations of *Equus* utilize materials in props and costumes which can be associated with the world of factories and the industry in general. Such materials include wood, metal, leather and rubber. With this adaptation, I would like to draw the attention to leather specifically. Coupled with the naked skin of the actor playing Alan Strang, leather invokes an intense sexuality which again represents an element of the plot on the level of the senses. Again, in Western cultural history, overt sexuality was something to be abhorred as it was considered a savage quality of the body. However, in the play this is presented as something desirable and liberating by Dysart. By reinforcing this corporeal dimension of the dramatic text, the theatrical adaptation manages to produce a more Artaudian rendition of the play.

I will now turn to *Owl,* and I claim Adrienne Kennedy's play is much more Artaudian already on the level of the dramatic text and is therefore more capable to represent animals in an egalitarian fashion. In my opinion, she was better at evading the trappings of human language via the exploitation of theatrical tools, ultimately creating an instance of theatre of species. Chaudhuri articulates the aim of the theatre of species, as follows:

> A Theatre of Species would seek to turn that corral of linguistically produced sameness into a space of embodied and productive difference, a means of encountering and considering the *particularities* of the bodies, territories and limitations of specific animals, both human and non-human. (2015, 138)

As examined above, Kennedy is very resourceful in portraying this bodily difference with the help of her unconventional costume design, although it is debatable to what extent it is feasible. Nonetheless, she engages corporeal means of signification to a much larger extent than Shaffer. Her metamorphosing setting is equally innovative, especially regarding animals since a plethora of animals were torn from their natural habitat in order to be displayed in a zoo, as Berger points out in his essay. By placing humans in a similarly suffocating setting, Kennedy is able to illustrate the distress animals feel when being maltreated in this way.

Despite being Artaudian/corporeal in nature, Kennedy also manages to engage linguistic issues in an animalistic way. For instance, as the cooing mother quote portrays, it is not the animal entities which express themselves in a human manner like in *Equus*, it is rather the human component of the Self which adopts animalistic ways of expressing itself. Kennedy's plot which arises through language use is also very unorthodox and postmodern, it operates in a much less regulated and teleological fashion than that of Shaffer. The play's action, or inaction rather, depicts She Who Is's psyche as it tries to fabricate a coherent daydream or imagined narrative, however, is unable to due to the tension between the human and animal fragments within herself. Due to the strain between these fragments, the whole fantasy is distorted and instead of being linear, it rather ends up as a series of cyclical efforts, manifesting themselves as a confusing order of monologues and dialogues. Fuchs posits the following about cyclicality Kennedy's writing:

> Kennedy's texts do not so much progress as recircle, proceeding through accreting motifs, not unlike the Wagnerian leitmotiv. [...] These repetitions, as other commentators on Kennedy's work have noted, endow Kennedy's language with the quality of litany or incantation, repetition in the service of a ritual event. (1992, 78)

Figure 3. Penumbra Theater production of *The Owl Answers* from 2016. Director: Talvin Wilks. Photo by: Allen Weeks.

When coupled with the concept of the animal, this ritualistic cyclicality could be understood as a possible answer for the unknown syntax of non-human animals which I mentioned earlier. This cyclical language which resists to be easily interpreted stands in direct opposition of the linear, teleological functioning of Western human culture. In addition, within this daydream of She Who Is, suspense is always somewhat present, it is apparent throughout the whole plot, therefore does not operate according to the Freytag-triangle. Finally, She Who Is does not narrate the events to any degree, she is completely submerged within the conflict of the human and animal inside her. A such, she cannot be identified to be in a superior portion of the psyche which is above the action, overseeing the events; no such hierarchy is established and is therefore more egalitarian regarding animals and humans. All in all, regarding both the unorthodox usage of language and her corporeal applications, I deem Kennedy to be very successful to liberate the animalistic component of the human from its inferior position.

Certain adaptations of *Owl* achieve this emancipation of the animal not by drawing attention to the aspects of animality worthy of praise but by highlighting the artificial and corrupt element of the human. One way they achieve this is the highlighting of the face. The production illustrated by Figure 3. was directed by Talvin Wilks within the Penumbra Theater in 2016. Besides She Who Is, everyone else is wearing a mask which could signify that in the same fashion that humans artificially created the inferior position assigned to animals, animality and especially to the beast, now it is revealed that the elevated category of the human is nothing more than a construction either. Furthermore, as the image clearly illustrates, these masks are very distorted, even grotesque, they do not resemble a real human face which could denote that just like animality, humanity can be represented in a negative light as well. Although God's Dove also

wears a mask in the background, it is a product of human culture and as such it is worthy of the mask. In essence, it can be understood as the epitome of the faulty image of animality which humans created.

A similar approach was employed by the adaptation produced by the Department of Theater, Dance and Media at Harvard University in 2017, directed by David R. Gammons. The production is illustrated by Figures 4., 5. and 6. Like in the previous adaptation, there is an extensive use of masks, although, these are not nearly as grotesque, instead they are white, plain and simple. The creators perhaps wanted to emphasize a sentiment which very well resonates with my earlier proposition, according to which the human Self, when faced with animality untouched by the confines of human hierarchies, is unable to establish itself as a proper subject having agency, it remains plain, dull, vacuous and impotent. Also, it is notable that not only the black female characters but neither do the black male characters wear masks. I believe it is an extension of this very same argument into the realm of race within human species. White culture can only create its dominant position if it marginalizes other races first. Finally, I analyse the costume of the two birds within this adaptation of the play: God's doves and the Owl. The costume of God's doves conspicuously appears to be of better, more pleasant materials than the costume of the Owl. Therefore, the production highlights via the appearance of the costumes that only a select group of animals and animalities are tolerated by human culture. It is also important to note that the Owl's costume is made from garbage whereas God's doves' appears to be of paper, i.e.. they are both from materials produced by human culture. Thus, what I understand the adaptation to signify by that is that it is an arbitrary, human decision how the various animals and animalities are treated. The category of humans, animals and beasts are completely artificial constructions which can be made highly apparent through the scrutinization of these categories via media not solely dominated by entities which do the categorization, i.e. humans.

Figure 4.

Figure 5.

Figures 4., 5. and 6. Harvard University Department of Theater, Dance and Media production of *The Owl Answers* from 2017. Director: David R. Gammons. Photos by Gretjen Helene

5. Conclusion

Within the scope of this essay I have tried to give an insight into the intricate relationship of humans and animals within Western culture. As I have shown through a collection of examples within the cultural history of the West, animals were subjugated by humans primarily because of their lack of language and as a consequence were made to be associated with the body and all of its negative aspects. I proposed that the reason behind this action was that only through the subjection of animals could humans establish themselves as elevated, potent beings with agency. Then I highlighted how postmodernity and especially the theatre of species unravels this dialectic and begins to emancipate non-human animals and animalities and, ironically, they do so via corporeality, the dimension responsible for their artificial inferiority. I examined Adrienne Kennedy's *The Owl Answers* and Peter Shaffer's *Equus* for this purpose and I argued that the former is better to liberate animals than the latter, although both provide intriguing examples of the animal component of the human. Via their comparative analysis, I hope to have illustrated how categories such as human and animal are artificial constructions which can be subverted through bodily means of signification, as this semiotic system is not dominated by humans. Since they depict the animal within the human, they do not merely inscribe themselves within animal(ity) studies, but also simultaneously provide research material for posthuman investigations which claims that the human is not a singular, homogenous entity but is an amalgamation of multiple animated entities. Despite the posthuman being a relatively new research area, some researchers already claim that it is too humanistic an endeavour as it wants to elevate other animated beings to the level of the human. In other words, the human still remains the vantage point from which the emancipations take place. As such, some propose that we should be striving for *the ahuman* where we as humans should aim to distance ourselves from our humanhood and only then begin to scrutinize other animated beings. However, it is debatable whether it is possible to completely shed the confines of our human selfhood, at least for the time being. In any case, as I have attempted to portray via the comparison of these dramatic texts and their theatrical adaptations that it is possible to achieve varying degrees of egalitarian representation with the tools available for us.

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