CONFLUENCES OF LITERATURE, HISTORY AND CINEMA

EDITED BY
PAWEŁ KAPTUR
AGNIESZKA SZWACH

CONFLUENCES OF LITERATURE, HISTORY AND CINEMA

CONFLUENCES OF LITERATURE, HISTORY AND CINEMA

EDITED BY
PAWEŁ KAPTUR
AGNIESZKA SZWACH

Wydawnictwo
Uniwersytetu Jana Kochanowskiego
Kielce 2020

Recenzenci:
prof. zw. dr hab. Dorota Heck
prof. zw. dr hab. Wiesław Krajka
prof. Sharaf Rehman
dr hab. Andrzej Diniejko
dr hab. Katarzyna Gajlewicz-Korab

Korekta językowa:
Stuart Wadsworth

Projekt okładki
Anna Domańska

Formatowanie
Józef Bąkowski

ISBN 978-83-7133-894-6

Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jana Kochanowskiego w Kielcach
25-369 Kielce, ul. Żeromskiego 5
tel. 41 349 72 65
https://wydawnictwo.ujk.edu.pl
e-mail: wyd@ujk.edu.pl

Table of contents

Preface

The relation between history and literature has been triggering vivid debates among scholars and writers for years. Some highlight the unbreakable bond between history and literature, whereas others demonstrate a propensity to discuss a literary text outside the historical context. Such dual attitude to reading literature gave rise to the polarizing schools of literary theory, which evolved into the two major trends in literary studies of the 20th and 21st centuries: Historicism (or New Historicism) and New Criticism. The New Critical approach treats any literary text as a self-contained, self-referential aesthetic object, therefore, there is no need to reach for outside sources to fully understand a text. New Historicists, to the contrary, choose to interpret the texts within a widely-scrutinised historical context. Historicism (also *historism*) pays particular attention to context such as historical background, social, philosophical, cultural and religious conditions, and even geographical location.

New Historicism, which developed from historicism in the 1980s and 1990s, absorbed the contemporary, philosophical and sociological theories. It was thoroughly influenced by Marxism whose interest centred around class-related struggles and power structure, although New Historicism analyzes power in relation to society as a whole not to individual social classes. New Historicists considered a literary text as determined by the author's race, sex, religion, political beliefs, and belonging to a particular social class. The method strongly rejects reading literature as an autonomous text and it promotes the integration of literature and its intellectual context. Further, New Historicism claims that a text and its historical environment are equally crucial because a text and its context are in a mutual relationship. This attitude of New Historians is succinctly summed up by Lois Tyson in his *Critical Theory Today*, who points out that:

> […] literary texts are cultural artifacts that can tell us something about the interplay of discourses, the web of social meanings, operating in the time and place in which the text was written. And they can do so because the literary text is itself part of the interplay of discourses, a thread in the dynamic web of social meaning. (2006, 291)

Therefore, it would be strenuous a task to fully understand the works of Charles Dickens without understanding Victorian Britain first, and it would be highly unreasonable to deny the contribution of Charles Dickens to building our comprehension of the 19th century British society. Similarly, it would be unfair to reject the input of Samuel Pepys in creating our perception of the 17th century England and, at the same time, it would be rather difficult to entirely comprehend his Diary without its political and historical context. Likewise, the reading of Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, or Orwell's *1984* would never be complete without its political or historical backdrop.

At the same time, it might be hardly feasible to fully grasp the specifics of a historical epoch and its chief events without remembering about the representatives of literature. Poets have always made great effort to immortalize the most momentous events in the history of their countries by glorifying kings and queens, mourning over an unexpected defeat at a battlefield or uplifting men's hearts and cheering the warriors on continuing the fight for their nation's freedom. At the same time, writers have invariably played an important part in reviving the glory or renowned historical figures. To mention only Shakespeare's invaluable contribution to our knowledge of ancient tyrants and heroes or medieval English Kings, Robert Graves's role in shaping our view on ancient Roman Emperors or Walter Scott's endeavour to restore the memory of Scottish heroes would be highly insufficient.

As K.N. Panikkar puts it in "Literature as History of Social Change": "History is invariably the subject matter of literature as its universe is humanity, and humanity has no existence without its history. In other words, history is the inspiration and source of literature" (*Social Scientist*, Vol. 40, 2012, 4).

It seems challenging a task to sense and acknowledge the salience of a historical epoch without recognizing the work of writers, and so it is barely attainable to fully appreciate a work of literature without being acquainted with its historical, social, religious or cultural background. Literature can undeniably serve as a historical source, whereas history can act as a source

of inspiration for literary achievements. The same may be concluded about cinema which, especially at its beginnings, relied heavily on history for inspiration but at the same time disseminated knowledge about historical events to large audiences.

The present book is a collective work presenting the academic output of scholars from universities in Poland, the Czech Republic and India and it offers a cross-sectional insight into the miscellany of bonds tying literature, cinema and history. The scope of the presented deliberations is not, however, limited to the literature-history or cinema-history relation *sensu stricto*, but it goes beyond the frame to look more broadly at cultural perspectives of film productions, philosophical interpretations of literature, religious perception of a text, or theatrical adaptations in a historical context.

The monograph is divided into two sections. The first one consists of five articles that analyse, from various angles and perspectives, complex inter-connections between history and literature to show, for example, the interplay between invented story elements and historical ones within a historical novel or the influence of a writer's own political reflection on his non-fiction works. On the whole the articles make a reader aware that placing any text in a different cultural or political context may considerably change our reading and understanding of it.

The second part starts with an article referring to the beginnings of cinema and showing in an engaging way how this new medium, within a few years, changed from technological novelty, not only into million dollar business, but first and foremost into a "a global social force". Cinema quickly attracted masses bringing to them both entertainment and enlightenment but at the same time it had, and still does, an indisputable impact on their worldview and opinions. Subsequent articles pick up at this point and evaluate the influence of particular movies on, in these cases, American cultural and historical memory.

PART 1

LITERATURE IN HISTORY – HISTORY IN LITERATURE

BOŻENA KUCAŁA
Jagiellonian University, Kraków, Poland

Filling in Blanks: Realism and Gothicism in Fictional Accounts of John Franklin's Lost Expedition

Abstract: Ann Rigney points out that "what defines the historical novel as a genre is precisely the interplay between invented story elements and historical ones" (2001,19). The role of the imaginary comes to the fore when the factual which the writer has at his or her disposal is manifestly insufficient or flawed. Such is the case with Sir John Franklin's Arctic expedition of 1845. The exact circumstances in which two ships and all their crew members perished remain unknown, and this gave rise to various speculations. The enigma of the lost expedition has also inspired contemporary writers. Robert Edric in *The Broken Lands* (1992) and Dan Simmons in *The Terror* (2007) imaginatively recreate the circumstances of the catastrophe. This paper compares the two writers' strategies for filling in blanks in historical accounts. While both Edric and Simmons have based their narratives on solid research and aim at verisimilitude, Edric remains within the bounds of realism whereas Simmons adds elements of gothicism and sensationalism. It is argued that the difference in their treatment of the subject is motivated by their discrepant ideological approaches.

Keywords: John Franklin's expedition, Arctic exploration, historical novel, Robert Edric, Dan Simmons

At the core of the historical novel is the duality of artistic invention and historical particulars. In a tradition going back to Walter Scott, designated by Georg Lukács as the originator of historical fiction,[1] the historical

[1] Lukács acknowledges both Scott's vital influence on subsequent historical fiction and his indebtedness to the realist tradition of the eighteenth-century novel. Yet, as Lukács

novel as a genre has been defined by "the interplay between invented story elements and historical ones" (Rigney 2001, 19). Ann Rigney emphasises the limits that the latter set upon artistic speculation: "As novels, they are written under the aegis of the fictionality convention whereby the individual writer enjoys the freedom to invent and the reader enjoys the freedom to make-believe in the existence of a world 'uncommitted to reality.' As *historical* novels, however, they also link up with the ongoing collective attempts to represent the past and invite comparison with what is already known about the historical world from other sources" (19). Rigney goes on to stress that although the novels' degree and mode of engagement with historiography obviously differ, they are not autonomous creations but rely on previous knowledge and other discourses about the past, either by imitating or disputing them (2001, 19). Jerome de Groot speaks of a tacit "contract" made by the historical novelist and his audience, under whose terms the reader is invited to trust the authenticity and realism of the text (de Groot 2016, 13). Hence historical fiction participates in what he calls "a semi-serious game of authenticity and research," legitimising its claim to historical accuracy by invoking facts and sources (14).

The definitions quoted above presuppose the realism of historical fiction. David Lodge lists various types of historical writing ("biography, autobiography, travelogue, letters, diaries, journalism and historiography") as the model on which the realist novel was originally based. Lodge's description of realism in literature is formulated as "*the representation of experience in a manner which approximates closely to descriptions of similar experience in non-literary texts of the same culture*" (1983, 25). Lodge's definition concurs with Lukács's claim that the birth of the historical novel coincided with the emergence of realism in fiction.[2]

Rigney's remark that the representation of the past in the novel is constructed within the framework of what is known does not conflict with the fact that historical novels often address precisely what is unknown about the past, that they attempt to fill in blanks and retrieve forgotten or suppressed voices and discourses. This is what Michel de Certeau had in mind when claiming that "fiction is the repressed other of historical discourse"

---

argues, Scott's historical novel, in comparison with his predecessors' work, "signifies something entirely new" (1963: 31).

[2] Scott's achievement as the father of the historical novel lies, according to Lukács, in "an assimilation of historical material to the great tradition of realism" (1963, 63).

(qtd. in White 2005, 147). Hayden White makes an apt distinction between the two by suggesting that "historical discourse wages everything on the true, while fictional discourse is interested in the real" (147), which he defines as "everything that can be truthfully said about its actuality plus everything that can be truthfully said about what it could *possibly* be" (147).

The scope of the possible is particularly extensive when historical evidence remains so incomplete as to preclude a satisfactory account of what happened. Then the task of the novelist is not only to "recreate the texture of lived experience" out of pre-existing texts (Mantel 2017, 3) but to try and imaginatively recreate the events themselves in the first place. This paper compares two fictional recreations of the ill-fated expedition led by John Franklin. Working within the framework of the available evidence, Robert Edric in *The Broken Lands* (1992) and Dan Simmons in *The Terror* (2007) imaginatively fill in gaps with respect to what is known about the voyage. It is argued that the differences in the speculative component in the two novels stem from the authors' dissimilar ideologies when approaching the doomed Victorian enterprise.[3]

The disaster that befell Sir John Franklin's expedition while searching for the Northwest Passage is a tantalising enigma in the history of British explorations, with Franklin himself described as "the most famous vanisher of the Victorian era" (MacFarlane as qtd. in McCorristine 2018, 206). In the nineteenth century, Britain intensified its attempts to discover a navigable way through the Arctic Circle. In 1845 Franklin became yet another explorer entrusted with the task of finding the elusive passage and was put in charge of a large expedition, consisting of two ships and 129 crew members (Dalton 2012, 14). They were last seen off the west coast of Greenland, approximately two months after leaving England, before vanishing forever (93). The search for the missing men, or some evidence of their fate, became "one of the most exhaustive quests of the 19th century" (14) and continued long after the men were officially pronounced dead by the British government in 1854 (McCoy 2012, 197). In 1854 the Arctic explorer John Rae found the first indications of what had happened. Travelling overland, he encountered a party of Inuit who possessed objects from the ships and shared with him stories of starving white men dragging sledges

[3] By critically engaging with the past, these two neo-Victorian novels may be said to recreate the past "in a meaningful way" rather than being merely "nineteenth-century dress-ups" (cf. Mitchell 2010: 3).

towards the mouth of Back's Fish River, where the last survivors appeared to have died. Rae immediately reported the news to the Admiralty, together with the suggestion that, according to the Inuit, the bodies displayed signs of cannibalism (Dalton 2012, 118–120).This part of the report was met with disbelief and anger, leading to a campaign against Rae and allegations that the Inuit themselves were responsible for the death of the white men (McCoy 2012, 180).[4] Further exploration, however, confirmed the worst conjunctures.[5]

The search for relics of Franklin's lost expedition continued in the 20th and 21st centuries and seems unlikely to cease.[6] In her recent book *Encounters on the Passage: Inuit Meet the Explorers* (2008) the Canadian scholar Dorothy Eber reports that "[s]keletons of Franklin's crews still turn up on the shores of King William Island" (74); the remains of nearly fifty members of the expedition have been found so far (83). Eber's research also revealed that the expedition had become something of a myth among the Inuit, spawning a variety of oral tales still retold today (74–80).

The story of the lost Arctic expedition appears particularly inviting for historical novelists: the enormity of the tragedy calls for imaginative reconstruction, while the existing amount of historical evidence generates a stimulating interplay between artistic invention and historical particulars, which underpins historical fiction as a genre.[7]Although the basic facts

---

[4] Such suggestions were put forward by Charles Dickens in his article "The Lost Arctic Voyagers" (1854).

[5] In 1858 Captain McClintock's search party found the first skeleton, whose condition suggested that the man had just dropped dead while walking, in a state of extreme exhaustion (McCoy 2012, 201). Having finally located the route that the desperate survivors must have taken after abandoning the ice-bound ships, McClintock's explorers came across more relics, the most significant of which was a British-built boat, with two skeletons inside. One body was still fully dressed and held a loaded gun, while the state of the other gave grounds for assuming that the unidentified seated man had shot and partly eaten his companion (Dalton 2012, 126). The discovery was not only appalling but also puzzling – the boat pointed in the direction opposite to the one that the survivors seemed to have taken, and it contained quite unexpected objects such as a substantial amount of silver cutlery (Dalton 2012, 126).

[6] In 2008 the Canadian government together with private as well as non-profit organisations launched a joint search for more evidence of the expedition. The mission succeeded in locating the wrecks of the two ships, in 2014 and 2016, respectively ("Sir John Franklin: Biography").

[7] The list of novels about the Franklin expedition is extensive and includes: Sten Nadolny's *Discovery of Slowness* (1983), Martyn Godfrey's *Mystery in the Frozen Lands* (1988), Mordecai Richler's *Solomon Gursky Was Here* (1990), William T. Vollmann's *The Rifles*

about the demise of the expedition are known, the details remain "remarkably sketchy" (McCorristine 2018, 225). Unsurprisingly, this "vacuum of information," combined with motifs of mystery, death and disappearance, generates speculations which often draw upon the gothic and the supernatural (225).

Given the striking scarcity of written records, it is the incomplete material evidence that forms the factual basis for the imaginary narratives. Franklin's ships had been equipped with two hundred cylinders for leaving messages on the way; in the event, only one was found (Dalton 2012, 123). The printed form discovered by Captain McClintock's search party in a cairn on King William Island in 1858 carried two messages. One stated the current position of the ships (but was mistakenly post-dated) and reported merely that "all [was] well"; the other, scribbled on the same piece of paper a year later, in an equally laconic manner outlined the recent tragic developments: the ships had been abandoned, Franklin and twenty-four other crew members were dead, while the survivors were about to set out towards Back's Fish River (McCoy 2012, 202). Having read the note, McClintock commented that "A sad tale was never told in fewer words" (202). All the other direct written records were lost.

In their novels Edric and Simmons have made extensive use of the available sources concerning Arctic exploration, hence their fictions are comparable in terms of the amount of detail that serves to faithfully depict the navigation and subsequent struggle for survival in the polar region. Even though he does not cite his sources, it is clear that, as Russell A. Potter put it in his review, "Edric has done his homework" [2002]. Writing in 2002,[8] Porter praised *The Broken Lands* as "by far the most historically grounded of

(1994), Brian A. Hopkins' *Cold at Heart* (1997), Andrea Barrett's *The Voyage of the Narwhal* (1998), John Wilson's *North with Franklin: The Lost Journals of James Fitzjames* (1999), Elizabeth MacGregor's *The Ice Child* (2001), Jeffrey Blair Latta's *The Franklin Conspiracy: An Astonishing Solution to the Lost Arctic Expedition* (2001), Rudy Wiebe's *Discovery of Strangers* (2004), John Wilson's *Across Frozen Seas* (2006), Liam Browne's *The Emigrant's Farewell* (2006), Clive Cussler's *Arctic Drift* (2008), Dominique Fortier's *On the Proper Use of Stars* (2008), Cormac James' *The Surfacing* (2014), John Wilson's *Graves of Ice* (2014), Ed O'Loughlin's *Minds of Winter* (2016). The expedition is also the subject of Gwendolyn McEwen's play *Terror and Erebus* (1987) and David Solway's poem *Franklin's Passage* (2003). Dan Simmons's novel was made into an American TV series under the same name, which premiered on AMC in 2018.

[8] The date may be inferred from his remark that Elizabeth MacGregor's novel *The Ice Child* appeared in the previous year, i.e. 2001.

all Franklin fictions." Published fifteen years after *The Broken Lands*, Simmons's book is a rightful contestant for such praise. Simmons fleshed out the bare bones of the story even more extensively, with a view to providing credible explanations for the existing evidence—his novel contains a three-page list of sources in the Acknowledgements section.

The fragmentariness of the evidence puts novelists writing about the voyage in a position akin to that of historians trying to construct a meaningful account of the past, which inevitably stimulates a demand for completion and connectivity. In historiography, as Hayden White reminds us, "our desire for the imaginary, the possible, must contest with the imperatives of the real, the actual" (1990, 4) – and the same may be said about historical fiction. The two narratives analysed here are illustrative of the diversity of interpretations which the same collection of facts may yield, even when the outcome is well-defined. The differences result from the way that the writers connect the facts by imaginatively filling in blanks in their knowledge of what happened.

The work of the historical novelist, who is faced with the task of supplementing the historical *donnée*, also bears some relation to the process of reading as described by Wolfgang Iser from the phenomenological perspective. What lends legitimacy to this analogy is the fact that at the pre-writing stage the historical novelist obviously must be a reader. Iser defines a blank as "a vacancy in the overall system of the text, the filling of which brings about an interaction of textual patterns" (1980, 182). Blanks denote what is absent or missing from the actual text and so they both induce and guide the reader's "constitutive activity" (202). Blanks are "the unseen joints of the text" (183), implicitly calling upon the reader to fill them in with his own projections, based on his interaction with the text. Hence, a fictional reconstruction of a historical event or process may be treated as the result of the writer's individual concretisation of records of the past.

In Edric's novel, fidelity to historical evidence corresponds to realism in the invented parts of the story. Underpinned by the established facts, his book gives narrative substance to the progress of the disaster, casting it in the mode of tragic failure. The novel charts the gradual decline of the enterprise as a process of losing control over one's movements until the freedom to move at all is lost when both ships are trapped by ice and damaged beyond repair. The narrative makes it clear that the point of no return could only be recognised as such in retrospect.

Edric's account does not attribute the catastrophe to human pride and vanity. Even though at critical moments the officers' ideas may differ (especially Captain Crozier at times appears unreasonably impetuous), they ultimately agree on what seems to be the best course of action in the circumstances. Franklin himself is portrayed as a responsible and competent leader. Some blame may be laid at the door of the Admiralty back at home, who, by choosing the cheapest and lowest-quality food supplier, had effectively deprived the crews of adequate provisions. Also, the maps and hence the sailing instructions that the crews had received turn out to be inexact and impracticable. Nonetheless, Franklin and his officers accept that travelling in uncharted waters is a risk integral to expeditions such as theirs since "the history of all exploration was a history of men drawing their fingers across empty spaces" (255).

However, at the start of the expedition so confident are they of success that the only fiasco they are prepared to envision is the failure to find the Passage. The scale of the eventual defeat exceeds all the initial assumptions, therefore the story could quite easily lend itself to allegorical or mythical interpretations, which Edric's novel indeed hints at and yet refuses to endorse and expand.

Undoubtedly, the events contain the potential to be construed as an allegorical tale about how human hubris is punished. The Terror's first collision with an iceberg does no damage to the ship, to which Crozier responds with premature optimism: "Let the ice lick its wounds and tremble before us" (55). This, however, turns out to be not only the first but also their last triumph over nature. One of the surgeons, Goodsir, invokes stories in which sailors were warned against venturing into the extreme north. The Greek navigator Pytheas claimed to have seen a sea unicorn emerging from "an impenetrable barrier of ice and fog," and stopping him from sailing beyond the cold isle of Thule (229). Martin Frobisher, an English sixteenth-century explorer who made three voyages in search of the Northwest Passage, found a narwhal frozen in ice, which he took for the mythical unicorn. If that was a sign, then the Victorian explorers received an even more potent one—a crevice in the ice revealed the corpses of about three hundred narwhals, trapped by the encircling ice. In another hint at a possible mythical interpretative framework for their voyage, the pillars formed by the rising ice remind the sailors of the standing stones of some ancient circle, as in Niflheim, "the howling wasteland of unending darkness and ice hung over with the stench of death" in Norse mythology (266). Also, the narrative

explicitly suggests that the sinister prophecy contained in the name of one of the ships has been fulfilled; the broken vessel, home to the dead and the dying, has become an icon of its name: "*Erebus*, the primeval darkness born of chaos, half-brother to night, and reluctant father to air and day, Aether and Hemera, the Lower World of the ancient Greeks, fearsome and forbidding and filled with impenetrable darkness" (365).

In a similar vein, the narrative occasionally personifies nature, because, despite the seamen's ingenuity and constant effort, the destruction of the ships and their crews progresses so steadily and unstoppably that there appears to be a malevolent and relentless intention behind the process, as if its single goal were to expose the frailty and futility of human endeavour. It is as though in trying to survive they were fighting an intelligent enemy:

> As the men worked, they heard the shots and clattering ricochets of bolts and treenails snapping free, fingers of ice quickly poking through the evacuated holes, and they smelled too the distinctive aroma of turpentine as it was squeezed from the newer planking of the *Terror*'s refit. (285)

However, even though the hopelessness of their situation gradually becomes apparent, deterministic thinking does not prevail, nor is the calamity ascribed by the seamen to supernatural forces. Instead, as a rule, rational explanations are implied: they are travelling in unknown territory where the natural conditions they have to cope with are extreme, although worse than expected; their marine instruments become unreliable in the proximity of the magnetic pole; they have been equipped with inadequate and poorly prepared food provisions, etc.

Confronted by the repeated futility of their struggle, one of the seamen, Tozer, suggests that God "might have stopped taking an interest in us long ago." Although unsettled by the idea, Captain Fitzjames replies that "our own efforts will have to suffice" (276). In Edric's imaginative reconstruction, despite the desperateness of the crew's predicament, a degree of discipline is maintained until the end and the bond of solidarity is never dissolved. Conducting a religious service just before his death, Franklin stresses the obligation to do one's duty and accept God's trials; the two remaining captains never fail in their efforts to save the ships and the crew, the doctors continue to attend to the sick and dying, the scarce food supplies are evenly distributed, the men obey their officers. Although some men leave the damaged Terror and set up a camp on the ice in defiance of Captain Crozier's orders, which of course could be regarded as mutiny,

their decision to leave the ship is shown as a reasonable alternative to Crozier's overly optimistic estimates of the ship's condition; the leader of the mutineers insists that they "fulfill [their] duties and obligations as posted" (239). As a result, this temporary action ultimately does not pose a serious threat to the discipline among both crews.

In *The Broken Lands*, the risk of descent into savagery hovers over the explorers but the men's lapse from civilisational norms does not go beyond wild delight in hunting polar bears or eating raw meat. Edric omits to give narrative shape to the evidence of cannibalism discovered during the search for Franklin's expedition. The closest his characters come to the ultimate loss of civilisational norms[9] is the eating of a polar fox which has been feeding on the corpses of their companions. It is only in the agony of death that some men lose their self-control, curse their fate and their fellow men, becoming irrational or aggressive. Throughout their inexorable decline, the sane men bear their injuries, sickness and starvation with dignity, concealing the extent of their suffering from their comrades and display admirable loyalty to their fellow sufferers. Even the death-ridden final stages of the overland journey proceed in an orderly fashion; formalities of marine service are observed and records are kept.

When the predicament of the explorers first becomes apparent, Franklin insists that "These are not mistakes or misjudgements we make […] For that we would need to know what lay ahead of us" (136). If their Victorian contemporaries regarded John Franklin and his men as tragic heroes, Edric's novel does not debunk their stature. Without falling back on pathos or sentimentality, he nevertheless portrays them as brave and noble individuals who perished in a confrontation with forces more powerful than themselves. Until their exploration is tragically terminated, the men take pride in "the knowledge that they had already achieved so much where many before them had failed, that they had come farther along the true course of the Passage in a single season than anyone before them" (158). The resounding conclusion of Ulysses' monologue in Tennyson's famous poem, in which the ancient hero urges his mariners to join him on a last voyage "to seek a newer world," could also encapsulate the attitude of Edric's characters:

---

[9] Patrick Brantlinger stresses that to the Victorians cannibalism was "the nadir of savagery, the complete antithesis of civilization" (2011, 66).

> … that which we are, we are –
> One equal temper of heroic hearts,
> Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
> To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield. (Tennyson 2000 [1842], 1214)

Dan Simmons's novelistic reconstruction of the lost expedition is strikingly similar to Edric's in its factual framework – the American writer incorporates numerous details which the research has revealed. His novel also matches or perhaps even surpasses Edric's as far as the representation of the extreme hardships of the arctic voyage is concerned. However, the altered structure of the narrative alone entails a modification in the ideological cast of Simmons's version. He has chosen to focus on the latter part of the journey when survival seems increasingly unlikely and the search for the Northwest Passage has long been abandoned. The disrupted chronology, combined with a deceleration of the action, have the effect of portraying the expedition as a prolonged disaster. Since only a few chapters out of the total of sixty-seven depict the early stage of the journey, with the rest charting the decline of the last few months, the account of the expedition tends to be quite static and is underpinned by the sense of hopeless entrapment – "a tale of stasis and slow death in a stark, nearly featureless landscape," as Terrence Rafferty summarised it in his review (2007).With the vantage point located predominantly at this phase, all the evocations of the explorers' initial enthusiasm and confidence in the success of their mission are inevitably cast in an ironic mode.

Rather than a noble quest to conquer the unknown, the expedition is represented as a manifestation of human folly and pride. The anachronies of the narrative underscore the fact that another explorer's concerns, voiced before Franklin's departure but recounted while the disaster is already unfolding, were well-founded yet were dismissed by Franklin as well the naval authorities at that time. In Simmons's interpretation, there is an obvious causal link between pride and fall: the sheer size of the expedition and the commander's excessive confidence in its success are the principal reasons for its failure. Because Franklin does not admit the possibility of defeat, he makes no contingency plans:

> The idea that the two most modern ships in the world – reinforced for ice, powered by steam, provisioned for five years or more in the ice, and manned by crews handpicked by Sir John Barrow – would or could require rescue simply did not register in Franklin's brain. The idea was absurd. (2018, 46)

There is no doubt that their present calamity is attributable to human arrogance and vanity. Whereas in Edric's interpretation the seamen make tragic mistakes in a state of ignorance, in Simmons's novel the mistakes might have been avoided if only the leaders had shown more humility. Franklin is portrayed here as the chief culprit: incompetent, unwilling to listen to his more experienced officers and determined to slavishly follow the Admiralty's instructions against the dictates of common sense, the commander of the expedition has unwittingly led them into an icy trap. Even when confronted with overwhelming arguments for retreat, Franklin announces to his officers: "We shall press forward" (111).

The Terror draws strongly on the topos of incurring punishment for provoking the wrath of supernatural beings. The men often feel they are under attack, an attack beyond the daily challenge of having to survive in the extreme arctic conditions. During a violent lightning storm, unusual in such a cold zone, the situation is desperate enough for Doctor Goodsir to interpret it as a divine intervention: "Goodsir could only think of it as an attack, as if from Greek gods furious at their hubris for wintering in Boreas's realm" (172). Crozier, likewise, invokes the ancient Greeks' conviction that only the temperate zones were fit for human habitation, and reflects that polar travel violates a divine prohibition: "why […] did a nation like England, blessed to be placed by God in one of the most gentle and verdant of the two temperate bands where mankind was meant to live, keep throwing its ships and its men into the ice of the northern and southern polar extremes where even fur-wearing savages refuse to go?" (241). The idea that "some evil arctic god […] seemed intent on tormenting them all" (542) grows increasingly plausible even among the more rational members of the crew.

In Simmons's novel, the evocation of myths is not just a literary device. *The Terror* is typical of recent Franklin fiction, in which "supernatural motifs have been employed not just rhetorically but in a very literal way" (McCorristine 2018, 204). Violating the bounds of realism, the writer legitimises the existing superstitions about venturing into forbidden territories by giving a material shape to the objects of the men's fears. The ice-bound crews are stalked by a sinister creature resembling a huge polar bear, but the writer makes the identity of the beast indeterminate enough for it to embody a range of myths and superstitions: an instrument of divine punishment, a man-hating demon, a Leviathan, a manifestation of savagery and wilderness, a force antagonistic to civilisation, and an incarnation of the dreadful natural world of the Arctic. In a typically gothic fashion,

monstrosity is protean in the book and "eludes conclusive categorization" (see Cavallaro 2002, 173–74). Crozier intuits that the "thing" is "*everything* here": "the unrelenting cold, the squeezing ice, the electrical storms, the uncanny lack of seals and whales and birds and walruses and land animals, the endless encroachment of the pack ice […], the summers that did not come, the leads that did not open – *everything*" (240). Its whiteness may, paradoxically, signify also blankness and nothingness, or the empty space beyond the edge of the known world that threatens to engulf the explorers. In the epigraph to the novel Simmons implies another area of obscure symbolism: the white whale from Herman Melville's novel. It may be recalled, too, that at the end of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* the monster is last spotted heading towards the northern polar regions.

The constant presence of the enigmatic, malevolent creature intensifies the sensationalism and gothicism of the story: the narrative abounds in mysterious disappearances of members of the crew, descriptions of severed body parts, as well as dramatic accounts of the creature pursuing its victims. But the novel has enough gothic atmosphere, even without the murderous beast. Surrounded by the darkness of the polar night or the shroud of an eerie fog, the explorers live in constant fear of real or imagined dangers. Darkness, as Dani Cavallaro notes, is a common feature of gothic settings, as "the locus of torment, punishment, mystery, corruption and insanity – the place in which […] defenceless victims are trapped" (2002, 27). The horror, however, lurks not only outside but also inside the ships. Crozier's inspection of the Terror (ch. 3) is an occasion to represent it as a gothic structure, with underlying layers of dread and death. The lower decks, a site of illicit or perverse activities, are immersed in semi-darkness and have passageways in the shape of low, narrow, labyrinthine tunnels. The descriptions achieve a "collusion of dark places and dark emotions" (see Cavallaro 2002, 28). It is intimated that the structure of the ship mirrors the internal divisions in man: "travelling deeper into the ship, Crozier realizes, is like travelling too deeply into one's body or mind" (53); "The bottom hold deck below, with its terrible smells and its waiting Dead Room, is madness" (54).

Whereas in Edric's novel the men gradually lose control of their environment, their ships and their ability to survive, in Simmons's book this process is accompanied by the loss of self-control. The last phase of the expedition is marred by the release of the evil proclivities and savage impulses inside the men. As the taboos of civilised life are shattered, murders and cannibalism are committed publicly. The caulker's mate Hickey becomes

the villain of the piece. At one moment, his eyes resemble those of "the thing on the ice" (689) —a clear indication that the beast without is also an externalisation of the beast within. As the captains' wicked antagonist, he stages a mutiny which undermines the officers' last attempts at rescue and declares himself the leader of a splinter group. Within his group, power quickly degenerates into tyranny. Simmons imaginatively solves the puzzle of the boat which McClintock's search party later found (see n. 5) by depicting Hickey as the seated figure in the boat heading back towards the frozen ships. Hickey had apparently murdered and eaten his companions.

Even among those who have not yet tasted human flesh civilisational norms have fallen so low that they ruthlessly fight for the remains of their food supplies, and the healthier men, driven by the instinct for self-preservation, leave their sick companions behind as they travel on. Ultimately, the expedition becomes a manifestation of the darker aspects of human nature. As one man puts it at the end, "It's *all* one real monster […] And not a new one to our race" (800).

Whereas both Edric and Simmons have chosen to end the account of the expedition with the imminent death of its new leader (Fitzjames in Edric's interpretation, Crozier in Simmons's), the latter has added a twist to his tale. The final chapters of *The Terror* depict the aftermath of the story as Crozier's quasi-afterlife. This part of the novel is unsupported by any historical evidence—the fate of Captain Crozier, the real hero of Simmons's version, must be seen as another element in the non-realistic layer of this reconstruction. Shot by Hickey and nearly drowned, Crozier owes his implausible rescue to an Inuit woman who later becomes his wife. Crozier momentarily loses not only his identity but also any sense of place and time; therefore, the subsequent chapters lack these specifications. The rescue and Crozier's transition to a very different life among the Inuit constitute such an astounding change that the narration at first appears to describe a dying man's hallucinations rather than verifiable events. Now that he lives among people for whom the supernatural is as real as the empirical, Crozier learns that his earlier moments of mystical vision originated in his innate clairvoyant powers as a "spirit-governor."

There is no evidence that anyone survived the ill-fated expedition but since Crozier's body has never been accounted for, the writer takes advantage of his *licentia poetica* to give his hero a new lease of life. As the leader of a failed expedition, Crozier has no intention of going back to England; his last action as the ex-captain of the Terror is to burn the damaged ship and

let it sink. He does not wish the evil that has taken possession of the ship to spread, nor does he want future rescuers to carry ghoulish tales back to England. By destroying the evidence Crozier also wishes to prevent Dickens or Tennyson from rising to "new heights of maudlin eloquence" (934).[10]

Of course, as the two contemporary novels demonstrate, the loss of some of the evidence did nothing to prevent speculation; on the contrary, it propelled a whole spectrum of versions. In Robert Edric's account, what White called "the true" smoothly blends with "the real"; the formal realism of *The Broken Lands* matches the novelist's level-headed speculative recreation of how the tragedy unfolded. Although the confirmed traces of cannibalism might provide the incentive for a revisionist, derogatory tale about the failure of Victorian imperialism and the Victorian idea of progress, Edric does not follow this route. Nick Rennison rightly asserts that, unlike many other contemporary writers who revisit the Victorian age critically, Edric is "uninterested in scoring easy points by revealing feet of clay or highlighting hypocrisies with a knowing irony" (2005, 62). Likewise, the writer does not take advantage of the undeniable mythical or supernatural potential of the story, preferring to adhere to historical particulars rather than literary patterns.

By contrast, Simmons's novel, in the words of Shane McCorristine, "reacts to the huge blanks in the historical narrative in a hyperactive manner, combining speculation with supernatural sensationalism" (2018, 215). Although there exists no obvious link between non-realistic modes and a critical visitation of the past, this dimension of the novel serves to intensify its revisionary, censorious treatment of Victorianism. The deluded, somewhat grotesque Franklin appears to be the only character who believes in the idea of noble conquest; the idea dies with him. Just as he ends with a twist to Crozier's story, Simmons unexpectedly gives a further, contemporary ideological edge to his novel. Towards the end of the book, the gothic monster from the ice unexpectedly morphs into an almost benign being, which protects the native people and the wildlife of the Arctic from destructive intervention from the outside. The Inuit clairvoyant's vision of the future momentarily reshapes *The Terror* from a historical to a dystopian

[10] Crozier's plan failed in this respect: Tennyson wrote an elevated verse for Franklin's memorial in Westminster Abbey, whereas Dickens in his article "The Lost Arctic Voyagers" praised the nobility of the explorers and vigorously defended them against charges of cannibalism.

novel as it is revealed that when white men take possession of this land, its ice will melt, the polar bears and other creatures will lose their habitats and gradually die out. This insight, which is in fact a contemporary account masquerading as clairvoyance, constitutes a further, modern-day critique of imperial explorations as heralding the demise of local populations and the natural environment.

What is perhaps more interesting about Simmons's book, however, is that it invites questions about the limits of the fictional in a historical novel. Jerome de Groot's discussion of the historical novel emphasises the hybridity and flexibility of the genre as one of its defining characteristics. As de Groot puts it, "Historical writing can take place within numerous fictional locales: romance, detective, thriller, counterfactual, horror, literary, gothic, postmodern, epic, fantasy, mystery, western, children's book" (2010, 2). This sweeping all-inclusiveness, however, too easily passes over the issue of referentiality in historical fiction. Most of the writing conventions de Groot enumerates openly conflict with Lukács's insistence on realism as a defining feature of historical fiction. Indeed, in his seminal work Lukács claimed that "the pliancy of historical material […] is in fact a trap for the modern writer" (1963, 244). Scott's historical novel was born out of the writer's acknowledgement of "the historical particularity of [the characters'] age" (19), in opposition to the "mere costumery" of earlier past-oriented fiction. In gothic fiction, from which Scott consciously distanced himself, the past was a site of horror and mystery, a background to sensational, murky plots. Botting and Townshend note that gothic novels were characterised by "shameless interweaving of fiction and history […] the inaccuracy or even glaring anachronism of the genre's historiography" (de Groot 2010, 16). Given these considerations, *The Terror* appears to embody a peculiar fusion of, rather than a conflict between, the two modes. In the best traditions of gothic fiction, it exploits the obscurity of the past to increase its narrative appeal but, at the same time, it does not err on the side of factuality. Simmons's version incorporates and expands what is known about Franklin's expedition while adding elements which are not reflected in the evidence. Hence, the supernatural and the sensational in the book cannot come into conflict with evidence which is non-existent, but they do come into conflict with what the reader may accept as empirically possible.

References:

Brantlinger, Patrick. 2011. *Taming Cannibals: Race and the Victorians*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Cavallaro, Dani. 2002. *The Gothic Vision. Three Centuries of Horror, Terror and Fear*. London and New York: Continuum.

Dalton, Anthony. 2012. *Sir John Franklin: Expeditions to Destiny*. Surrey, B.C.: Heritage House. eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost).

De Groot, Jerome. 2010. *The Historical Novel*. London and New York: Routledge.

De Groot, Jerome. 2016. *Remaking History. The Past in Contemporary Historical Fictions*. London and New York: Routledge.

Eber, Dorothy. 2008. *Encounters in the Passage: Inuit Meet the Explorers*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Edric, Robert. 2011 [1992]. *The Broken Lands. A Novel of Arctic Disaster*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books. eBook. Kindle edition.

Iser, Wolfgang. 1980. *The Act of Reading. A Theory of Aesthetic Response*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Lodge, David. 1983. *The Modes of Modern Writing: Metaphor, Metonymy, and the Typology of Modern Literature*. London: Edward Arnold.

Lukács, Georg. 1963 [1937]. *The Historical Novel*. Translated by Hannah and Stanly Mitchell. Boston: Beacon Press.

Mantel, Hilary. 2017. "The BBC Reith Lectures – Can These Bones Live? Lecture 4." 4 July. BBC Radio 4. Typescript: 1–10. Accessed May 4, 2019. https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b08wp3g3

McCorristine, Shane. 2018. *Spectral Arctic. A History of Dreams and Ghosts in Polar Exploration*. London: UCL Press.

McCoy, Roger M. 2012. *On the Edge: Mapping North America's Coasts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mitchell, Kate. 2010. *History and Cultural Memory in Neo-Victorian Fiction: Victorian Afterimages*. Houndmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Potter, Russell A. [2002]. "*The Broken Lands: A Novel of Arctic Disaster* by Robert Edric." Accessed May 4, 2019. http://www.ric.edu/faculty/rpotter/brokenlands.html

Rafferty, Terrence. 2007. "Ice Men."*The New York Times* March 18. Accessed May 4, 2019.https://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/18/books/review/Rafferty.t.html

Rennison, Nick. 2005. "Robert Edric." *Contemporary British Novelists*. London and New York: Routledge, 61–65.

Rigney, Ann. 2001. *Imperfect Histories. The Elusive Past and the Legacy of Romantic Historicism*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Simmons, Dan. 2018 [2007]. *The Terror*. London and Toronto: Bantam Books.

"Sir John Franklin: Biography." *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Online. Accessed May 4, 2019. https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Franklin.

Tennyson, Alfred. 2000 [1842]. "Ulysses." *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, 7th ed., edited by M. H. Abrams and Stephen Greenblatt, vol. 2, 1213–14. New York and London: Norton.

White, Hayden. 1990. *The Content of the Form. Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

White, Hayden. 2005. "Introduction: Historical Fiction, Fictional History, and Historical Reality." *Rethinking History* 9.2/3: 147–57.

JADWIGA LASZKIEWICZ
State Higher Vocational School, Nowy Sącz, Poland

The Poetry of Limits – G. K. Chesterton's Dialectic of the Local and the Global

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to present G. K. Chesterton's reflections on patriotism and Imperialism which were mainly the result of his political illumination caused by the Boer War. In much of his non-fiction writing, Chesterton expounds on the importance of man relating to a particular place and culture while defending his small and sacred place as a consequence of being attached to it, as opposed to being suspended in some sort of a geographical vacuum. He transposes his discursive writing into imaginative novels such as The Napoleon of Notting Hill in which he expresses his sympathy for small independent communities which revolt against large impersonal units of the modern world and the over-organisation of society that poses a threat to human liberty.

Key words: G. K. Chesterton, patriotism, the local and the global, imperialism, The Napoleon of Notting Hill

Gilbert Keith Chesterton was one of the most prolific and influential English writers of the twentieth century. Known as an outspoken advocate of the common man, he was concerned with the essential political, historical, and social issues which were occurring at the time. The time period during which he was most active was a turbulent one and coincided with such significant events as the Boer War, the Irish struggle for independence, the Balkan crisis, and finally the Great War. Those events, especially the Boer War, were a source of political illumination for Chesterton and led him to understand that he should always be on the side of the small nation.

While analyzing Chesterton's writing, one may notice that the author juxtaposes the element of the local with the element of the global. This

dialectical method on the level of imagery corresponds to the small and the big. In his *Autobigography,* Chesterton confesses that he always preferred the microscope to the telescope (Chesterton 1986, 106). He considered the nearest things as the things which deserve more praise and attention than the most distant ones. In addition to this, Chesterton's dialectic of the local and the global is connected with patriotism which for him was a great value. As a result, he devotes much of his attention to the role of patriotism and locality as the crucial elements of man's life. In his famous essay entitled *The Patriotic Idea,* Chesterton stresses the fact that "when a man really loves a thing he dwells not on its largeness, but its smallness" (Chesterton 2004, 233) and he contrasts patriotism with such hallmarks of modern times as Imperialism and cosmopolitism regarding them both as its enemies.

Chesterton was against the growth of empire. The ideology of the British Empire shaped and promoted by such figures as Cecil Rhodes, Rudyard Kipling, or John Robert Seeley, to name just a few, was connected with the apotheosis of the empire and the justification for its expansion, colonialism, Imperialism and its conquests were supposed to provide many advantages, both spiritual and material, for everyone within the empire's boundaries. For some people, Imperialism became synonymous with patriotism. The British and foreign press abounded in such concepts as Imperialism, nationalism, or patriotism, and many people used those terms without much consideration. Accordingly, those terms started to carry the meaning which was not completely true and correct. They were often used by a particular country or political party for the sake of their own advantage and convenience (Sadło 2014, 89). Nevertheless, Chesterton did not equate patriotism with Imperialism as many of his contemporaries did. He believed that "patriotism begins the praise of the world at the nearest thing, instead of beginning it at the most distant, and thus it insures what is, perhaps, the most essential of all earthly considerations, that nothing upon earth shall go without its due appreciation" (Chesterton 2004, 227).

The shape of England at the time of Chesterton's life was influenced by various historical events and figures, and it would be a considerable effort to discuss all of them. Nonetheless, some of them are worth mentioning since they contributed substantially to the birth of the British Empire. The first significant event was the conquest of Wales in 1282 which was joined to England permanently thereafter (Trevelyan 1967, 265). The dispute between France and England was finally settled in 1493, which meant that

England became less active in continental politics yet more active in colonial expansion. After defeating the Spanish Armada in 1588, England's dominance in the sea grew, and it was a vital step towards intensified colonisation, especially of North America (Trevelyan1967, 411-418). The aim of the Union of England and Scotland Act in 1603 was to establish a formal political union between the two countries which were finally united in 1707 (463-464). It led to the establishment of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. Ireland became part of the United Kingdom in 1800 as a result of the Act of Union 1800 coming into force on the 1st of January 1801. Before that happened, Ireland had been in personal union with England since 1541. In general, during the colonial expansion and various conquests in the 18th and 19th century, Great Britain held dominion over a quarter of the world's surface and was at the height of its powers (Greenblatt 2006, 1830).

The British Empire with its English culture, language, and its own interpretation of history tried to teach its citizens to be passionately English (Davies 2003, 716). When it comes to English influence, Ireland was the exception and tried to remain independent of it; nevertheless, it fell under England's influence to a certain extent as well. However, Chesterton always felt great sympathy for the Irish and their passionate patriotism of their country (Chesterton 1986, 131). The ideology of the British Empire adopted and promoted by its supporters was characterized by common interest of such groups as merchants, investors, missionaries, and government representatives. Due to British propaganda, which concentrated primarily on the supposed benefits of the British expansion, the next generations were significantly affected by the ideology of the British Empire. It led to a distinct division among people, some of whom were the proponents of "the Greater Britain" while others, like Chesterton, William Gladstone, or Richard Cobden, were called "Little Englanders" who believed that the colonies should gain more independence. The existence of such a group of proponents of the view "Small is Beautiful" resulted in the idea of creating The Commonwealth of Nations which was in opposition to the supporters of "the Greater Britain."

For Chesterton, the underlying philosophy of Imperialism was the military conquest of other nations which were forced to assimilate English culture (Musiewicz 2012, 32). He believed that Britain's imperial expansion and politics contributed to the denationalization of the conquered nations and the decrease in cultural diversity. While justifying their actions, the

British imperialists offered many compelling arguments. They emphasized the great advantages such as access to new resources and new markets. In addition to that, the British imperialists believed that it was their moral obligation to civilize the indigenous people in colonies (often euphemistically referred to as "The White Man's Burden"). Chesterton claimed that England should not broaden its official borders, and it should focus its attention on the areas inhabited by the English. It was connected with his support of the idea of Irish, Scottish, and Welsh independence as well (Rydzewska 2003, 144-145).

While criticising Imperialism, Chesterton did not agree with his countrymen, who often equated Imperialism with patriotism. One of them was the socialist Ernest Belfort Bax who believed that patriotism was the counterpart "in the sphere of morals" of "that accursed thing called Imperialism, the latest and vilest monster born of the capitalist world" (Bax 1908, 6). Moreover, Bax stated that "the term 'patriotism' in the present day, for the 'average man,' implies imperialism or jingoism" (Bax 1911, 6). The ideas of Imperialism by their very nature were hostile to patriotism. For Chesterton, true Imperialism and patriotism were not compatible since one could not be patriotic about empire – "it is impossible to have towards a sprawling and indeterminate collection of peoples of every variety of goodness and badness precisely that sentiment which is evoked in man, rightly or wrongly, by the contemplation of the peculiar customs of his ancestors and the peculiar land of his birth" (Chesterton 2004, 231). He declared that:

> patriotism is not mere citizenship. The recognized reality of patriotism is for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, in national growth and glory and in national disgrace and decline; it is not to travel in the ship of state as a passenger, but if need be to go down with the ship. (Chesterton 1917, 136-137)

In the words of his younger brother Cecil, G. K. Chesterton was:

> one of the comparatively few people who had on the subject [of Imperialism] a clear and definable doctrine. He erected the sanctity of nationality into a religious dogma, and he denied the right of any nation or Empire, on the pretence of being more civilized, more progressive, more democratic, or more efficient, to take away from another nation its birthright of independence. This creed he was prepared to defend alike against Imperialist and Cosmopolitan critics. (Chesterton 1908, 41)

For Chesterton, every nation, no matter how small, was entitled to take pleasure in an independent national existence, and man had the right to defend his small and sacred place as a consequence of being attached to it.

Being a committed proponent of giving small nations their independence, Chesterton thought that all the world powers should renounce their right to their colonial possessions. He perceived small nations and communities as much healthier homes for men than empires and thought that great ideas usually originate in small places such as Athens or Nazareth (Chesterton 1912, 275). The reference to Athens and Nazareth is not accidental as they are an embryo of Greek and Christian civilisation; of those two building blocks of European civilisation which were important for Chesterton. He felt that it is possible to maintain a balance in life and in political outlook while being able to cultivate the ethics of everyday life and friendship only in such small communities.

Chesterton perceived Imperialism as the enemy of liberty on the grounds that Imperialism was against the deepest of democratic principles – it refused to allow the equality of man by dictating particular standards of the conquering country on other nations while learning nothing from them (Chesterton 2004, 239). He did not agree with the general notion supported at the time that small nationalities were destined to die while empires were destined to a continual life. He stated that "the practical truth is that the empires have been the light and transient things, brief as the butterfly; the nations have been the hard and solid and triumphant things, which nothing could break. The largest empire is really only a fashion. But the smallest nation is something greater than a fashion–it is a custom" (235).

He saw the destiny of an empire as a play in four acts – "Victory over barbarians. Employment of barbarians. Alliance with barbarians. Conquest by barbarians. That is the great destiny of Empire" (Chesterton 1914, 277). Empires usually revolt against the people or nations that created them which leads to the last phase – the fall of that empire. Chesterton felt that an empire is something global, undefined, and unlimited, and therefore national attachments or particularism are impossible. If one wants to enjoy or admire something deeply and intensely, one has to understand that both the limits, which secure the definite shape of an object, and definiteness are the key concepts. Those limits and definiteness are connected with something that he calls "the poetry of limits" (Chesterton 1908, 113). For Chesterton, each nation should have the boundaries which can determine its smallness, and Imperialism contradicts this doctrine of limits:

> There is one thing that is vitally essential to everything which is to be intensely enjoyed or intensely admired – limitation. Whenever we look through an archway, and are stricken into delight with the magnetic clarity and completeness of the landscape beyond, we are realizing the necessity of boundaries. Whenever we put a picture in a frame, we are acting upon that primeval truth which is the value of small nationalities. Wherever we write or read with pleasure the story of a man living adventurously and happily upon an island, we have hold of the truth which broke the Roman Empire, and will always break Imperialism. (Chesterton 2004, 232)

A healthy patriotic man does not request cosmopolitism or empire since they are undefined in their limitlessness. What he requires is a specific relation to a homogenous community whose size would be easy for him to manage and imagine. Chesterton stated that "if patriotism does not mean a defined and declared preference for certain traditions or surroundings, it means nothing whatever" (232).

However, Imperialism was not the only enemy of patriotism. Chesterton believed that cosmopolitism with its idea of a complete unification of Europe as some sort of a super monolithic state was as dangerous as Imperialism. It was against his philosophy since he postulated Christian brotherhood between small nations instead of large impersonal units in which men's identity could be endangered. According to Chesterton, the idea of European unity or the unity of the whole world meant that the existence of small independent nations or state borders was unnecessary. Such a unity would result in the attempt to find an alternative religion that could be practised by all the citizens of that new monolithic state. Hence, their identity and cultural diversity would not be protected.

Just as Imperialism had a lot of supporters, so cosmopolitism had many enthusiastic proponents. One of them was Leo Tolstoy regarded as one of the greatest writers of all time. Chesterton disapproved of Tolstoy and his followers claiming that this particular type of intellectual or humanist destroyed the bond with humanity which always felt a strong and passionate attachment to the local, particular, and familiar things:

> This important and growing sect, together with many modern intellectuals of various schools, directly impugn the idea of patriotism as interfering with the larger sentiment of the love of humanity. To them the particular is always the enemy of the general. To them every nation is the rival of mankind. To them, in not a few instances, every man is the rival of mankind. (Chesterton 2004, 225-226)

Apart from that, Leo Tolstoy's great fascination with the imperialist version of the cosmopolitan creed caused his fierce denunciation of the "stupidity" of patriotism. He claimed that patriotism was the root of war and just like war it should be destroyed. Tolstoy perceived patriotism as something evil since it was "the exclusive desire for the well-being of one's own people" (Tolstoy 1967, 106). He did not regard patriotism as a positive virtue which for most people meant a strong passion that united them in support of their nation or was identified with national symbols which encouraged patriotic pride.

Chesterton also wrote along with such writers as Rudyard Kipling, who was a supporter of Imperialism. "The White Man's Burden," one of Kipling's poems, was published in 1899 and expressed his opinion that Imperialism was significant in the process of civilizing "the backward savages."According to Kipling, the British Empire provided the means of stability, peace, and order in colonies whose indigenous people were regarded as "heathens." In addition to that, its moral responsibility was to civilise the uncivilised world since the British culture was considered as a superior one. In his book entitled *Heretics,* Chesterton criticized Kipling for being a rootless cosmopolitan, and he called him a globe-trotter who "lives in a smaller world than a peasant. He is always breathing, an air of locality. London is a place, to be compared to Chicago; Chicago is a place, to be compared to Timbuctoo. But Timbuctoo is not a place, since there, at least, live men who regard it as the universe, and breathe, not an air of locality, but the winds of the world" (Chesterton 1908, 49-50). For Chesterton, man should relate to a particular place and culture as opposed to being suspended in some sort of a geographical or ideological vacuum. Furthermore, Chesterton claimed that:

> The great gap in [Kipling's] mind is what may be roughly called the lack of patriotism–that is to say, he lacks altogether the faculty of attaching himself to any cause or community finally and tragically; for all finality must be tragic. He admires England, but he does not love her; for we admire things with reasons, but love them without reasons. He admires England because she is strong, not because she is English. (Chesterton 1908, 47)

As a result, Kipling was perceived by Chesterton as a citizen of the world and a philanderer of nations who was incapable of being rooted in a particular place and who was ignorant of his first real love, namely his homeland (48). By exploring and enlarging the world, one could only make it smaller (51).

His sympathy towards small nations and units in general and his opposition to Imperialism, cosmopolitism, and to the destruction of small local loyalties are visible in one of his novels entitled *The Napoleon Of Notting Hill*. The book was published soon after the Boer War, which was one of the events that provided the context for the novel. The British Empire defeated two small Boer states since it wanted to gain influence in South Africa due to the very lucrative gold mines on the South African continent. Chesterton was against it, and he sympathized with the Boers, believing that they had the right to fight for their independence. The war was for him a source of political illumination. He understood that patriotism is a great value, and that he must always be on the side of the small nation.

The origin of the book was also a childhood fantasy. While he was walking down the Kensington Street as a young boy, he came across a small block of lighted shops and entertained himself, pretending that they were something he had to defend. He states in his *Autobiography* that they contained "the essentials of civilisation, a chemist's shop, a bookshop, a provision merchant for food and public-house for drink. Lastly, to my great delight, there was also an old curiosity shop bristling with swords and halberds; manifestly intended to arm the guard that was to fight for the sacred street" (Chesterton 1986, 110).

The book has got many levels of meaning. It may be treated as some sort of "a protest against the drab monotony of industrial overurbanized civilization" (Mroczkowski 1974, 57) and "is a plea for small communities and local loyalties in the face of giant corporations and amoral imperialism" (Ashe 2001, 50) which pose a danger to human liberty. London is a huge and monolithic city, a great cosmopolitan civilization which has defeated and absorbed all smaller nations. a dull oligarchy governs the whole world. There are no things which are local, original, or unusual, and all the people are very much alike. The despotic King is chosen in the same was as a juryman from an alphabetical rotation list of the ruling classes. It is considered to be a safe and economical method. All the citizens are similar, so it is not important who rules, after all. Since the citizens regard a rebellion or a protest as insignificant and pointless, a drearily competent bureaucracy assumes absolute control. The new King, Auberon Quin, an eccentric and a humorist, uses his despotic powers to impose his idea of reestablishing the past and orders his subjects to "assume all the splendor and ritual of feudal times. With this intent, he frames the Charter of Cities whereby the various districts of London are provided with Lord High Provosts, flags,

city guards with uniforms and halberds, and even with heroic legends conceived by the expansive imagination of King Auberon" (Chesterton 1908, 179-180). Chesterton emphasizes here a similar action of forcing the conquered nations to assimilate the culture of the British Empire.

Initially, the King's subjects feel annoyed, yet after some time they accept his vision and become involved in this masquerade. However, after ten years during which the new system functions satisfactorily as a part of everyday life, a great problem occurs. Some businessmen want to build a great road, but the appearance of a young man who became a Provost of Notting Hill interrupts and stops their plans and negotiations. Adam Wayne treats the King's joke seriously, almost like a religion, and he does not want to allow urban development in his borough which he regards as a Free City. He adopts the doctrine of medieval smallness and local patriotism like a religious fanatic and believes that there is nothing absurd about it:

> "Notting Hill," said the Provost, simply, „is a rise or high ground of the common earth, on which men have built houses to live, in which they are born, fall in love, pray, marry, and die. Why should I think it absurd?" (Chesterton 1912, 114)

I was born, like other men, in a spot of the earth which I loved because I had played boys' games there, and fallen in love, and talked with my friends through nights that were nights of the gods. And I feel the riddle. These little gardens where we told our loves. These streets where we brought out our dead. Why should they be commonplace? Why should they be absurd? (Chesterton 1912, 116)

Adam Wayne feels patriotic loyalty to Pump Street. He wants to defend it from, what he calls it, a sacrilegious hand being laid upon it and begins his fight with the system which disapproves of small nations and units. His patriotism and passion for his small street is a natural part of his life, and he is aware that a true patriot does not boasts of the largeness of his country but of its smallness – "[...]a little Adam claiming to be king of a paving-stone. And he will always be proudest if the stone is almost too narrow for him to keep his feet inside it" (Chesterton 1912, 134). He announces his readiness to "die for the sacred mountain, even if it were ringed with all the armies" (72) from other boroughs. All the forgotten enthusiasm, which people believed to have disappeared from the world arouses and damages the imperialistic formation which Chesterton perceives as the empire of Modernity. Wayne assembles his citizens in order to participate in street

fighting. Although his enemies attempt to evict him from the district, he heavily defeats them. His adversaries become aware of the fact that "the whole territorial kingdom of Adam Wayne extends to about nine streets, with barricades at the end of them. But the spiritual kingdom of Adam Wayne extends, God knows where!" (219).

Local patriotism, customs, and the independence of Notting Hill are restored as a consequence of Wayne's heroic defence, and it is followed by a new spirit in England. Wayne revives the old ideals which spread across the rest of the country, and he is proud of his achievement:

> The glory of Notting Hill in having achieved its independence, has been enough for me to dream of for many years, as I sat beside the fire. Is it really not enough for you, who have had so many other affairs to excite and distract you? Notting Hill is a nation. Why should it condescend to be a mere Empire? [...] Do you not see that it is the glory of our achievement that we have infected the other cities with the idealism of Notting Hill?" (273-274)

Although Adam Wayne celebrates his outstanding victory, it is not a happy ending yet. The peace prevails for twenty years, the communities boastfully adopt their own banners, the citizens wear colourful mediaeval garments and develop the Notting Hill spirit. However, the truth is that every empire is vulnerable to the danger of becoming either too oppressive in its methods or destructive in its spirit to human freedom, even if the initial idea was a noble one. The citizens of Notting Hill become despotic and they begin to show imperialistic inclinations. They abandon the ideals previously held and cherished while trying to assimilate and force the other boroughs of London to obey the borough of Notting Hill. Wayne is aware of the fact that this unfaithfulness to smallness means Notting Hill's disaster, and it deserves to be defeated since "having made of itself a nation, [Notting Hill] should never have condescended to be a mere empire" (Barker 1973, 143). The other districts of London rebel against Notting Hills' hegemony as they do not want to be absorbed and lose their identity in a monolithic metropolis. The fanatics from Notting Hill cannot get everything under their rule as they will impose tyranny. One should recognize and respect this struggle for preserving one's identity and celebrating one's identity which has its roots in something very small.

For Chesterton, small local units represent greater and stronger self-determination of the individuals who are a part of them and the tendency to pursue high and noble ideals as opposed to large impersonal units which do

not hold reverence for small entities. According to him, men discover that their patriotism or loyalty, which has meaning in such local associations in which fighting for a place where every street and house are known, is greater than fighting for imperialistic claims thousands of miles away (Chesterton 1923, 48-49). *The Napoleon of Notting Hill* represents the way in which Chesterton sees England and each small community within a larger community. He tries to defend the right of every man to defend and cherish his small and sacred place while disapproving of the fact that the empire of modernity wants to deprive individuals of the highest gift of God – liberty.

In spite of the fact that in his dialectic of the local and the global, Chesterton shows his preference for the small, there is no complete victory of one element over the other. For example, he appreciated St. Francis of Assisi and his philosophy, but he did not want the whole world to follow only this path. He said that "the Pope was right when he insisted that the world was not made only for Franciscans" (174). Therefore, he becomes a proponent of pluralism who believes that variety and distinctness of things in a community should be preserved. He makes this point clear in *The Napoleon of Notting Hill:* firstly, by emphasizing the significance of colourful uniforms, flags, and emblems used by the citizens of different boroughs, and, secondly, by articulating the citizen's desire to enjoy their autonomy instead of becoming a unified entity. Additionally, Chesterton's thoughts about the interplay between the local and the global are still true in the context of the current discussion about the shape of Europe and about the place of individual countries in that Europe. Looking at the current political discourse on European integration, some of Chesterton's ideas can be a source of inspiration for the current geopolitical discourse on European unity, especially in the light of the friction between the idea of Europe as a superstate and Europe as a community of nations.

In conclusion, Chesterton's opinion on patriotism and Imperialism, like most of his opinions, was formed as a response to the main controversial viewpoints of the time, namely the militant Imperialism and the idealistic humanitarianism. The militant imperialists believed that the British Empire and the Anglo-Saxon race were superior to the other races; hence its sacred responsibility was to conquer the world in the name of progress. The advocates of the second ideology, the idealistic humanitarians who were often enthusiasts of the new Tolstoyan pacifism, thought that "the human race must progress beyond war toward universal brotherhood" (Canovan 1977, 100). Chesterton criticised and rejected both groups, stat-

ing that a true patriot should sympathize with the passionate loyalty of other people to their own small country (100) and insisted that "we must at all costs get back to smaller political entities, because we must at all costs get back to reality" (Chesterton 2004, 245) even if it meant fighting for them. For Chesterton, a feasible solution to the problem of Imperialism and cosmopolitism would be to evoke a true and intense feeling of patriotism towards one's community whose crucial purpose is to develop and preserve man's identity.

References:

Ashe, Geoffrey. 2001. *Encyclopedia of prophecy*. California: ABC-CLIO, Inc.

Barker, Dudley. 1973. *G. K. Chesterton: A Biography*. London: Constable & Co. Ltd.

Bax, Ernest Belfort. 1908. "Internationalism and Bourgeois Foreign Politics." *Justice* (06/06/1908): 6.

Bax, Ernest Belfort. 1911. "Patriotism v. Socialism." *Justice* (09/09/1911): 6.

Canovan, Margaret. 1977. *G. K. Chesterton Radical Populist.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Chesterton, Cecil. 1908. *G. K. Chesterton: a Criticism*. London: Alston Rivers Ltd.

Chesterton, Gilbert Keith. 1908. *Heretics.* Lodnon: John Lane Ltd.

Chesterton, Gilbert Keith. 1908. *Orthodoxy*. London: John Lane Ltd.

Chesterton, Gilbert Keith. 1912. *The Napoleon of Notting Hill*. London: John Lane Ltd.

Chesterton, Gilbert Keith. 1914. *The Flying Inn*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Chesterton, Gilbert Keith. 1917. *a Short History of England*. New York: John Lane Ltd.

Chesterton, Gilbert Keith. 1923. *St. Francis of Assisi*. London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd.

Chesterton, Gilbert Keith. 1986. *Autobiography*. London: a Hamish Hamilton Paperback.

Chesterton, Gilbert Keith. 2004. "The Patriotic Idea." *The Chesterton Review* 30 (3/4): 225-245.

Davies, Norman. 2003. *Wyspy.* Kraków: Wydawnictwo „Znak".

Greenblat, Stephen. 2006. *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. New York: W. W. Norton Company.

Mroczkowski, Przemysław. 1974. *The Medievalism of G. K. Chesterton: a Critical Enquiry Vol. 1*. Kraków: Nakład Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

Musiewicz, Piotr. 2012. "Imperializm pruski i angielski w idealistycznej optyce Gilberta K. Chestertona." *Zeszyty Naukowe Towarzystwa Doktorantów UJ Nauki Społeczne* 5 (2/2012): 29-42.

Rydzewska, Jaga. 2003. *Chesterton. Dzieło i myśl.* Komorów: Wydawnictwo „Antyk".
Sadło, Krzysztof. 2014. *Człowiek, który był Chestertonem*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo „M".
Tolstoy, Leo. 1967. *Tolstoy's Writings On Civil Disobedience And Non-Violence.* New York: Bergman Publishers.
Trevelyan, George Macaulay.1967. *Historia Anglii*. Warszawa: PWN.

PETRA MACHOVÁ
MASARYK UNIVERSITY, THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Virginia Woolf's *Jacob's Room* as a Reference to Friedrich Nietzsche's Criticism of Truth

Abstract: In this article, I intend to present findings from my doctoral dissertation "The Influence of Friedrich Nietzsche on Virginia Woolf's Oeuvre," which is based on the comparison of Woolf's work with Nietzsche's metaphors in *Jacob's Room* (1922) and its manuscript. My interpretation of the novel as a consistent intertextual reference to Nietzsche's criticism of Western epistemological tradition is enhanced by Woolf's explicit references to Nietzsche prior to the publication of the novel. Given the fact that the connection between these writers has never been established, I feel obliged to focus on the analysis of selected passages from the novel to demonstrate the crucial role of Nietzsche's metaphors for the linear reading of the novel. For this purpose, only the translations of Nietzsche which Woolf could read in her time were used.The parallels between Nietzsche and Woolf provide new lenses through which to look at her preoccupation with philosophy.

Keywords: Woolf, *Jacob's Room*, Nietzsche, epistemology, nihilism, search for truth, metaphor

In letters to her friends, Woolf insisted on calling her recently published *Jacob's Room* (1922) "an experiment" (Nicolson 1994, 546 and 581), preparing herself for the lack of success of the book and misunderstanding of the reading public. Due to Woolf's use of temporal and spatial shifts and her inclusion of gaps between and within chapters, to make a definite picture of the main character Jacob is increasingly difficult as his portrait seems to be based on a series of sketches mainly presented through the thoughts of other characters. Because the first reviewers were baffled by

its fragmented narrative, the remoteness of the main character, as well as the inconsistencies on the part of the narrator, the reading of the novel has been established in relation to its form[1]. However, if the echoes of Nietzsche's metaphors, such as hints at Jacob's unconsciousness, the recurrent images of the room, the sea, the coins, the shadows, and the pigeons are recovered in the seemingly unrelated passages of the novel including those in which the narrator performs the role of another character, *JR* emerges as novel in which the unity is achieved by the recognition of its reference to Nietzsche's criticism of truth. Indeed, Jacob's failure with women in accordance with Nietzsche's metaphor of woman as truth and life (*Beyond Good and Evil*1909, 1 and *Joyful Wisdom*1910, 269) complements his withdrawal from life and reality. Contrary to the claims the unformed characterization of Jacob as either flawed, or purposive because of the author's stress on the technical aspects of the novel (Zwerdling1981, 895), the weak characterization of Jacob is inherent to his tragic journey as the seeker of truth in an age of nihilism. The reader struggles to make any definite impression of Jacob because of his withdrawal from life. His lack of personality is brought about by his interest in the abstract and general, in which he immerses to the point of his complete disappearance.

The radical re-reading of *JR* reveals Woolf's intellectual debt to Nietzsche, which has not yet been fully grasped, because the problem of establishing Woolf's awareness of Nietzsche is closely tied to the challenging narrative of *JR*. The novel can be better appreciated if viewed in light of Nietzsche's critical epistemology, namely his criticism of the concept, logic, and truth. The metaphors on which I will demonstrate Woolf's appropriation of Nietzsche's metaphors and their role in Jacob's struggle as the seeker of truth are the metaphor of leaves, which illustrates the emergence of concept from metaphors, the metaphor of Roman columbarium, which Ni-

[1] See Forrest Reid's *Critical Assessments* (1922), Arnold Bennett's "Is the Novel Decaying?" (1923), E. W. Hawkins's *The Stream of Consciousness Novel* (1926), and Carl Grabo's*The Technique of the Novel* (1928), Alex Zwerdling's "*Jacob's Room*: Woolf's Satiric Elegy" (1981), Robert Kiely's "*Jacob's Room* and Roger Fry: Two Studies in Still Life" (1983), Edward Bishop's "The Shaping of *Jacob's Room*" (1986) and "The Subject in *Jacob's Room*" (1992), Francezska Kazan's "Description and the Pictorial in *Jacob's Room*" (1988), Kathleen Wall's "Significant Form in *Jacob's Room*: Ekphrasis and the Elegy (2002), Rachel Hollander's "Novel Ethics: Alterity and Form in Jacob's Room" (2007), and Kristina K. Groover's "'The Conditions of Our Love': Seeking and Desiring in *Jacob's Room*" (2012).

etzsche uses for the intellectual tradition devoted to truth, and a metaphor closely related, the metaphor of the blind painter and his song. Though these metaphors occurred in the manuscript, they were elaborated on during the revising period when Woolf prepared the published version of *JR*. My claim that the novel addresses Nietzsche's critique of the Western epistemological tradition is supported by the openness with which Woolf explicitly referred to such philosophical concepts as truth, knowledge, reality, and philosophy in the manuscript. Cases in point are the episode in which Timmy Durrant teaches Jacob the rational approach to truth (Bishop 2010, 37), the narrator's reference to the fallacy of Berkeley's syllogism (Bishop 2010, 77), and the argument between the artists and Jacob in Paris, which will be analyzed in this paper. The interpretation of the novel as a consistent reference to Nietzsche's criticism of Western metaphysics and intellectual tradition invites to the possibility to support the argument by biographical research.

Unfortunately, the claim that Woolf was influenced by Nietzsche's critical epistemology and appropriated his metaphors in *JR* clashes with what has been written both on the novel and the author. The novel remains on the edge of interest and, as far as I know, a study solely devoted to *JR* is still missing (Majumdar 1976, 104;Fuderer 1992, 323-24; Dymond 2004, 264). As for the possible connection between Nietzsche and Woolf, the authors are only mentioned side by side in the form of a cross reference in either literary studies dealing with post-modernity (Minow-Pinkney 1987, 43, 88, and 92; Lackey 2010, 347; Nussbaum 1995, 739-40; Dalgarno 2001, 181 and McVickers 2010, 77) or with the friendship between Woolf and Jane Ellen Harrison, the admirer of Nietzsche's early work in classical philology (Maika 1987, 68-9; Carpentier 1998, 4-5; Koulouris 2011, 50 and Mills 2014, 69). The only exception is a suggestion in *Virginia Woolf and Music* (2014), which inevitably focuses on Woolf's formative period in the Edwardian era during which she regularly attended Wagner's operas (Stewart 2014, 120). Woolf's own occasional references to Nietzsche are too vague to enable pursuit of this topic extensively[2]. As a result, Nietzsche's name is

[2] Upon rereading Woolf's diaries, letters, and reading notes, some traces of Nietzsche can be found but cannot be used to explicitly establish Woolf's intellectual interest in Nietzsche. With the exception of a 1937 note from *The Lost Historian: a Memoir of Sidney Low* which appears in her reading notes twice (Silver 1983, 250 and 293) and was used in *Three Guineas* (1938), all references to Nietzsche in Woolf's texts date prior to the publication of *JR* in 1922. The first reference comes from a 1908 review of

mostly missing from the indexes to the published editions of Woolf essays, diaries, letters, and reading notes which is probably the reason for claims that there is no proof that she ever read Nietzsche (Frank 2001, 17 and Whitworth 2000, 147) despite the fact that Nietzsche's impact on modernist writers and artists is well established and includes such authors as D. H. Lawrence, W. B. Yeats, James Joyce, Aldous Huxley, Ezra Pound or even T. S. Eliot.

Admittedly, the vagueness with which Woolf refers to Nietzsche impedes the effort to prove the validity of Woolf's deep reading of Nietzsche. However, during his research of the early Bloomsbury's group, S. P. Rosenbaum located two sources, which postulate that Woolf read and was interested in Nietzsche's philosophy. Uncommented by Rosenbaum, these references indicate that Woolf read Nietzsche in the years before her marriage when Oscar Levy's *Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche* provided all Nietzsche's published texts to the English-speaking audience, including his unpublished *Ecce Homo* and the first edition of his notes published as *The Will to Power*. All eighteen volumes in this edition appeared between 1909 and

---

Rutari's *Londoner Skizzenbuch*, to my knowledge the only book in German that Woolf ever reviewed. The importance of this review relies in the fact that Woolf published it in the year when Nietzsche was gaining reputation among the intellectuals and artists as well as the journalists even though most of the English translations of Nietzsche were not published. The reference "While Tolstoy, Ibsen, and Nietzsche sent waves of fresh thought across the Continent, the English slept undisturbed" (McNellie 1986, 203) is a paraphrase on a quote in chapter "Londoner Kunstleben" (Rutari 1907, 158). Rutari's complaint was a good estimation of English intellectual scene and its slow appreciation of Nietzsche's thought up to 1907 which is considered a turning point in the perception of Nietzsche in England (Thatcher 1970, 40). The other references are equally vague for the purposes of determining Nietzsche's influence on Woolf. The first one is from Woolf's 1917 review of Fineman's *John Davidson: a Study of the Relation of His Ideas to His Poetry*, a dissertation in which the author tries to critically and scholarly evaluate Nietzsche's influence on Davidson's poetry. In the review, Woolf only refers to Davidson's infamous interpretation of the doctrine of the "overman" in his *Testament of John Davidson* (McNeillie 1990, 147), which Woolf refers to.The other reference can be found in Woolf's1919 diary. On July 8th 1919, the Woolfs invited Mary Agnes Hamilton to dinner, who brought her sister, the poet Margot Robert Adamson. According to Woolf, Adamson quoted Nietzsche, Dostoievski, and neo-cartesians (Bell 1979, 289). Though Woolf does not mention any further philosophical conversation with Adamson, it should be noted down, that for several years she maintained a friendship with Hamilton, who in 1920 published an article "Nietzsche: The Laughing Philosopher," which discusses the irony of Nietzsche's texts and attacks the gross misrepresentation of him during the World War I.

1911, several years after the poor reception of Alexander Tille's edition of *The Case of Wagner* (1896), *Thus Spake Zarathustra* (1896), *The Genealogy of Morals* (1899), *The Dawn of Day* (1903), and successful and well-received *Beyond Good and Evil* (1907). As for the proofs of Woolf's reading of Nietzsche in this period, there is an unpublished letter from September 6th 1910 in which Clive Bell asks Woolf to borrow Nietzsche's *Zarathustra* (Rosenbaum 1994, 507). Even more importantly, the main character Rachel from *Voyage Out* (1915) is a reader of Nietzsche in its 1910-1912 manuscript version (Rosenbaum 2003, 175). Taking into account Woolf's 1908 review in which she mentions Nietzsche's name, Woolf's initial reading of the German philosopher can be dated to the pre-war years, when Nietzsche became a common topic of discussion among the Edwardian literary and artistic circles. The tendency to discuss the German philosopher showed in the rising frequency of articles about him between 1911 and 1915 when the number of publications was at its peak due to the controversy his name was met with during the war (Reichert and Schlechta 1960, 2). Significantly, Jacob's tragic search for truth is set in years leading to the outbreak of the war.

Woolf's mocking portrayal of Jacob's journey is anchored in Nietzsche's metaphor of the seeker of truth who fails to recognize "*untruth as a condition of life*" (*Beyond Good and Evil* 1909, 9). As has been said Jacob's search for truth parallels his unsuccessful affairs with women in accordance with Nietzsche's metaphors of truth and life as a woman. His rejection of women and his disdain of their vivacity, body, and love, leads to his withdrawal from reality. As a result, Jacob's search for both truth and the ideal woman becomes futile. Jacob's problems with women are staged around Nietzsche's rhetoric concerning the instincts of man and a woman: Jacob follows the man's instinct for truth but he fails in his appreciation of women and her instincts for falsehood, beauty, and love(*Beyond Good and Evil*1909, 183). His obscure search for truth in art becomes irrelevant in nihilism, which can be characterized in terms of the denial of its own main value, truth. As the novel progresses, Jacob becomes increasingly baffled by the events around him till he shuts himself outside reality. His confusion in love affairs mirrors his misunderstanding of the world. Because women fail to live up to his expectations he gradually withdraws from life to his room, which only decreases his will in life and intensifies his frustrations with reality. The final disillusionment from women and life takes place after the affair with deceptive Sandra. Shortly before the outbreak of the war, he is seen draw-

ing "a plan of Parthenon in the dust of the Hyde Park, a network of strokes at least, which may have been the Parthenon, or again a mathematical diagram" (Woolf 2007, 136).

Jacob's falling victim to the illusions of truth is a repetitive pattern of his confrontation with the world. His gullibility is suggested in the opening of the novel when he mistakes a rock for a woman. Symbolizing Jacob's confusion concerning women, this episode prepares the readers for Jacob's inability to perform as a lover and a creator of values in accordance with Nietzsche's image of the seeker of truth as the eunuch (*Thoughts out of Season* 1910, 44). The interpretation of Jacob's affairs with women as the attempts of the seeker of truth to find the ideal woman reveal Woolf's close reading of Nietzsche's metaphors. Jacob's platonic love for the "semitransparent, pale, and wonderfully beautiful" Clara(Woolf 2007, 47)comes to nothing because she represents Nietzsche's metaphor of truth as a woman who "has never allowed herself to be won" (*Beyond Good and Evil*1909, 1). Jacob's affair with prostitute Florinda reveals the extent truth distorts his perception of reality when he considers her "chaste" and believes "that the girl transcends all lies" (Woolf 2007, 61). When Jacob finally admits his illusions to himself, Jacob fails to commit to her sexually, which establishes him as the impotent. Fanny's character represents the passionate love of a woman which Jacob misconceives and ignores. Jacob's final disillusionment of women and life comes from the Sandra, whose veils hide her pursuit of beauty, appearance, and falsity. Jacob's journey as an unsuccessful suitor of truth through lust, love, and art, results in his rejection of life and reality.

The explicit reference to mathematics towards the end of the novel, which symbolizes Jacob's rational search for truth, draws on Nietzsche's criticism of the rational tradition in Western epistemology. Nietzsche's strategy in his criticism of truth is based on the deconstruction of the concept. His view of the concept as a metaphor is to make us realize that the proper, the concept, which creates and accentuates the idea of truth, is "much less coherent notion than we thought" (Hinman 1982, 184). Indeed, Nietzsche repeatedly grounds his texts in the criticism of truth but the difficulty with his metaphorical language and perspectivism is our own reliability on language and grammar, which determines our thought in a way that presupposes the concept. Throughout his oeuvre Nietzsche maintains the critical attitude and manages *not* to be objective in the strict sense of the word by his rejection and criticism of "language that posits agency and strengthens

causality" (Price 1994, 122). Nietzsche's perspectivism is a meta-criticism of relativism. His strategy to relativize the value of the concept truth is to historicize the development of thought and provide a perspective of cultural and intellectual development as a clash of forces and tendencies, which he criticizes according to the value of life. Nietzsche's complex phenomenalism of himself and his relation to art, thought, and religion points to the critical stage of western thought, nihilism, which can be characterized in terms of the denial of the main value truth. Nietzsche's emphasis on the philosopher's active and creative role reveals his effort to overcome the loss of will in nihilism.

Nietzsche's criticism of logocentrism stems from his realization that the generalization of unique sensual data by consciousness is subjective to human experience and fails as the adequate translation of reality, which is in its least details chaotic and in constant flux. As Nietzsche demonstrates in "On Truth and Falsity in Ultramoral Sense," the accurate translation between experience and concept is impossible and the process in which the nerve stimulus is translated to the percept and sound can be characterized as metaphorical (*Early Greek Philosophy* 1911, 177). Nietzsche's use of the word metaphor for the purposes of epistemology corresponds with his criticism of reason and his claim in the *Philosophenbuch* that: "*metaphor* means to treat something as *identical* which has been recognized as *similar* at one point" (Hinman 1982, 185). In "On Truth and Falsity in Ultramoral Sense," Nietzsche illustrates the process during the idea of the concept emerges from individual metaphors on the metaphor of leaves.

> As certainly as no one leaf is exactly similar to any other, so certain is it that the idea "leaf" has been formed through an arbitrary omission of these individual differences, through a forgetting of the differentiating qualities, and this idea now awakens the notion that in nature there is, besides the leaves, a something called *the* "leaf," perhaps a primal form according to which all leaves were woven, drawn, accurately measured, coloured, crinkled, painted, but by unskilled hands, so that no copy had turned out correct and trustworthy as a true copy of the primal form. (*Early Greek Philosophy* 1911, 179)

Every word becomes an idea through the process of "equating the unequal" (*Early Greek Philosophy* 1911, 179) which results in the error of reason that there exists a form primary to nature, which is consequently applied to the perceived data. The world is judged and known by the form created by reason as a result of robbing reality of its uniqueness, in-

dividuality, and chaos. Throughout the Western intellectual tradition, the tools which the reason uses to schematize experience became intensified, applied, and adorned by Platonism, Christianity, and the Enlightenment and truth was established was as the main value of Western metaphysics and epistemology. Our senses were developed to the point that concepts become more truthful than the perceptual impressions with its individual cases. In accordance with this tradition, mathematical accuracy and logic serve as the criterion of truth, while the individual perceptions of the outside world are regarded as false.

Woolf appropriated Nietzsche's metaphor of leaves in the episode he goes sailing on a river with Timmy Durrant after Jacob begins his studies in Cambridge. The voyage symbolizes Jacob's first venture in life but his misplaced search for truth and lack of will to live is suggested when his boat is surpassed by others. Woolf's inclusion of the metaphor of leaves illustrates Jacob's rational approach to reality, which is manifested throughout the novel by Jacob's optimism concerning the intelligibility of things: "where they moored their boat the trees showered down, so that their topmost leaves trailed in ripples and the green wedge that lay in the water being made of leaves shifted in leaf-breadths as the real leaves shifted" (Woolf 2007, 27). If this passage is interpreted as a reference to Nietzsche's metaphor of leaves, it reveals that Jacob's search for truth as based on his blindness to subjective experience. Jacob's search for truth is tragic because he derives the existence of reality from the concept, the mental form which he considers "real." The same metaphor was used again later in the novel when Jacob becomes the signifier of the Roman columbarium, which is in the novel exemplified by the British Museum: "One leaf of poetry was pressed flat against another leaf, one burnished letter laid smooth against another in a density of meaning, a conglomeration of loveliness" (85). Woolf's usage of the metaphor of leaves in an episode which introduces the metaphor of the Roman columbarium echoes the interconnection between the concept and language in Nietzsche's thought.

The metaphor of Roman columbarium is used by Nietzsche to illustrate the tendency of reason to apply a conceptual schema on its perception of reality, which leads to disregarding differences in individual perceptions. The process during which "concrete metaphors [are organized] into a schema" (*Early Greek Philosophy* 1911, 181) results in the constitution of a system, which reason uses as a tool to make sense of countless stimuli. The schematized experience available to consciousness leans on

language and is compared to "a new world of laws, privileges, sub-orders, delimitations, which now stand opposite the other perceptual world of first impressions and assumes the appearance of being the more fixed, general, known, human of the two and therefore the regulating and imperative one" (181). The metaphor of the Roman columbarium serves the purpose of mocking science for its unattainable postulate of truth because of its reliance on language: "science works irresistibly at that great columbarium of ideas, the cemetery of perceptions, builds ever newer and higher storeys; supports, purifies, renews the old cells, and endeavors above all to fill that gigantic framework and to arrange within it the whole empiric world, i.e., the anthropomorphic world" (187). The metaphor of Roman columbarium presupposes Nietzsche's criticism of the idea of essence: "it is not true that the essence of things appears in the empiric world. a painter who had no hands and wanted to express the picture distinctly present to his mind by the agency of a song, would still reveal much more with this permutation of spheres, than the empiric world reveals about the essence of things" (184-5). Though Nietzsche primarily uses the metaphor of the painter to comment on the arbitrariness of our cognition and the futility of the tradition presupposing the intelligibility of the outside world, it stands as a symbol of artistic thinking, or "that impulse towards the formation of metaphors" found in the realm of myth and art, that "constantly confuses" the established system of ideas of the Western intellectual tradition (188).

The metaphor of Roman columbarium permeates the scene in the British museum where Jacob copies Marlowe because of his mistrust to previous editors. Woolf's playful appropriation of the metaphor takes shape in a twofold way in accordance with the English meaning of the word columbarium. Its meaning in English as the vault with niches for urns of the dead is transformed to the British Museum. The work of seekers of truth such as Jacob in the British Museum to maintain the intellectual tradition is compared to the contributions of the living to the framework of concepts and ideas, the graveyard of individual perceptions: "At a considerable depth beneath, many hundreds of living sat at the spokes of a cart-wheel copying from printed books into manuscript books; now and then rising to consult the catalogue; regaining their place stealthily, while from time to time a silent man replenished their compartments" (Woolf 2007, 102). That Jacob, as the seeker of truth, functions as a signifier of the edifice of the Western intellectual tradition is revealed in the same chapter of the novel in another passage in which Woolf transforms the metaphor to a dovecote, its

other meaning in English. After Jacob's study in the British Museum, the narrator mentions rather randomly that "Jacob's walking stick-stick was like all the others; they had muddled the pigeon-holes perhaps" (86). To reach out to truth in the columbarium, Jacob literally uses his walking stick during his study in the British Museum. What seems like a fragmentary narrative suddenly takes on a unified meaning based on the literary use of Nietzsche's metaphors in the novel.

Possibly the allusion to the dovecote would be overlooked if Woolf failed to develop it several chapters later after Jacob's arrival to Paris. The completion of the metaphor in the passage when he is confronted by a group of artists provides linear reading which was initiated in the British Museum. Shortly after Jacob meets Cruttendon and Jinny, a discussion concerning the future of the young people take place during which Jacob demonstrates his preference for the pursuit of truth: "It's an awfully pleasant life,' said Jacob, 'messing away up here. Still it's a stupid art, Cruttendon.' He wandered across the room. 'There's this man, Pierre Louÿs now.' He took up a book" (101). Not being the first case of Jacob's symbolic turning from life to knowledge, the choice of the author who is famous for lesbian poetry suggests Jacob's failure as the lover of women and a creator of values. Even though Jacob feels inspired by meeting Jinny and Cruttendon, in the end, he stands apart recovering "his balance" (126) after his rational approach to reality was temporarily shaken by art. The following passage, which precedes their separation on his journey to Greece, seems rather fragmented at first glance but what provides its coherence is Nietzsche's image of "the old metaphysical bird-catchers" (*Beyond Good and Evil*1909, 181), among whom Jacob belongs:

> "No Flanders, I don't think I could live like you, when one walks down that street opposite the British Museum – what's it called? – that's what I mean. It's all like that. Those fat women – and the man standing in the middle of the road as if he were going to have a fit . . ."
> "Everybody feeds them," said Jinny, waving the pigeons away. "They're stupid old things." (Woolf 2007, 125)

Cruttendon and Jinny are surprised that Jacob wishes to spend his life as the seeker of truth who builds "his hut close to the towering edifice of science in order to collaborate with it and find protection" (*Early Greek Philosophy* 1911, 187). The Western intellectual tradition is preserved by the constant contributions of the living to the tradition devoted to

truth, which has its origin among the ancients, by the people feeding the pigeons in the columbarium. While Jinny is able to reach out them because she is an artist, Jacob struggles with the ancients because there is art in the bottom of their texts, which he is unable to grasp: "Now if I came and lived here –"said Jacob. "What's my share, Cruttendon? Oh very well. Have it your own way. Those silly birds, directly one wants them – they've flown away." (Woolf 2007, 126). Jacob's attempt to catch the pigeons symbolizes his futile search for truth in the columbarium of philosophical thought.

A crucial moment of the confrontation between Jacob's world of truth and art assumes a form of a collision between Miss Marchmont and Jacob in the British Museum. In this passage, Woolf appropriated Nietzsche's metaphor of the blind painter and his song:

> There was a little catastrophe. Miss Marchmont's pile overbalanced and fell into Jacob's compartment. Such things happened to Miss Marchmont. What was she seeking through millions of pages, in her old plush dress, and her wig of claret-coloured hair, with her gems and her chilblains? Sometimes one thing, sometimes another, to confirm her philosophy that colour is sound – or, perhaps, it has something to do with music. (103)

This passage is Woolf's playful appropriation of Nietzsche's opposition of art to the world of system constructed and maintained by the seekers of truth As Jacob aspires to become part of the organized framework, Miss Marchmont's attempts to rearrange the established order by confirming her philosophy that "colour is sound" (83) literally attack Jacob's place in the framework.

The importance of outside sources for the progression of Woolf's novel is suggested in another scene which manifests even higher degree of discreetness but brings the interpretation of the scene with Miss Marchmont to completion. After Fanny buys Fielding's *Tom Jones* out of love for Jacob, he mocks her love on the grounds of its irrationality: "There it lay on her lap, in double columns, price three and six-pence; the mystic book in which Henry Fielding ever so many years ago rebuked Fanny Elmer for feasting on scarlet, in perfect prose, Jacob said. For he never read modern novels. He liked Tom Jones." (98). Leaving Jacob's misunderstanding of the novel's comical elements as a result of his rational approach to art aside,the reference to the colour scarlet leads to a crucial passage which echoes Nietzsche's words in the metaphor of the blind paper and his song:

> To treat of the effects of love to you, must be as absurd as to discourse on colours to a man born blind; since possibly your idea of love may be as absurd as that which we are told such blind man once entertained of the colour scarlet; that colour seemed to him to be very much like the sound of trumpet: and love probably may, in your opinion, very greatly resemble a dish of soup, or a sirloin of roast-beef. (Raitt 2007, 98)

Because of Jacob's rational approach to reality, he takes Fanny's love for granted. Jacob's inability to appreciate love as the source of passionate dedication and valuable creation results in his failure to exist in modernity. Moreover, the reference completes the interpretation of the scene with Miss Marchmont's philosophy in accordance with Nietzsche's conception of epistemology as a creative process to overcome the intellectual tradition leading to nihilism.

Woolf's consistent reference to Nietzsche's critical epistemology is supported by the manuscript in which references to philosophy and truth appear more generously than in the published version. The comparison of the manuscript with the published version shows that Woolf either dramatized the scenes which explicitly dealt with philosophy or translated them to Nietzsche's metaphors. As an example of Woolf's struggle with explicit references to philosophical concepts serves the analysis of the argument between Jacob and the artists in Paris. In the manuscript, there are three versions of their argument, which was explicitly concerned with the tension between truth and art. In the first version, Cruttendon tries to explain his views to Jacob but he struggles with philosophic language. The short conversation involved epistemological concepts such as "the thing itself" and "my conception of the thing" (Bishop 2010, 194) before it shifted to art. While the second version, which was very short, depicted the argument from the perspective of artists, the third version was conceived as Cruttendon's criticism of the intellectual tradition devoted the rational concept of truth.

The third version introduced the contrast between the mind and the body, as well as truth and art. The following extract was copied as a whole, because it took a shape of an essay which dealt with the estrangement of the body and reality as a result of the ideal forms cherished by the Western intellectual tradition, which are the main themes of Nietzsche's criticism. Within this tradition, the emphasis is put on the centrality of the mind and the rational search for truth which leads to the estrangement of the body and the senses. Placing of truth outside reality leads to the false perception

of reality and loss of will. Though the text supposedly represented Cruttendon's views, it contained metaphors which had been appearing throughout manuscript. There are references to truth, the nature of reality, the concept of God, as well as the growing importance of art:

> The great argument, which is always the same, has been discussed since
> the very earliest of times ~~of all~~,is never settled,& is handed down to
> a
> the next generation, ~~as the most priceless part of their inheritance~~ .
> a priceless part of their inheritance, since the hours spent pacing
> gravel paths, are the best of all. ~~True, I am ampacing a~~
> ~~gravel path; but are these my~~Are these ~~legs~~? Pacing gravel
> paths, yes; but soon the legs disappear; & the body;
> & the mind~~vaults~~floats into the blue. What are we? &
> whence do we come? Those insoluble questions ~~provide~~spread
> their
> ~~an soft blueimmense~~background – ~~a a~~& against it
> reality
> truth is questioned &~~reality? whether objects exist; that~~
> is scored
> the apple tree; hyacinths appear momentous; the kingdom of
> France fades to a green veil. ~~&~~[the lozenge shaped bed, the
> yew hedge, the tapering white God, Priapus or another]
> The great argument ploughs its way, &people voyage together,
> doing their best to find foothold, yet valiantly determined
> not to ~~allow anyone~~to ~~make~~land~~ing~~on a false shore.
> ~~Such are the dangers of the enterprise that~~The enterprise is
> full of danger, maybe of temper.To hear their voices
> ~~raised~~as they turned right about under the grin of the
> God Priapus, one would have fancied a quarrel – but
> where people possess no bodies ~~how can they quarrel?~~-
> ~~th~~only their minds can graze each other in the void.
> Jinny's check skirt flowed across their legs; Cruttendon
> held his hat between his arm & his side; His
> fair pale face, pale hair, ~~&green eyes; I~~he was
> dressed in a light tweed – made him the most
> conspicuous of the three.
> ~~exclaimed~~
> "Well, I don't know what I'm talking about" he said;
> they stopped
> ruffling his hand through his hair.& and then he &
> Jinny both exclaimed simultaneously that the
> colour of pink hyacinths in the shadow is bright violet –

Jacob had vanquished.
You could see ~~t~~so much in the way he smiled, rather
queerly, & then he looked at ~~the~~France lying beneath him,
for after an argument the landscape must rearrange itself,
& people have been known to feel abashed &discomposed ~~at~~by
the existence of good arable land, flights of rooks, steam
morning
ploughs, ~~good~~ trains & the rest of it after this ~~excursion into~~
effort to arrive at the truth. However, one may easily put too
fine a point on it. ~~Jacob was inclined for~~ a & the
~~difficulty is not~~Our flights from solid earth are strictly tethered. a thousand
strings attach us to this &that&
~~forbid~~ the other, & only once in a hundred years does
some poet or thinker cut free. The ordinary person has
an advantage over the extraordinary in being ~~thus~~all in a
muddle, at the mercy of instincts, responsive to hunger –
thirst &vanity &desire &kindliness, ~~& convention~~&
~~though~~so long as he is not smoothed over ~~in an~~
~~effort to~~by the plough ~~or~~the steam roller, & brought into
conformity with the rest. ~~And this has been the~~
~~fate~~And this has been the fate of ~~w~~ painters rather
probably it is
than of writers; explain it how you will. It was
the existence of patrons, so Cruttendon said: ~~that had~~
~~ruined many fine fellows~~. For art had been servile
all through the eighteenth century; & was only now
asserting itself. (Bishop 2010, 199 – 200)

Cruttendon discusses the role of tradition in which the body gave way to the mind and placed truth outside this world which caused the mind's alienation from the body and suspicions of reality, topics which permeate Nietzsche's critique of the modern man in the Western culture. Over time, man's understanding of the world became increasingly burdened with the ideal forms. The emphasis on truth and other concepts related to truth such as justice and beauty results in the distance of oneself from nature, the renunciation of instincts, alienation, and consequently the loss of will. The values and judgements of people living in this intellectual tradition are navigated by the permanent value of truth as can be seen in the voyage imagery in the novel as well as the image of the impotent god Priapus, which echoes Nietzsche's view of truth as "the most impotent form of knowledge" (*Joyful Wisdom* 1910, 164). While most people in Western culture attach their judgements to truth, the exceptional cases able to digress from the

tradition are represented by unique thinkers and artists. After Cruttendon's criticism of the eighteenth century and its negative impact on art, Jacob strongly disagrees, reestablishes his vision, and the group awkwardly separates at La Gare St. Lazare, which symbolizes the wrong-headedness of Jacob's journey to Greece before his search for truth becomes completely irrelevant in the events leading to the war.

The project of establishing Nietzsche's influence on Woolf is based on the radical re-reading of *JR* as a reference to Nietzsche's criticism of the role of truth in the Western intellectual tradition. Woolf's interest in Nietzsche's epistemology is revealed by her appropriation of the metaphor of the seeker of truth in her portrayal of Jacob as well as the metaphors of leaves, the Roman columbarium and the blind painter and his song, which were used to depict Jacob's tragic journey in the pursuit of truth during the world's turn to nihilism. The novel's concern with the epistemological crisis as understood by Nietzsche is also supported by the scene in which Jacob and the artists discuss "the great argument" (Bishop 2010, 199). The close reading of the three versions of the argument reveals that Woolf was concerned with the alienation of the body and reality as a result of the false perspective brought about by the concept of truth. Woolf's consistent development of Nietzsche's metaphors points to the possibility of supporting the claim that she was a reader of Nietzsche and Nietzsche was a formative influence on her writing biographically. The project devoted to the establishment of the link between the authors is challenging and possibly crucial for the interpretation of Woolf's later novels such as *To The Lighthouse*(1927), *Orlando* (1928), and *The Waves* (1931) in terms of their focus on approaches to reality in an age of nihilism.

References:

Bell, Anne Olivier, edit. 1979. *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 1. New York: Penguin Books.

Bishop, Edward L., edit. 2010. *Virginia Woolf's Jacob's Room: The Holograph Draft*. New York: Pace University Press.

Carpentier, Martha C. 1998. *Ritual, Myth, and the Modernist Text: The Influence of Jane Ellen Harrison on Joyce, Eliot, and Woolf*. London & New York: Routledge.

Dalgarno, Emily. 2001. *Virginia Woolf and the Visible World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dymond, Justine. 2004. "Virginia Woolf Scholarship from 1991 to 2003: a Selected Bibliography." *Modern Fiction Studies* 50: 241-279.

Frank, A. O. 2001. *The Philosophy of Virginia Woolf: a Philosophical Reading of the Mature Novels*. Budapest: AkadémiaiKiadó.

Fuderer, Laura Sue. 1992. "Criticism of Virginia Woolf from 1972 to December 1990: a Selected Checklist." *Modern Fiction Studies* 38: 303-342.

Hinman, Lawrence M. 1982. "Nietzsche, Metaphor, and Truth." *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 43: 179-99.

Koulouris, Theodore. 2011. Hellenism and Loss in the Work of Virginia Woolf. Farnham: Ashgate.

Lackey, Michael. 2000. "Atheism and Sadism: Nietzsche and Woolf on Post-God Discourse." *Philosophy and Literature* 24: 346-63.

Maika, Patricia. 1987. *Virginia Woolf's Between the Acts and Jane Harrison's Conspiracy*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press.

Majumdar, Robin. 1976. *Virginia Woolf: An Annotated Bibliography of Criticism 1915 – 1974*. New York: Garland.

McVickers, Jeanette. 2010. "Between Writing and Truth: Woolf's Positive Nihilism." In *Virginia Woolf and the Literary Marketplace,* edited by Jeanne Dubino, 73-87. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

McNeillie, Andrew, edit. 1986. *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 1. San Diego & New York & London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

---, edit. 1990. The Essays of Virginia Woolf, vol. 2. San Diego & New York & London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Mills, Jean. 2014. *Virginia Woolf, Jane Harrison, and the Spirit of Modernist Classicism.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Minow-Pinkney, Makiko. Virginia Woolf and the Problem of the Subject. Sussex: Harvester.

Nicolson, Nigel, edit. 1994. *The Letters of Virginia Woolf*, Vol. 2. London: Hogarth Press.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. 1909. *Beyond Good and Evil.* Translated by Helen Zimmern. Edinburgh & London: T. N. Foulis.

---. 1911. *Early Greek Philosophy & Other Essays*. Translated by Maximilian A. Mügge. New York: Macmillan.

---. 1910. *Joyful Wisdom.* Translated by Thomas Common. Edinburgh & London: T. N. Foulis.

---.1910. *Thoughts out of Season*, Vol. 2. Translated by Adrian Collins. Edinburgh & London: T. N. Foulis.

Nussbaum, Martha Craven. 1995. "The Window: Knowledge of Other Minds in Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*." *New Literary History* 26: 731-53.

Price, David W. 1994. "Vico and Nietzsche: On Metaphor, History, and Literature." *The Personalist Forum* 10: 119-32.

Raitt, Suzanne, edit. 2007. *Jacob's Room*. New York & London: Norton.

Reichert, Herbart W., and Karl Schlechta. 1960. *International Nietzsche Bibliography*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Rosenbaum, S. P. 1994. *Edwardian Bloomsbury: The Early Literary History of the Bloomsbury Group*, vol. 2. London: Macmillan.

---. 2003. *Georgian Bloomsbury: The Early Literary History of the Bloomsbury Group*, vol. 3. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rutari, A. 1907. *Londoner Skizzenbuch*. Leipzig: H. A. Ludwig Degener.

Silver, Brenda. 1983. *Virginia Woolf's Reading Notebooks*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Thatcher, David S. 1970. *Nietzsche in England: 1890-1914*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Stewart Jim. 2014. "The Birth of Rachel Vinrace from the Spirit of Music." In *Virginia Woolf and Music*, edited by Adriana Varga.110-33. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Whitworth, Michael H. 2000. "Virginia Woolf and Modernism." In *The Cambridge Companion to Virginia Woolf*, edited by Sue Roe and Susan Sellers. 146-63. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

Woolf, Virginia. 2007. *Jacob's Room*. Edited by Suzanne Raitt. New York & London: Norton.

Zwerdling, Alex. 1981. "Jacob's Room: Woolf's Satiric Elegy." *ELH* 48: 894-913.

PARUL LAU GAUR
University of Delhi, India

Lives of a Text: Re-interpreting Chidambaramahatmyam in Different Historical Time Frame

Abstract: Literature is not the fictional opposite of factual history but there is an intimate relation as both forms of writing create meaning. Further literary texts cannot be confined to particular socio-cultural contexts of their creation, but they can also be lensed with a different perspective when they encounter a completely different cultural context. With the above approach, the paper examines a sacred Hindu sthalapurana (ancient stories of a sacred site) which underwent two compositions – one in the twelfth century (Sanskrit) which could be used as a historical source to construct the cultural history of the sacred site and another in the twentieth century with a translated version in vernacular language for a totally new audience. While in one historical epoch the legends were composed to display homogeneity and harmony, in the altered circumstances after the passage of time the same legends were used to show competition and conflict.

Key words: Chidambaram, Nataraja cult, legends, Sanskrit, Aryan

The tradition of writing history can be traced back to the classical age and over many centuries has evolved as a systematic discipline. There was a gradual move towards the study of cultural history and increasing concern with the interpretation of literary texts. "For new historicists, history already has as much multiplicity and nuance as any work of literature" (Parker 2008, 219). There is repeated stress that literary approaches have shaped the contemporary practice of history and thus engagement of literary study with history can be established.

Literature is not the fictional opposite of factual history but there are affinities between them as their resultant compositions create meaning. As

Howard puts it, "instead of a hierarchical relationship in which literature figures as the parasitic reflector of historical fact, one imagines a complex textualized universe in which literature participates in historical process and in the political management of reality" (1986, 25).

"Literary criticism provides the first important guideposts for a journey that should bring a new understanding of modern historiography and a new interpretive perspective on the texts and contexts of the past" (Krammer 1989, 104). Literary criticism with various strands of language, textuality and narrative structure has brought about changes in the writing of history. As Jenkins pointed out,

> the past as constituted by its existing traces is always apprehended and appropriated textually through the sedimented layers of our previous interpretations and through the reading habits and categories developed by our previous / current methodological practices. (Jenkins 2000, 151)

With the above re-orientation in historiography, textual studies have gained recognition among historians. Any form of written text including primary and secondary sources, manuscripts and printed volumes may be the subject of historical enquiry. The heterogeneous nature of texts help acquire its genre historically. Genre is identified as a matrix of textual competence or (more traditionally that is) the foundation of a textual class (Schueffer 1989, 170). There can be various types of text like the narrative text (tales, stories), argumentative text (explanations, scientific articles), descriptive texts (descriptions, portrayals etc.) and instructive text (such as textbooks) (Meyer, Wodak and Vetter 2000, 22).

Literary texts are considered to be the products of social and political discourse. History is a contested discourse wherein the ideology and identities of various people, class and groups contest with each other. As it is pointed out,

> History is an ideological construct which means that it is constantly being reworked and re-ordered by all those who are variously affected by power relationships; because the dominated as well as the dominant also have their versions of the past to legitimate their practices, versions which have to be excluded as improper from any place on the agenda of the dominant discourse. In that sense, re-ordering of the messages to be delivered just have to be constructed continuously because the needs of the dominant and subordinate are constantly being re-worked in the real world as they seek to mobilize people(s) in support of their interests. (Jenkins 1991,18)

Thus history is studied in terms of power relations or power struggle which are explained culturally.

The inequalities in terms of power and wealth, the various voices in social history (due to power struggle) take the form of a text produced by various people or classes. Such ideologies are usually absent in official sources and can only be explored in written text. Thus for a historian, the re-interpretation of text becomes an important area of research so as to recover the nature of ideology, the forms of dominance and contestation and motives of social groups in power struggle between dominant and subordinate groups. Therefore, the key task of a historian would be to examine the ways cultural meaning emerge in text.

Texts are largely concerned with expression, information and communication and lead directly into the question of their functioning in articulating and creating the culture. Certain literary texts help in the acquisition of historical knowledge which may have been considered less significant. It is argued that "we need to pay more attention to memory, folktales and anecdote practices and acts which resist historiographical authority by occurring in the interstices and margins of the historical text" (Woods 2004, 170).

Any literary text has a context or frame. They may be historically dateless and anonymous but their contexts, uses, efficacies are self perpetuating. This article seeks to investigate a sacred text containing legends which provide a medium to construct the cultural history of a sanctified place. Many sacred texts certainly establish relations with their local region as they are composed within their social and cultural environment. The text can also be rewritten and reshaped once it is displaced from its original environment of composition. The legends have a significance of their own and to make them meaningful interpretation is essential. This interpretation process helps the sacred text to acquire multiple meanings and thereby questions the unity of the text emphasizing aspects of multiplicity, heterogeneity and contradictions. Therefore, the prime concern is to look for traits of assimilation, inconsistencies and instability of meanings in the composition of the legends.

Before analyzing the text, it is imperative to provide a brief sketch of the legendary text and the place of its composition. In the southern state of Tamil Nadu in the Indian subcontinent is situated a medium sized town on the east coast of Bay of Bengal named Chidambaram. It is mainly a temple city and is a famous Saivite centre (dedicated to mythological Hindu God

Lord Siva). Like Chidambaram, nearly all places of pilgrimage in India can boast of collection of legends and hymns which are known by the name mahatmyam (Majestic Greatness) (Kulke 1993,193) or Sthalapurana (ancient stories of a sacred site) in Sanskrit language. It is available in the form of manuscripts, Ms. D. 19347 and Ms. R 7632 in the Government Manuscript Library, Madras. The author of the Sanskrit mahatmyam is unknown. Using the Sanskrit manuscript, the book was rewritten in Tamil language by Chidambaram Annaswamy Iyer in the late ninety thirties. Further, the translation of Tamil version was done by E. A. Sivaraman in English which has been handpicked for the analysis (Sivaraman, 1993). A mahatmyam depicts a glorification of the greatness and holiness of the place whose name it carries. They refer to the geography of the sacred place and also indicate the presence of God in that landscape. Also overlaid are tales of the construction of temple complexes devoted to the associated deity. Chidambaramahatmyam (henceforth the text would be written as CM) appears to be one of the oldest Sanskrit sthalapuranas of the Tamil Nadu. The CM comprises new legends like the mythical origin of the temple city of Chidambaram and its famous cosmic ananda tandava (divine) dance of Shiva (Hindu God). This dance (Nataraja) is considered to be source of cycle of creation, preservation and dissolution of visible universe.A pertinent question regarding CM would be whether these legends are meaningful, and a daunting task would be the pursuit of the meanings under its superficial implausibility. Is it possible to provide linkages with any historical figure? Could it be envisaged what might be the intentions regarding the composition of legends? Did they serve any political, ideological, social and religious function? Are they really reflective of the society and culture in which they are composed?

It would be relevant to observe that to study texts in relation to the culture and society in which it was found has been emphasized by anthropologists like Singer (1972, 50). For the sacred texts in particular, Kitagawa has emphasized the need to take into consideration "the total context, or the culture as a whole in order to comprehend the meaning of specific symbols, myths or rituals contained in such texts" (1979,234). The literary texts influence the socio-historical world that influences the literary texts, so that the textuality of history and the historicity of texts shape and reshape each other in a continuous cycle of mutual influence (Parker 2008, 219-220). New historicists tend to examine widely different texts in order to show that those texts play a key role in mediating power relations within the

state (Brannigan 2001, 174). As rightly observed, any written work needs "to be understood as a text through which questions of politics and power can be negotiated" (Bennett and Royle 2004, 117).

With the above approach, it is now conducive to examine the CM and determine the extent of its utility in constructing the history of Chidambaram. It is noticeable that the mahatmyam (CM) has two different versions – one in early medieval period and the other in the modern period. CM began to take shape in the 10th century AD, although the date of its final compilation seems to have been either 12th or 13th century. The name Chidambaram is the popular form of Chitambalam (the hall of Bliss). It is a wider term to denote the Chit–Sabha the sanctum sanctorum of the Nataraja temple. Nataraja, the image of Lord Siva, the cosmic dancer, is worshipped in the form of ether infinite space.

Regarding the nature of the composed legends of the CM in the early medieval period, it becomes evident that they allude to a very remote past, even preceding the time of their composition. It was a different era in which sages could directly communicate with Gods. The legends were associated with a more familiar Vedic Puranic repertoire so as to enhance their credibility. They are considerable forms of knowledge and their conceptual breadth is vast. Legends have their own narrative and are also part of larger fragmented stories. They have intertextual references to various other heroes, sages and characters who are brought to the forefront by weaving stories around them. Apart from establishing the sanctity of the sacred centre of Chidambaram, they are vividly composed so as to ponder cultural issues like morality, dance and music aesthetics. The protagonists of legends were associated with the question of power and authority as mentioned earlier. It becomes imperative to explore the social and cultural world hidden in these legends which requires further interpretation.

Although its composition is distinctively in Chidambaram, the sacred center of South India, there are multiple references to the Himalayas situated in the geographic North India. "The transposition of the Himalayan peaks from the north to other parts of India was /is a widespread motif for sanctification" (Eck 2011, 36). This directly brings in the question of nature of relationship existing between the Northern and Southern region of India and their respective culture which would be a later part of discussion.

The Cm depicts in 25 chapters the legendary stories of Chidambaram (Sivaraman 1993). The introductory (chapters 1-5) elaborate the greatness of Chidambaram spoken by Lord Shiva himself to his disciples Nan-

dikeswara and auspiciousness of Chidambaram which Shiva says will surpass his abode in Kailasa mountain. The chapters (6-10) describe the coming of the Rishi (saint) Vyaghrapada to Chidambaram where he worshiped a Linga (aniconic representation of the Hindu deity in Saivism) at Shivganga, the holy lake at Chidambaram. There follows the description of the arrival of Shiva in Chidambaram where for the first time the God performs his cosmic dance, the ananda tandava and the unique role Sage Patanjali chapter (9-18). Towards the last section of the Mahatyamam we find a description of the visit of the legendry king Hiranyavarman, who in gratitude for his healing of leprosy in the Shiva Ganga, settles 3000 Brahmans in Chidambaram, gets the temple of Chidambaram constructed and then holds the first great temple festival Chapter (19-25). There are three significant legendary figures: Vyaghrapada, Patanjali and Hiranyavarman, who have been accorded superior powers so as to inhabit Chidambaram and were among the ones who witnessed the cosmic dance of Lord Siva.

The first task would be to trace the origins of the temple city. Initially, the legends make reference to a forest as Tillai Vanam and under a great banyan tree there was Siva Lingam.(CM, 15). The forest is named after the name of a shrub (Tillai) that grew there. Gunther Sontheimer's introduced the concept of vana (forest) and ksetra (inhabited) and it was also observed by Kulke that the

> Local Sthalapurana or Mahatmyas abound with various topoi characterizing these relations between the worlds of vana and the ksetra. They all refer to primeval mythological events which are directly associated with the vana. Another well known topos of the sanctity of the vana is the pristine manifestation of a Hindu God in the vana to one of its tribal inhabitants, to a samnaysi (ascetic) or a local ruler. (Kulke 2005, 276)

The rhetoric and imagery are used throughout the text to establish the sacred and spiritual distinctiveness of Chidambaram. Henceforth are a few citations:

> Chidambaram Mahatmyam is such that its real greatness cannot be measured by either Veda commentaries or even by a crore of repeated births and death. (Chapter 1, 2)
> The greatness of Chidambaram is most sacred and incorporates the Rahasyam (secret) of my (lord Siva) Roopam (figure). In fact, the auspiciousness of Chidambaram surpasses that of my abode in Kailasa mountain. (Chapter 2, 5-6)

> The Kailasa mountain in the Himalayas is traditionally recognized in Hinduism as abode of Lord Siva, who resided there along with his consort Goddess Paravati and their children.In one of the legends, Lord Siva concludes that the Chidambara temple and its auspicious surroundings have been established for the liberation of Siva devotees and it is only those fortunate people who are eligible for Siva Moksha (salvation), will be able to visit this holy place. (Chapter 4, 11)

The topography of the entire Indian subcontinent is visualized as a human body and CM describes Chidambaram to be the centre of the heart (Sridham) which is expounded by Lord Siva himself (Chapter 14, 40). The place is described as to be more spacious to perform the Dance of Bliss (Chapter 14,39). In order to completely adjust to the wilderness of the Tillie forest which does not have any human settlement, the two protagonists of legends, namely Vyagrapad and Patanjali, are portrayed as half animal figures. Vyagrapada (Tiger foot) is an ascetic man with a human face but feet and hands of a ferocious tiger and shining eyes (Chapter 9, 23). Sage Patanjali has the upper part of a five headed small serpent and the lower of a semi –human (Chapter 14, 41). The CM states "while the two sages were billeted in Tillai Vanam constantly engaged in their devotional pursuits, the animals in the forest were fearful of them as one resembled a tiger and the other serpent" (Chapter 15, 44).

There are many interlocking contrasts which can be fleshed out of the legends as the story transverses from one event to another. The fantasies and fear described makes the forest actively engaged in many strange activities which is difficult to imagine. It is accorded a mystic place whose accessibility is not easy. Gradually, King Simhavarman from Bengal (eastern part of India), who is renamed Hirnyavarman, visits this place and establishes a kingdom, builds a new temple structure and settles the three thousand Brahmanas (upper caste in Hinduism from whom the priestly class is formed) (Chapter 23,24,25). The wilderness of the forests is slowly transformed into a place of human settlement. The human intervention had made the forest more sacred with the construction of temple and other structures meant for the priestly class. There are also battles between demonic and non–demonic forces (Chapter 7, 17). As the backdrop of the legends is forest, it is frequented by hunters for the wild animals and a safe heaven for robbers and dacoits. The contact between Brahmans and lower classes (hunter, dacoits) are portrayed. The story of dacoit Pulkasan, an evil man, (Chapter 8, 19-21) is constructed to extol the Brahman (dominant upper caste in Hinduism) and emphasize the prevalence of caste system.

The legends also have a tapestry of morality which needs to be elucidated. There are list of duties to be performed by a human in his entire life (Chapter 10, 25) and also the relationship between father and son and the behaviour of an obedient son (Chapter 10, 26). A legend also describes the marriage of Sage Vyagrapada and the raising of his child Upamanyu, thereby setting an instance where domesticity gets interspersed in the wilderness of the forest (Chapter 10, 26-27).

The essence of the legends lies also in its reference to music and dance as the CM describes the origins of the Dance of Bliss. The forest is imbibed with the sound of Veda (holy text of Hindus), recitation and music (Chapter 8, 21), the sound of conches and music emanating from Mridangam (South Indian musical instrument) drums and Veena (stringed musical instrument) (Chapter 11, 30). There are references to other indigenous musical instruments such as Kalalam, Conch, Panavam, Kambu, Kuzhal whose sound was heard in rising tempo (Chapter 16, 45). Lord Siva is described as the greatest king of dance and also as the author of Natya Vedam (the art of dance). The occurrence of this dance is referred to at two places on Mount Kilasa (Himalayas) where nobody is able to witness this event, whereas in Chidambaram it is witnessed by many (Chapter 23, 65). Even the fortunate people who would be able to witness the dance are described in the beginning of the text (Chapter 3, 8). These are the heroes of the various legends – Sage Vyagrapada, Sage Patanjali, King Hiranya varman and the three thousand sages apart from other Gods and Goddess.

After establishing familiarity with the legends, it now becomes pertinent to question whether these legends have any parallel historical time frame or episodes. Are we in a position to locate them in their contemporary discourse? The legends started accumulating when the Chola state, historical dynasty of South India originating in the ninth century, started emerging. During the medieval period, the cult and temple had a capacity to play an important role in the legitimization of power. The Nataraja cult became the preferred state cult of Chola monarch. Chidambaram became historically important and gathered legends around this sanctified place.

The CM has been studied by few historians like H.Kulke and Paul Younger who have varied opinions regarding the composition and meaning of legends. Despite the CM's previous analysis, this article brings to light other possible interpretation of the legends in CM.

The CM has the potentiality of revealing different dimensions of society and culture at Chidambaram. It is worth mentioning that ….a char-

acteristic feature of folk songs, myths and legends is their mobility which prevent them from remaining confined to a particular region, thus resulting in their swift flow from one place to another (Diksitar 1933, 34,212-219). There is conscious reference to sacred places in North India and migration of sages to Chidambaram in order to witness this dance. So another objective of interpreting CM is to identify the nature of the relationship existing between Northern and Southern elements. The legends reveal integration between the Northern and Southern cultural elements. An attempt is made to identify such strands of integration which are embedded throughout the text.

The legend reflecting the synthesis between the Nothern and Southern element is that of Vyaghrapad worshipping a lingam. The CM states that "He (Vyaghrapad) did puja to the Moolsthanesa Lingam in the temple in the manner described by scriptures".

Hermann Kulke saw the legend cluster of Vyaghrapad as the text of "Lingam Cult" which was fighting for control of the temple against the followers of "Nataraja Cult". He opines that 'the older and conservative element in Chidambaram is represented by the Linga Cult and the younger and more dynamic one by the cult of dancing Shiva (Smith 1996, 50).

Kulke's views are criticized by David Smith who points out that

> the evidence from Cm suggests that the basic and constant worship of Shiva is always conducted by worshipping the Linga. Historically, Nataraja worship is later than the Linga worship, but there is not the least conflict between the two forms of worship. The worship of Nataraja did not supplant but complimented the established worship of Linga. (Smith 1996, 50)

Paul Younger made a different analysis of the legend and he made the following observation

> during the time of the composition of the text, there was a major dispute between those who used anthropomorphic forms and those who used an iconic form which at least in South would appear in newer form. Chidambaram housed the most famous of all the anthropomorphic forms, that of the dancing image and the author of the text felt that it was important that his North Indian readers be re-assured that an iconic form, with which they were more familiar, was deeply rooted in the Chidambaram tradition. The religious problem in Chidambaram was to find a way of preventing the formation of separate cult and CM re-assures its North Indian readers that the more familiar an iconic worship was part of a tradition in Chidambaram, even as they came to worship the long revered form of Nataraja, the dancer. (Younger 1995, 169-170)

The theory that the Nataraja cult contested the Linga cult does not hold any ground. There was a definite change which occurred in the idea of kingship of the Chola empire. During the middle phase of the Chola period, the cult of royal Linga characterized the imperial Chola temples. The linga in the imperial temples was named after a living king. "A shift is made by later Chola kings to patronize a Pan-Indian Sanskritized God, which must have offered them a more universal legitimacy" (Ogura 1999, 126). Nataraja became the tutelary deity of the dynasty. The cult of Nataraja and Linga co-existed throughout the history of Chidambaram.

The legends describing the arrival of Shiva in Chidambaram where for the first time God performs his ananda tandava and the unique role played by Patanjali forms a very significant segment of CM.Paul Younger points out that the Patanjali legend is three times longer than the Vyaghrapad legend and is made of loosely linked story fragments. The Patanjali legend has been enlarged because Patanjali had to be pitted against Vyaghrapad (Younger 1995, 170). There was a move towards the Vaishnava tradition (a major Hindu denomination) and Vishnu (Hindu God) who was representative of rival sectarian branch of Hinduism. In the thirteenth century, sectarian division occurred within the worshippers in the Vaishnava tradition due to the introduction of North Indian ritual forms of worship. The contestation between Saivite and Vaishnavite tradition further added problems to the South Indian Vaishnavite tradition. The Patanjali legend was composed with the purpose of reviving the Vasihnavite tradition and integrating it with Govindraja.

The analysis of Patanjali and Vyaghrapad legend reveals that Vyaghrapad legend appeals more to Sanskritic tradition. The local cult was Sanskritized and was related to the great tradition. The Patanjali legend on the other hand reflects dual nature. It shows integration of Aryan and Dravidian elements on one hand and on the other there is sectarian conflict between Lords Siva and Vishnu.

The legend begins with the arrival of the divine Bhikshandar (Siva) with a beautiful lady (Lord Vishnu) (Chapter 12) who completely upsets the peaceful life led by the wives of sages in the Taruka Vanam. Shiva's appearance as a wandering beggar (Bhikshandar) in the Taruka Vanam is characteristically Southern. Lord Siva begs from the housewives of the area inhabited by the sages. The presence of Vishnu is narrated in Chidambaram as a voluptuous women who accompanies Siva in the Taruka forest. Vishnu is only apparently a fellow performer and is assigned a subordinate role to Siva.

Paul Younger suggests that to project Vishnu into subordinate roles in a variety of Saiva stories is an old tradition of South Indian Saivism, but in this legend by the subordination of a figure from Vaishnava mythology to Siva, the Saiva writer wants to make the dancing image of Siva as the highest form of devotion (1995, 172).The legend does not indicate any contestation between North and South. It is the sectarian conflict between Siva and Vishnu worshippers which needs to be noticed.

The arrival of Siva in Chidambaram is portrayed as wandering beggar to the sages in the forest. The image of Siva as Bhikshandar (beggar) in the South is in contrast to the image of Bhairava, 'The Terrible' (this dance being a destructive one in the North). This contrast needs to be understood in terms of Richard Davis notion of *Interpretive Communities* or *Community of response*

> which explains how different communities interpret and visualize Indian religious images differently within their own frame work of social settings, cultural assumptions and ideas. Such an approach tends to accommodate the plurality of identities which the Indian religious images assume when subjected to different viewership. (Davis 1999, 9).

Therefore, variant meanings emerge through the relationship of image with the viewer, who brings his or her community's own perspective. The meanings thus acquired by Indian religious images has resulted in the conflicts over their identities. As a result, the image of lord Siva acquires different forms in Northern (Bhairava) and Southern (Bhikshandar) India.

Another group of legends (Chapter 19-25) describes the visit of the legendary King Hiranyavarman who, in gratitude of his healing of leprosy in the Shivaganga settles 3000 Brahmanas in Chidambaram, gets the temple of Chidambaram constructed and holds the first great temple festival.

A functional interpretation of Hiranyavarman legend has been carried out by Kulke. For this purpose, Kulke is indebted to Javanese historiographer C.C.Berg. In Berg's opinion who mainly worked on Javanese history, a literary interpretation of sources containing legends is not sufficient as they might depict a "picture of the past that some ancient priests have wanted us to believe in" (Berg 1961, 18). a critical analysis of the text can be undertaken in Berg's opinion by identifying its "optative character" or what he terms as wishful writing (Kulke 1993, 192). Such a methodology of interpreting sources Berg's define as functional interpretation which can also be applied in the Indian context.

Such a functional interpretation can be applied to Hiranyavarman legend. Also, various questions can be woven around this legend. Like for instance what is the time period when the legend is introduced into the Cm and why did the need arise for the formulation of this particular legend? Is the identification of the legendary King Hiranyavarman with historical Chola King feasible?

For the identification of the historical Chola King, who has been referred to as Hiranyavarman, CM as a source is not enough. There is a need to extract information from other historical sources. The last section of CM contains a detailed description of a magnificent construction of Chidambaram by King Hiranyavarman, which in the historical context can be understood as renovation. The temple inscriptions revels that Chidambaram the King become important during the reign of Kulottunga I (1070-1118) (Balasubramanyam1943, 106). Kulke relies on Harle's conclusion that extensive building activity took place during the reign of Kulottunga I. The architectural features of the temple like the gate way towers (Gopura) and enclosing fortification referred to the 11th century construction and not before that. The legendry Hiranyavarman King can be equated with the historical Chola king Kulottunga I (196). "The CM acquired the Hiranyavarman legend due to Chola and Chalukya conflict occurring in eleventh century" (197). The Chalukya's were hereditary enemies of Cholas but due to political circumstances, the Chalukya's entered into close marriage alliances with them. Further, Kulke states the Hiranyavarman legend begins with a detailed description of ancestral lineage which is traced back to the two sons of the Sun, Manu and Yama. Hirnayavarman (The sixth descendent) has been described as belonging to the Suryavansa family (198). The authors of CM needed legitimation of his kingship because he succeeded the throne after dynastic and political disorder. Therefore Kulke states in order to free Kulottunga I from the blemish of his Chalukya origin, an ancestry was invented for Hirnayavarman/ Kulottunga, which reaches back to Manu, in order to legitimize Kulottunga's sovereignty over the Chola empire (198).The CM also refers to the settlement of 3000 Brahmans, who the king Hiranyavarman brought from the Antarvedi country (District between the Ganga and Yamuna, a region of North India) to Chidambaram on the advice of priest Vyaghrapad. These 3000 sages become the hereditary trustees of the temple and came to be known as Dikshitars.

The traditional accounts indicate that the Dikshitars have been an integral part of the Chidambaram Nataraja temple from its inception. The

Dikshitars have been described in early Puranas and Hymns of the Tamil Saivite saints as *Tillai Muvayiravar* (3000 of Tallai). In the earliest Tevaram hymn, one of the Saivite saint poet says "I am the servant and devotee of the Tillai Muvayiravar" (Natarajan 1994, 324).The legend of these sages was probably created to establish the credentials of the Chidambaram priesthood. The Muvayiravar in Chidambaram were already considered a very special priestly community reputed for their ability to do special "Vedic Sacrifices". The priests might have faced problems similar to those of King Kulottunga I (Kulke 1993, 203). Therefore the legend traced their ancestry back to Antarvedi country in North India so as to establish their "North Indian" and "Vedic" Credentials.The overall analysis of the text thus demonstrates integration between Northern and Southern elements depicted in the legends. However, the extent to which this integration takes place cannot be estimated.

Paul Younger interprets the integration in the light of twelfth and thirteenth century when Muslim invaders swept North India and the worshippers fled to take refuge in South India (1993, 185). But it has to be remembered that although the Sanskrit text was composed later on, the tradition was at least four to five centuries older. The motivation of the tradition had nothing to do with the North Indian pilgrims fleeing Muslim invasions. It was an entirely local Tamil Saivite tradition of Chidambaram.

Kulke suggests that impetus to the creation of new legends was provided as an attempt was made to convert an unorthodox local cult into an official one by patronizing it. There was a conscious attempt to elevate the emerging Chola power and one of the instruments to achieve this purpose was to establish the link of the already existing regional cult at Chidambarm with great Sanskritic tradition. The linkage was evident in the legends of CM which showed integration of Northern and Southern culture. The temple tradition at Chidambaram established Chola kings as devotees of Lord Nataraja and reflect their intimate association with Chidambaram. Texts are not only produced by social and political discourse, but are also in fact makers of this discourse (Brannigan 2001, 174). The CM not only provides the genesis of the Nataraja cult but also plays a vital role in the formation and embodiment of the cult of Nataraja.

After situating the CM in its Sanskritic context, it can be argued that the utility of the text did not remain confined to the period of its original composition but that text played an important part at another juncture of its life. The flexible nature of this text makes it a source material of special

significance and is rare to find. Now an examination would be done of its usage after many centuries where it re-emerged in a new setting and configuration.

The other version of CM was reproduced in Tamil (the regional language of the state of Tamil Nadu where Chidambaram is situated) in the 1930's by Chidambaram Annaswamy using the original manuscripts in Sanskrit. The textual tradition which was established earlier was translated during the time of Tamil nationalism. Scholars elaborated a picture of classical Dravidian civilization which was distinct from the Aryan and Sanskritic culture. It was in response to the Tamil movement and ongoing contestation between Aryan and Dravidian culture that the CM was reproduced.

The legends in the CM acquire historical significance during the period of Tamil nationalism. The Tamil Renaissance movement manifested itself in language and literature and witnessed the participation of both Brahmans and non-Brahmans. The pure Tamil movement received support from non-brahmans as the power relations now began to be re-defined. The Tamil Brahmans were trying to avoid non-Brahman criticism and tried to slough off their identification with Sanskrit and establish themselves as joint-owners of Tamil along with the non-Brahmans. According to Foucault, the relations of power could be studied through their discourses. Foucault sought discourse in various kinds of texts. a discourse also implied that there is a more or less coherent worldview behind the texts and that the ideas they express have palpable effects. "The discourse analysis involved the search of events as loci of conflict where social practices are transformed" (Lemert and Gillan 1982, 132).

One aspect of the Tamil purism movement was to re-publish the Sanskrit books in Tamil so that it could reach a far larger audience. Tamil language was strengthened through the elimination of what Tamil scholars believed to be Sanskritic or Aryan word and customs. This was the beginning of what may be called "Tamil Purity Movement". "Purism is defined as the opening of the native sources and closure of the non–native sources for the enrichment of a language" (Annamalai 1979, 36). The native language of Tamil Nadu, Tamil had a literary history. Sanskrit was considered to be the foreign language which came in contact with it.

The translation of CM was done to highlight the changing social context. This stresses the flexibility of text which served a different purpose in the modern period and was hence open to re-interpretation. The earlier version of the text was produced during the period of Brahmanisation and

Sanskritization (refers mainly to the internal Hinduization of low caste) but in the changed scenario of nationalism although the contents of the text remained similar, it was reproduced due to the phenomenon of de-Brahmanisation and its impact. The protective and defensive literature of Tamil has increased in volume and intensity during modern periods when Tamil seemed to be beleaguered in favour of Sanskrit or Hindi (national language of India) (Nayagam 1963, 23). The fact that the translation of CM was made by a Brahman (Chidambaram Annaswamy) was done with the purpose of emphasizing the connection of the Brahman community with Tamil language. As Corfield states ,'a socially constructed and socially negotiated language implies a linguistic community to construct and use it, and in using it, to develop and re-create it" (Corfield 1991, 28).

Tamil was appropriated to reformulate a religious identity that sharply defined itself against Sanskrit. As Ramaswamy observes:

> Characterized as 'Dravidian' or 'Tamil' this new religion drew its doctrinal inspiration from the recently reconstituted philosophy of Shaiva Siddhanta and called for a return to the monotheistic worship of the authentic Dravidian God, Siva, through the sole medium of divine Tamil .Tamil was represented as the original bearer of pure and high Dravidian thought and of Saivism. (Ramaswamy 1996, 694)

In previous centuries, Bhakti (a Hindu devotional movement that emerged in eight century Tamil Nadu) saints had praised Tamil as divine Tamil. Shiva was appropriated and localized and emerged as the 'Tamil' God. The legends in the CM acquired historical significance in the modern period. The cult and the Puranic traditions of Chidambaram were now invoked for specific political and literary purposes.

The legend describing the worship of Lingam by Vyaghrapad has the potentiality of creating conflict between the North and South. The worshipping of Shiva Lingam is a pre-dominant feature of North India Saiva tradition. The Lingam cult was projected against the Nataraja Cult which had its origin in the Southern tradition. This element of difference in two traditions was picked up by the author of CM reproduced in Tamil keeping in view the ongoing contestation between Sanskritic and Dravidian cultures. Brahmanas were identified as 'Aryans' and custodians of Sanskritic civilizations and non Brahmans were identified as 'Dravidians' and custodians of Tamil civilization. This was quite in contrast to the earlier context where the legend showed assimilation between the two forms of worship.

The sectarian conflict between Shiva and Vishnu which was earlier demonstrated by projecting Vyaghrapad against Patanjali (equated with Vishnu) was again revived in the 20th century but had acquired new meaning. The competition of establishing superiority over each other between the two rival Hindu Gods in the eleventh century was extended to generalize the struggle between the Sanskrit and Dravidian culture which had gained momentum with the emergence of provincial nationalism in the 20th century.

The altered social and cultural environment in twentieth century indicated that Tamil literature and language grew significantly and attempts were made to establish its divinity along the lines of Sanskrit. The CM new version was a product of the conflict between Aryan and Dravidian cultures.

The analysis of text in different historical timeframes allows the reader to emphasize its diachronic distinctiveness with regards to the changes in the meaning of the legends in altered social and cultural environment. Apart from it, the synchronic interconnectedness can be identified in terms priestly community which remained integrated to Chidambaram tradition from time immemorial to the present century.

"To read literature historically allows us to see how contemporary men and women deployed the ideas, concepts and symbols that mattered to them and how they represented their own relationships to such ideas and symbols" (Walker 2013, 1). Also it is to remembered that literature comes from the cultural controversies of the age. CM represented a particular genre which was meaningful and persuasive at various historical junctures. The legends in the text had an embedded transformative power subject to the identification and interpretation. The interwoven discourses in both versions of the text does indicate the role of power. During the early composition of the text in the ninth century, the emergence of the Chola state could be witnessed. There was a tendency among medieval Hindu kingdoms to patronize an already existing cult. It served two purposes – the new ruler's power could be glorified and legitimized in the domain of the Nataraja (dance of Siva). The ruling dynasty therefore adopted the already existing Nataraja cult. The king's legitimacy depended on his devotion to a pan-Indian Sanskritized God. The Chola kings made great efforts in the enlargement of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram. In the nineteenth century, the power of language was such that it helped in cultural and political mobilization. Tamil language rejected the Brahmanical scriptures

which effected the supremacy of Sanskrit as a language. So CM was translated in a totally altered environment and was appropriated by different interests within society. Therefore, the text created meaning and explored contemporary issues. Even legends have multi-layered meaning, but they do not give direct access to the past. With careful intervention and interpretation, meanings could be derived while appreciating its own distinctiveness. They do provide assistance as it is established through this paper in the reconstruction of cultural traditions. To conclude, literature is a vehicle for the representation of history and it does contain insights into the formation of historical moments. It reveals the processes and tensions by which historical change comes about (Brannigan 2001, 170).

References:

Annamalai, E.1979. 'Movement for Linguistic Purism: The Case of Tamil'. In E. Annamalai (ed.), *Language Movement in India*, edited by E. Annamalai, 34-59 Mysore: Mysore Central Institute of India.

Balasubrahmanyam,S.R. 1943 "The Oldest Chidambaram Inscriptions". *Journal of Annamalai University,* 12: 106-118.

Brannigan, John. 2001 "History, Power and Politics in the Literary Artifact: New Historicism." In *Introducing literary theories: a Guide and Glossary,* edited by Julian Wolfreys, 169-184. Edinburg: Edinburg University Press.

Berg, C.C. 1961. "Javanese Historiography –A Synopsis of its evolution". In *Historians of South East Asia,* edited by D.G.E.Hall, 13-23. London: Oxford University Press.

Bennett, Andrew and Royle, Nicholas. 2004. *An Introduction to Literature, Criticism and Theory*: Third edition. Great Britain: Pearson.

Corfield, Penelope J. et al.1991. *Language, History and Class*. Oxford: Basic Blackwell.

Davis, Richard. 1997. *Lives of Indian Images.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Eck, Diana. 2012. *India: a Sacred Geography*. New York: Harmony Books,

Howard, Jean. 1986. "The New Historicism in Renaissance Studies". *English Literary Renaissance* 16: 13-43.

Jenkins, Keith. 1992. *Rethinking History.* London and New York: Routledge.

Jenkins, Keith. 2000. "Why Bother with History?" *In Reading the Past – Literature and History*, edited by Tamsin Spargo, 147-155. New York: Palgrave.

Kitagawa, Joseph M.1979. "Some Remarks on the Study of Sacred Texts". In *The Study of Sacred Text,* edited by Wendy D.O Flaherty, 231-242. Berkeley: Berkeley Studies Series.

Krammer, Llyod. S. 1989. "Literature, Criticism and Historical Imagination : The Literary Challenge of Hayden White and Dominick La Capra". In *The New Cultural History*, edited by Lynn Hunt, 97-128. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kulke, Hermann. 2001. "Royal Temple Policy and the Structure of Medieval Hindu Kingdom". In *Kings and Cults: State Formation and Legitimation in India and South East Asia,* edited by H.Kulke, 1-16. Delhi: Manohar.

Kulke, Hermann. 2005. "The Vana in the Ksetra? Some remarks on Gunther Sontheimer's Concept of the Vana and the ksetra". In *in The Company of Gods –Essays in Memory of Gunther- Dietz Sontheimer,* edited by Aditya Malik, Anne Feldhaus, Heidrun Bruckner ,273-282. Delhi: Manohar.

Lemert, Charles C., and Gillian Garth. 1982. *Michael Foucault: Social Theory and-Transgression.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Meyer, N.V., Wodak, E.R. 2000. *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis*. Translated by Bryan Jenner. London: Sage Publications.

Natarajan, B. 1994. *Tillai and Natara ,* Madras: Mudgala Trust.

Nayagam, Xavier, S. 1963. "Regional Nationalism in Twentieth Century Tamil Literature." *Tamil Culture* 1-23.

Ogura, Yasusi. 1999. "The Changing Concept of Kingship in the Chola Period Royal temple Constructions, c.A.D. 850-1299". In *Kingship in Indian History,* edited by Noboru Karashima, 119-141.Delhi: Manohar.

Parker, Robert Dale. 2008. *How to interpret Literature: Critical Theory for Literary and Cultural Studies*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ramaswamy, Sumathi.1993. "Endengering Language: The Poetics of Tamil Identity". *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 25, No.4: 683-725.

Schaffer, Jean-Marie. 1989. "Literary Genres and Textual Genericity". In *Future Literary Theory*, edited by Ralph Cohen, 167-187. USA: Routledge.

Shulman ,David ,D.1980. *Tamil Temple Myth: Sacrifice and Divine Marriage in South Indian Saiva Tradition.* Princeton:Princeton University Press.

Singer, Milton, 1972. "Text and Context in Study of Hinduism." In *When great Tradition Modernizes: An Anthropological Approach to Indian Civilization,* edited by Milton Singer , 39-54.New Delhi : Vikas Publishing House.

Sivaraman ,E.A. 1993.*Chidamaramahatmyam.* Bombay: Bharati Vidya Bhavan.

Smith, David.1996. *The Dance of Siva: Religion, Art and Poetry in South India.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Walker, Greg. 2013. *Reading History Historically – Drama and Poetry from Chaucer tothe Reformation*. Edinburg: Edinburg University Press.

Woods, Tim. 2004." History and Literature". In *Making History: An Introduction to the history and practices of a discipline*, edited by Peter Lambert and Phillip Schofield, 162-173.Oxon: Routledge.

Younger, Paul. 1995. *The Home of Dancing Siva* . New York: Oxford University Press.

AGNIESZKA SZWACH
Jan Kochanowski University, Kielce, Poland

Political Shakespeare: Andrzej Wajda's *Hamlet IV* (1989), Heiner Müller's *Hamlet/Maschine* (1990) and Alexandru Tocilescu's *Hamlet* (1985-1992)

Abstract: Referring to the theory of cultural materialism, the article discusses three productions of *Hamlet*: Andrzej Wajda's *Hamlet IV* (1989), Heiner Müller's *Hamlet/Maschine* (1990) and Alexandru Tocilescu's *Hamlet* (1985 –1992). All of them took place in Central and Eastern Europe at a time of great historical changes and political turmoil. The article, according to the main principle of cultural materialism stating that no cultural practice is devoid of political significance, attempts to show what political hopes and anxieties of Romanian, Polish and East German society the above-mentioned productions revealed.

Key words: cultural materialism, *Hamlet,* Heiner Müller, Shakespeare, Alexandru Tocilescu, Andrzej Wajda

Jonathan Dallimore and Alan Sinfield, in their introduction to *Political Shakespeare, Essays in Cultural Materialism*, argue that it was in the1970s when traditional approaches towards the values and goals of literary criticism were heavily challenged, firstly in the academic circles but then, increasingly, in the main stream of intellectual life. Literary text began to be tested against discourses of Marxism, feminism, structuralism, psychoanalysis and post-structuralism. It not only brought new perspectives and energy to literary discussion but it also, more significantly, "raised profound questions about the status of literary texts, both as linguistic entities and as ideological forces in our society" (1994, vii). Further, they claim that a combination of historical context, theoretical method, political commitment

and textual analysis provides the most exciting and insightful framework for literary studies. Such an approach, known as cultural materialism, allows recovery of the text's history, confronts it with conservative categories and detaches it "from immanent criticism which seeks only to reproduce it in its own terms" (vii).Cultural materialism is informed by the analytical sense of culture which seeks to describe how a society understands itself and its relations with the world, therefore, it studies the implication of texts in history. What we learn thanks to cultural materialism is that "no cultural practice is without political significance" (viii).

> A play by Shakespeare is related to the contexts of its production – to the economic and political system of Elizabethan and Jacobean England and to the particular institutions of cultural production (the court, the patronage, theatre, education, the church). Moreover, the relevant history is not just that of four hundred years ago, for culture is made continuously and Shakespeare's text is reconstructed, reappraised, reassigned all the time through diverse institutionsin specific contexts. What the plays signify, how they signify, depends on the cultural field in which they are situated. (viii)

In this paper, I attempt to discuss three productions of *Hamlet*: Andrzej Wajda's *Hamlet IV* (1989), Heiner Müller's *Hamlet/Maschine* (1990) and Alexandru Tocilescu's *Hamlet*, which was staged in Romania from 1985 to 1992. All done with the aim of presenting what Shakespeare's greatest tragedy signified in Central and Eastern Europe at a time fraught with political and economic anxiety. My decision to take the stagings of *Hamlet*, and not any other Shakespearean tragedy, under scrutiny was very much guided by Jan Kott's reflection that "Hamlet is like a sponge unless produced in a stylized or antiquarian fashion it immediately absorbs all the problems of our time" (1974, 55).

The collapse of the totalitarian regimes started with the Solidarity Movement in Poland. That first, not controlled by the communist party, a trade union in a Warsaw Pact country was founded in September 1980, a time of deep dissatisfaction, deplorable economic conditions, and constantly broken political promises. It was a period of high hopes for a better future while society watched how Western countries were thriving and prosperous. Almost suddenly, and to the amazement of the world, the entire Polish society took a hint from serious clashes in the city of Gdańsk, and within a short time the country became engulfed in a fierce struggle against communist authorities. Those incidents brought about the intro-

duction of martial law in 1981 and several years of political repression. However, the government could not suppress the opposition that was not only growing in strength but also in international acclaim and support. In the end, the communist authorities were forced to start negotiations with the union which culminated in momentous Round-Table Talks and semi-free elections of 1989, the definite end to the communist regime in Poland.

The system continued to crumble all over Eastern Europe: in Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Romania. The events that spawned the overthrow of the authoritarian governments took very different courses from the peaceful, 'velvet revolution' in Czechoslovakia to hasty political trials and the ghastly televised execution of the communist dictator and his wife in Romania. The Fall of the Berlin Wall, which transformed into a joyful celebration of reunion, had its counterpart in the furious nationalistic wars, ethnic cleansing and atrocious massacres in the Balkans.

As the nations managed to cast the yoke of the communist regime so the theatres were liberated from oppressive political control and censorship. However, their newly gained freedom was soon harshly tested against the requirements and pressures of the free market. Theatres, deprived of the substantial share of state and municipal subsidies, had to try really hard to make ends meet and to achieve both economic and artistic success. Since Shakespeare knew best how to make an astounding commercial and financial success with a theatrical play, after 1989 theatre directors eagerly reached for his repertoire. *Hamlet,* as it offered an intriguing mixture of mystery, action and crime story, was a frequent choice (Stříbrný 2000, 136).

The 1980s, the last decade of communist regime in Romania, was undoubtedly the cruelest and marked by the three proverbial Fs: famine, freezing temperatures and fear. The crisis and degradation resulted from the radical measures enforced by Ceausescu's decision to repay the country's external debt quickly to regain Romania's 'independence'. The impoverished nation had to cope with increasing pay cuts and food, electricity and heating shortages. Like every other aspect of Romanian life, the theatre was not exempt from all those problems. Cuts in the state subsidy reduced the number of theatres to a tenth of what they had been in the 1970s. Tight budgets barely covered staff's wages and even the most committed performers and audiences must have been discouraged by the draconian conditions. The golden generation of actors, directors and stage designers, who after 1956 had restored Romanian theatre to its former glory, either left the country or found it impossible to practice.

A good example in case is Lucian Pintilie (1933 – 2018), one of the most influential theatre and film directors, who was a true victim of the Romanian communist system. His theatre work was stopped and his films were banned so he had to leave the country in 1972 and worked mostly abroad, especially in France and the US. In the 1980s, Romania, where the whole nation was literally imprisoned within its own borders and struggling with deepening economic crisis, there was no space for Hamlet's voice to be heard (Cinpoes 2008, 140-143). However, during an exchange visit to London, one of the actors of the Bulandra Theatre invited the director of the London National Theatre, Richard Eyre, to direct *Hamlet* in Bucharest. The play was more than a suitable mirror for Romanian political reality in the mid 1980s. With Richard Eyre being unable to pursue his engagement, despite his visit to Romania and preliminary arrangements of 1983, the team turned to the young and promising director Alexandru Tocilescu (144).

The work on the *Hamlet* production started with a need for a compilation of translations of the play that would not only be fair to Shakespeare's original but would also reflect the Romanian reality of the1980s. The task was difficult in a number of ways. Firstly, the play had to be communicative to contemporary Romanian audiences, then it could not alert the attention of censorship that was imposed by the regime on any text for performance. It took nine months and the united effort of about twelve people to achieve this goal, but that was only the beginning of the hard work on production. The final play text passed the ministry's inspection but was repeatedly denied the green light by the specialists/ideologists because they found the text either too modern or too provocative(146). Finally, only after "stressing that contestation was not an additional element of the production, the translation or the adaptation but was embedded in the original script – i.e., was intended by Shakespeare" the theatre was granted permission to stage the play (Komporaly 2017, 28). As Komporaly argues, Tocilescu clearly meant his staging of *Hamlet* to be "controversial and anti-establishment", however, in the then contemporary political situation in Romania, he had to conceal his intentions "under the protective guise and authority of the dramatic text" (28).

By the opening night, on November 30th 1985, the Bulandra *Hamlet* became the most hotly debated project in the Romanian theatre world. a majority of Romanian theatre scholars agree that similarities between the play and the reality of the country under the communist regime were more

than noticeable. However, it would be a sweeping oversimplification just to equate Ceauşescu with Claudius and his wife with Gertrude. First of all, such a comparison would have been too obvious even to a censorship committee. Secondly, Claudius was a murderer whereas Ceauşescu was a tyrannical butcher responsible for genocide and economic sabotage of his own country. Elena Ceauşescu, his wife, with her insatiable ambition, cruelty and single-minded pursuit of power, could well match Lady Macbeth. The Danish Queen, after all, was only an accomplice to murder. Tocilescu had a much bigger agenda in mind. He showed a nation crushed under a totalitarian regime, a nation under constant surveillance, a nation subjected to severe repressions and devoid of human rights (Cinpoes 2008, 147).

Using the early modern text, the director managed to mirror the Romanian reality of 1985. As Cinpoes emphasizes, Shakespearean tragedy itself is permeated with "various degrees of mirroring". Hamlet's comparison of the theatre to "the mirror" that reflects nature is just one of many (148). In addition, she argues that the "mirroring potential" already embedded in the text of the play was even further magnified by the stage design. Dan Jitianu achieved an amazing visual effect covering the back-wall of stage with black mirrors and constructing a chessboard like stage floor, which was made of black Perspex squares. It picked up the coloured costumes, never reflected the black ones and diffused the white ones into shadows(150). Protagonists appearing on the stage were multiplied in the set of mirrors and their defining qualities (e.g. tyranny of Claudius and Gertrude or Rosencrantz's and Guildenstern's treachery) amplified to the extreme (Komporaly 2017, 33). At the same time "physical multiplication reflected the fragmentation of the self" (Cinpoes 2008, 150). Tocilescu's production exhibited the whole plethora of Hamlets: Hamlet grieving after the death of his father, Hamlet unable to find forgiveness for his mother, Hamlet asking existential questions, Hamlet that is aggressive, revengeful, ironic or both "threatened and threatening" (151).The performance was built upon the notion of self-examination: "Hamlet examined himself, the others around him, his role in Elsinore, but also his fate in the world. He examined the fate and purpose of theatre, and examined his Hamlet-part(s) within the plot" (151). For a spectator the constant and multiple mirroring in the stage design was reminiscent of duplicitous life and of lack of political transparency. It also created a disturbing feeling of exposure and ubiquitous surveillance, but at the same time, as Komporaly claims, "showed the cracks in the communist system" (2017, 28).

The subversive and anti-establishment character of the performance was already suggested by the opening scene, a mime of the duel scene, and then by a completely non-Shakespearian ending. The Bulandra production started with a mute duel scene performed by actors in monochromatic costumes, therefore, their identities were disclosed only by their actions. At the end of the scene when the Queen, the king, Laertes were dead and Hamlet was wounded music broke the silence and all characters rose. Then a black-dressed figure appeared and the actors retreated in fear as he made his way across the stage. The performance reverted to the Shakespearian beginning when the ghost took his place at the piano on the raised platform to the left of the stage and began to play. Cinpoes suggests that with that particular scene Tocilescu was either "summoning the performance of Hamlet from the 'underground' world of theatre" or asking the audience to "join in an underground Hamlet" (2008, 152). In the final scene, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, who then were servile guards of the new tyrant, Fortinbras, killed Horatio before he could tell Hamlet's story. To Romanian audiences of the 1980s that scene symbolized a "too familiar act of silencing the truth and reinventing history" (159). Arguably, Tocilescu's production of *Hamlet* anticipated the historic events of 1989 and the subsequent fall of communism in Romania. In *The Guardian* in 1990, Richard Eyre, who had been initially asked by the Bulandra Theatre to direct this play in Romania, stated that: "the public could read the end of Romanian oppressive Communist regime in the play about Elsinore even before the events in real life started" (qtd in. Komporaly 2017, 28). After all, to many Romanians the Revolution of 1989 started with Ion Caramitru/Hamlet's emotional broadcast on TV on December 22nd announcing the fall of the regime and the advent of freedom.

Hamlet in Polish culture, as Małgorzata Sugiera points out, holds a unique place and exerts its influence far beyond the realm of theatre. It is, as any other literary work a part of our national, collective imagination, a part of our collective knowledge about the world and humanity. Therefore, any changes in interpretation or in any fundamental rules of staging this tragedy faithfully reflect fortunes of the Polish nation. Equally, historical upheavals and turmoil frequently determined the readings of events that take place at Elsinore. Indeed, it is only right to state that political interpretation of *Hamlet* dominated Polish reception of that great Shakespearean tragedy (2012, 30-31). In fact, the first performance of *Hamlet* that took place in 1798 was heavily politically charged. Wojciech Bogusławski, 'the Father of

the Polish stage' preparing the text for his staging of *Hamlet* resorted to his own and Jan Nepomucen Kamieński's translation of the German version by Friedrich Schröder. The story of the Danish prince was presented to the audiences of Lvov at the time when the rightful king of Poland died in exile and his kingdom lost its glory and independence, a striking resemblance to the play's plot.

This sufficiently explains why for centuries, *Hamlet,* in Polish theatrical tradition was mainly a source of historical and philosophical reflection. Such a reading of this play, however, was very much in line with the way Elizabethan audiences had understood it. For them it was an exemplary story about the fall of monarchy. The very essence of the play is expressed in act I scene IV by Marcellus, who comments that there is "something rotten in the state of Denmark". Hamlet is first and foremost the heir to the throne, the descendant of the royal lineage (Sugiera 2012, 31 and 34).

Which, then, problems and anxieties of Poland 1989 were reflected in Andrzej Wajda's adaptation? Wajda had already directed *Hamlet* in 1961 and twice in 1980, 1989 was his fourth attempt, hence the title. All of them were chiefly inspired by Stanisław Wyspiański, the most outstanding and multifaceted artist of the Young Poland Movement. In his highly influential essay on *Hamlet* written in 1905, Wyspiański defined that the greatness and profundity of the tragedy lay in its incessant search for truth. The truth of life, whether of an individual or of a society, in the theatre (Walaszek 1998, 109).

In his production Wajda involved the spectators in the search for truth by giving them the privilege of sitting backstage as if in the actor's cloakroom-cum-green-room. From there they could see a fragment of real stage with footlights and dark, empty auditorium in the background. It was occupied by the other characters engaged in their play of power, revenge, vanity and deception (Gibińska 1998, 171-172; Střibrný 2000, 137). Some of them came to speak to Hamlet at the entrance of the green-room and so the green room became Hamlet's portion of the space, designed as private space in which the events were "either internal processes of the consciousness or its inevitable though not necessarily welcome encounters with 'the other' part of reality" (Gibińska 1998, 172). The intimacy and emotional charge of those moments were further heightened by the famous actress Teresa Budzisz-Krzyżanowska, who played the part of the Prince of Denmark. Another female Hamlet appeared at the same time in a German production in East Berlin (Střibrný 2000, 137).

"The other" was everything that was not Hamlet, and the action in that world took place on the stage, the fragment of which the audience could see through the door enlarged by mirrors. Mirrors certainly played an important role in Wajda's production, the most prominent of them standing on Hamlet's dressing table and facing the audience. A set of mirrors was also used to help broaden the panorama of the upstage area. The spectators together with Hamlet observed a considerable portion of action in mirrors. It is impossible not to notice that such a stage design clearly reflected Hamlet's opinion about the purpose of playing which was to hold the mirror up to nature (Gibińska 1998, 171).

Wajda's last *Hamlet* was staged at the Stary Theatre in Cracow in June 1989, a historic moment for Poland and for the whole Europe. However, as both Marta Gibińska and Zdenek Střibrný argue, contrary to earlier adaptations which had been replete with political allusions, that one concentrated on the search for truth and identity. It rather marginalized social and political issues to put to the fore personal, psychological probing (Gibińska 1998, 171; Střibrný 2000, 137). Gibińska makes a particularly strong claim stating that *Hamlet IV* "did not make a political statement, did not play out allusions, did not make Hamlet read words which referred to the contemporary world" (1998, 171). A very much different opinion is offered by Joanna Walaszek, who points out that Wajda worked not so much by allusion as by analogy so "the current situation in Poland dictated the current situation in Denmark and gave different shapes to the production as a whole" (Walaszek 1998, 113). The most important thing for Wajda in that production was to show a discrepancy between Hamlet's vision of his own "vocation, capabilities and predispositions" and the situation in which he is to live and act (109).The conditions that the hero has to face are not only delineated by Shakespeare but also shaped by the Polish situation, tradition, history, politics, thus, Wajda's Hamlet always exists in a particular time and place, in a particular, social reality (109). Placing the spectators in the green room and using an intricate system of mirrors that were set up at the strategic positions and angles,Wajda ensured "that the proximity helped the audience to recognize their own experience of life in what they were watching also their own social and political reality" (113).

As if by contrast, a monumental *Hamlet* was introduced in March 1990 at the German Theater in East Berlin, the capital of what was still the German Democratic Republic. It was directed by Heiner Müller (1929-1995), translator and adaptor of Shakespeare and the most important German

dramatist since Brecht. Heiner Müller lived through Germany's tumultuous history from Hitler's rise through Soviet occupation to the building and eventual demolition of the Berlin Wall. What is known about his personal life comes mostly from *War without Battle,* his autobiography published in 1992. One of Müller's earliest memories was of his father, a minor official in the Social Democratic Party, being beaten and arrested by Brownshirts what he, a child of four then, saw through a door crack. The entire period of Nazi rule brought only severe financial hardship and humiliation to the whole family (Kalb 2001, 5). Those painful childhood experiences, as Müller himself stressed later repeatedly, resulted in development of "hate potential, a need for revenge" which not only became an inseparable part of his personality but also served as motivation and inspiration for his writing (qtd in. Kalb 2001, 6). He saw the establishment of the German Democratic Republic both as a dictatorship "to establish a new order" and as "a dictatorship against the people who had damaged my childhood" (qtd in. Kalb 2001, 6).

Müller chose to stay in the Soviet Zone even when his parents fled to the West in 1951 amidst political scandal. He gave numerous explanations for staying, eg. belief in a final triumph of Communism or a pregnant girlfriend. Although it might seem surprising for a person brought up in one dictatorship to choose to spend the rest of his life in another, he did it, to quote his words, for the greater "pressure of experience" in a totalitarian environment because in his opinion dramatists thrive on:"a certain relationship to power, also a fascination through power, a rubbing oneself against power and a partaking in power, also perhaps a submission to power so that one takes part" (qtd in. Kalb 2001, 7).Without doubt Heiner Müller was not only the dominant figure in the German theatre during the decade or so before his death in 1995 but also one of the most interviewed figures of his age. His opinions expressed over several decades on important historical and political events featured prominently in mainstream publications throughout four German-speaking countries (Kalb 2001, 4).

As early as 1977 Müller produced *Hamletmaschine*, a short play and pantomime consisting of five extremely baffling, provocative scenes, where his obsession with the horror of history and Shakespeare's figure of Hamlet form a tableau of the disintegration of Western history. The story of Hamlet, who declares himself to be "second clown in the spring of communism" and announces that "something is rotten in this age of hope", is projected into the 20th century, when socialist dreams of several European generations

are dashed by authoritarian regimes (Müller 200, 301). Hamlet, a brooding intellectual from the first scene, becomes later a totally disillusioned actor, caught up amidst anti-Communist uprising, who refuses to play his role as his words have no meaning and people are not interested in his drama. Tormented by the divided loyalties between the rebels and defenders of the state, he makes desperate attempts to free himself from the historic burden that is choking him. He wants to become a machine without pain and thought. Finally, however, he puts on the armour and splits the bust of Marx, Lenin and Mao, sending the world back to the Ice Age. Ophelia, in contrast to Hamlet, an archetypal incapacitated philosopher, strikes out a revolt. She transforms from an aggressive anarchist into a whore performing striptease. In the final scene she delivers a fiery monologue in which she speaks of a world where hatred, war and death are the only solution.

Müller's montage was first published only in West Germany and was dismissed by most East German critics as highly inappropriate, decadent, saturated with foul language and pornographic content (Střibrný 2000, 138). Despite all the controversy, in 1990, Heiner Müller decided to insert the montage into his translation of *Hamlet*, thus, creating an eight – hour long spectacle that was called *Hamlet / Maschine*. The choice of the play was far from accidental. In numerous interviews, Müller stressed that *Hamlet* was the only "topical" play in East Germany of that time as it is a play that:

> deals with crises in the state, with two epochs, and with the fissure between them. This fissure is straddled by an intellectual, who is no longer certain how to behave and what to do: the old things don't work anymore, but the new ways aren't to his taste. (qtd in. Pfister 2015, 76).

Hamlet / Maschine staged in the Deutsche Theatre in East Berlin offered nearly eight hours of exciting theatre. The spectators were overwhelmed by colossal eclectic sets which were placed in a massive concrete shelter. It was a clear allusion to life in East Germany, sheltered but incarcerated. A stage-high gauze screen that was used in the first set represented an enormous cube of ice trickling with melting water. A constant trickle of water and a large puddle in the middle of the stage served as a metaphor of the Soviet bloc with its thaws and final dissolution. In the final scene, a desert of reddish sand was planted with bright metal sheets of multiple connotations. They could be mirrors but also heat collectors, causing the accelerated end of the world, and they were used as tombstones on which the dying characters wrote their names. In between, the spectators could

admire wonderful sets of the Viennese designer traverse human history and civilization from the Italian Renaissance culture to East European communist regimes (Pfister 1998, 26-27; Střibrný 2000, 138-139).

Most of the action was presented in a slow, ritual style, alleviated by a few touches of sarcastic humour and irony. The entrances of the Ghost were accompanied by a collage broadcast of Stalin's funeral which evoked his hideous crimes and mass murders. Hamlet was a sensitive young intellectual dressed in a suit, "too large for him, as was his task to set right the disjointed time" (Střibrný 2000, 138-139). In the final scene Hamlet stabbed everybody present before he died. His dead body, hanging over the stage front was lovingly taken up and carried onto the stage by Ophelia who was then consumed by a blazing fire. Fortinbras entered, wearing a golden helmet combined with business suit and covered Hamlet's face with a gold folder – an obvious hint to western capitalism (Pfister 1998, 26-27; Střibrný 138-139).

The play finished with Zbigniew Herbert's "Elegy of Fortinbras" read over loudspeakers. It is a deeply ironic text where Hamlet's brilliantly idealist, yet futile heroism is contrasted with Fortinbras' unglamorous but necessary pragmatism. Hamlet had to perish because he was not for life but chased and believed "in crystal notions, not in human clay" (Herbert "Elegy of Fortinbras"). He accomplished what he had to and could have peace but "The rest is not silence, the rest belongs to me" to Fortinbras, who with shocking pragmatism listed his immediate tasks: a sewer project, a decree on prostitutes and beggars, and, most alarmingly "a better system of prisons (Herbert "Elegy of Fortinbras"). His intention, plain and clear, was "to take the city by the neck and shake it a bit" (Herbert "Elegy of Fortinbras").

As Manfred Pfister argues Müller's *Hamlet / Maschine*

> brought to a close the *Hamlet*-frame round the history of the German Democratic Republic, whose 'democratically renewed' theatre had opened in 1945, in what was then the Soviet occupied Zone, with a *Hamlet* directed by Gustav von Wagenheim. (2015, 76)

The lavish, elaborate staging of *Hamlet / Maschine* gave the spectators the sense that the theatre was trying to "rise to the historical occasion" (76). It could be received as an unforgettable, monumental farewell to the Communist era in East Germany, as a sort of an ironic and ambivalent artistic obituary. After all, it was Heiner Müller's conviction that "a proper funeral has to be properly celebrated (…) the GDR was not

so bad that it doesn't deserve a decent funeral" (qtd in. Pfister 2015, 77). Zdeněk Střibrný, on the other hand, points to the fact that *Hamlet / Maschine* could be interpreted not only as a celebration of the demise of a social order but also as an warning against the emerging brave new world (2000, 139).

All the above discussed productions of Shakespeare's greatest tragedy bear strong political overtones as the directors clearly drew on seismic shifts in the European history as material for their work. The use of mirrors is also a striking characteristic feature that is common for these adaptations of *Hamlet.* In the Romanian production the constant and multiple mirroring in the stage design referred to corruption, lack of political transparency but also showed that there were cracks in the communist system and predicted the fall of the Ceauşescu regime. The bright metal sheets used in the setting for the final scene of *Hamlet / Maschine* served both as mirrors but also as tombstones on which the dying characters wrote their names. That was Müller's way to bid farewell to the Communist era in East Germany. Wajda's *Hamlet IV* took audiences on an arduous quest for truth and identity, forcing them to recognize their own social and political reality. The discussed performances of canonical tragedy became a way of interpreting ourselves to ourselves in which, cultural tradition encapsulated in the work was forced to tell a new story.

References:

Barnett, David. 2016. *Heiner Müller's the Hamletmachine.* New York: Routledge.

Cinpoes, Nicoleta. 2008. " The Long Night's Journey into Today: The Romanian *Hamlet* of the '80s". In *Shakespeare in Romania: 1950 to the Present,* edited by Monica Matei-Chesnoiu, 140-169. Bukareszt: Humanitas.

Dallimore, Jonathan and Alan Sinfield. 1994. *Political Shakespeare. Essays in Cultural materialism.* Manchester: Manchester University Press

Gibińska, Marta and Jerzy Limon, eds. 1998. *Hamlet East- West.* Gdańsk: Theatrum Gedanense Foundation.

Gibińska, Marta. 2015. "Polish Hamlets: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in Polish Theatres after 1945." In *Shakespeare in the New Europe,* edited by Michael Hattaway, Boika Sokolova and Derek Roper. 159-173. London: London Bloomsbury Academic.

Guntner, Lawrence and Andrew M. McLean, eds. 1998. *Redefining Shakespeare. Literary Theory and Theatre practice in German Democratic Republic.* Newark: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Press

Hattaway, Michael, Boika Sokolova and Derek Roper, eds. 2015. *Shakespeare in the New Europe.* London: London Bloomsbury Academic.

Herbert, Zbigniew. " Elegy of Fortinbras"Accessed July 10https://allpoetry.com/Elegy-Of-Fortinbras

Kalb, Jonathan. 2001. *The Theatre of Heiner Müller.* New York: Limelight.

Komporaly, Jozefina. 2017. *Radical Revival as Adaptation. Theatre, Politics, Society.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kott, Jan.1974. *Shakespeare Our Contemporary.* New York: Norton Library.

Łubniewska, Ewa, Krystyna Latwiec and Jerzy Waligóra, eds. 2012. *Szekspir wśród znaków kultury polskiej.* Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego.

Matei-Chesnoiu, Monica, ed. 2008. *Shakespeare in Romania: 1950 to the Present.* Bukareszt: Humanitas.

Mondreanu, Cristina. 2020. *a History of Romanian theatre from Communism to Capitalism.*Oxon, New York: Routledge.

Müller, Heiner. 2001. *Hamletmachine.*Translated by Carl Weber. In *Contemporary German Plays.* New York: Continuum.

Pfister, Manfred. 1998. " Polish and German *Halmlets* in Dialogue." In *Hamlet East-West,* edited by Marta Gibińska and Jerzy Limon, 16-31.Gdańsk: Theatrum Gedanense Foundation.

Pfister, Manfred. 2015. "Hamlets Made in Germany, East and West." In *Shakespeare in the New Europe,* edited by Michael Hattaway, Boika Sokolova and Derek Roper. 76-91. London: London Bloomsbury Academic.

Střibrný, Zdeněk.2000. *Shakespeare and Eastern Europe.* Oxford: OUP.

Sugiera, Małgorzata. 2012. "*Polska czytana "Hamletem."* In *Szekspir wśród znaków kultury polskiej,* edited by Ewa Łubniewska, Krystyna Latawiec, and Jerzy Waligóra, 29-47. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego.

Walaszek, Joanna. 1998. " Andrzej Wajda – Hamlet Four Times." In *Hamlet East-West,* edited by Marta Gibińska and Jerzy Limon, 109-117.Gdańsk: Theatrum Gedanense Foundation.

Wood, Michael. 2017. *Heiner Müller's Democratic Theatre. The Politics of Making the Audience Work.* Rochester, New York: Camden House.

PART 2

CINEMA IN HISTORY – HISTORY IN CINEMA

SHARAF REHMAN
THE UNIVERSITY OF LODZ, POLAND

Moving Pictures – From a Peepshow to a Major Industry

Abstract: Within five years (1896-1901), Thomas Edison's moving pictures became a multi-million-dollar business catering to the immigrants and the working-classes. By 1906, several genres such as the western, science fiction, fantasy, crime, and romance were established. The new medium attracted millions to movie theaters; it also attracted entrepreneurs and investors seeking profits, respectability, and recognition. This paper argues that socio-economic conditions were ripe for a mass medium for those unable to read or with little knowledge of the English language. Early silent movies established themselves as a democratic art form bringing culture, class, and literature to their patrons. The paper describes how some of the inventors and key players while colluding and fighting for larger pieces of the pie laid the foundations of a major art form that became a global social force.

Keywords: Silent cinema, Thomas Edison, George Eastman, Carl Laemmle, Adolph Zukor, immigrants and movies, The Motion Picture Patents Company.

A NATION OF IMMIGRANTS

During her first 100 years, the United States facilitated and encouraged immigration, welcoming foreigners to settle in a vast country. Immigration was considered to be in the national interest since it allowed individuals to better themselves as it strengthened the United States. Under the axiom "*e pluribus unum*" (from many, one), U.S. presidents have frequently reminded Americans that they share the immigrant experience of beginning a new in the land of opportunity. Although the United States

is built by immigrants and their offspring, the history of qualitative immigration restrictions in America goes back 150 years. Certain types of immigrants have been routinely refused entry into the United States, e.g., prostitutes, workers with contracts that tied them to a particular employer for several years, and the Chinese. The Chinese were barred from the American shores as far back as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (Kennedy 1965, 63).

In the year 1850, the population of New York was 590.000. It would more than triple in the next 30 years reaching 2 million in 1880 and would double again by 1900 – reaching 3.8 million. Between 1870 and 1930, more than 30 million immigrants came to America, many from Southern, Central, and European countries including 4 million Italians and 2 million Jews. In the 1920s, quantitative quotas were set on the number of immigrants accepted each year.

The unskilled and less-educated immigrants who came to the United States seeking greater freedom and economic opportunity arrived with little money and took whatever jobs they could find. They were often vulnerable to exploitation. The garment industries in New York and Chicago thrived at the expense of the emigres who desperately needed work. The Irish worked in the sweatshops from 1850 to the 1880s. During the mid-1880s, Germans and Swedes entered the industry. The 1890s brought Italians and Russian and Polish Jews. In Chicago, Germans Jews, and a few Americans and Poles established that city's garment center. In many cities, the immigrants converted small apartments into contract shops that doubled as living quarters. Some immigrants began working in small shops, eventually owning large clothing firms. Others succumbed to disease, malnutrition, and exhaustion, and never found the path from tenement sweatshop to a better life. According to a report by the Behring Center:

> Eastern Europeans introduced the task system. Men and women worked as teams of sewing-machine operators, basters, and finishers, often augmented by pressers and helpers. The payment was for the completion of a certain number of garments per day. Price cutting often led to the number of garments increasing over time and workdays extending far into the night. It was not uncommon for a team to work 15 to 18 hours a day for six days but be paid for four days' work.

It would not be until the next three generations before the grandchildren of these immigrants would be fully assimilated into the American

tossed salad.[1] For the initial immigrants, the safest, the most logical, and the most convenient places were the neighborhoods with other folks from their own countries. Hence, the Italian-quarter and the Jewish quarter in New York, the Swedish and the Norwegian concentrations in Minnesota, and the Polish communities in Illinois (Chicago) and Ohio (Niles and Youngstown).

During the mid-1880s, 70 percent of the imports came through the New York harbor. Banking grew 250% between 1888 and 1908, compared to the national increase of 26%. New York became the nation's capital for tourism and entertainment. One opera ticket in 1875 would cost $1. For a theater performance, the admission was 25 cents for the gallery, 50 cents for the pit, and a full dollar for the boxes, where, with the cooperation from the corrupt police force, the theater owners "allowed prostitutes to ply their trade in the balcony" (Gilfoyle 1994, 67). During this economic boom, lavish and expensive hotels were built for the affluent visitors (Erenberg 1984, 33) where ladies of the night served a wide variety of clientele ranging from sailors on leave to the old-money gentlemen and the newly rich playboys (Gilfoyle 1994, 99).

By 1910, most residents in the nation's largest cities were foreign-born or children of immigrants. These massive waves of immigrants fueled much of the nation's industrial growth, however, they remained on the periphery of the American culture. The immigrant workers could neither afford the theatre, the opera, or the symphony performances, and due to limited or non-existent English language skills, nor could they access the news or literature through newspapers, magazines, and books. They worked, bought whatever they could afford, and remained in close contact with other immigrants that shared similar language and customs. Nevertheless, before the turn of the century, this group became the main customer-base for an affordable mass medium that did not require any reading skills or much knowledge of the English language – the silent cinema.

---

[1] American culture has often been referred to as a melting pot where people from different cultures are thrown together and they all become a part of a one-big-culture: America. History, however, seems to indicate that people from different cultures do not lose their identities as ingredients in a stew. Instead, people tend to retain their individualities as do different vegetables in a tossed salad. Hence, the metaphor "tossed salad" rather than the "melting pot".

THE MAGIC OF PHOTOGRAPHY

Cinema would not have been possible without the pioneering efforts of a British photographer, John Carbutt (1832-1905) who began to use celluloid instead of glass plates for recording photographic images. Taking it a step further, a New Jersey Minister, Hannibal Williston Goodwin (1822-1900) made transparent, non-breakable roll film out of nitrocellulose film base to show pictures during his biblical lectures. Goodwin is credited as the inventor of a flexible film that was necessary for motion picture cameras and film projectors (Barth 2013, 27-28). Just as the history of immigrants in America is American history (Handlin 1951, 3), immigrants are the history of American cinema.

American entrepreneur, George Eastman (1854-1932) founded the Eastman Kodak Company and brought photography into the mainstream in 1888 by marketing the Kodak Box camera in 1900 at the cost of $1 and the slogan: You press the button, we do the rest. Eastman made photography accessible to an average American Family. Eastman also manufactured motion picture film for America's first filmmakers – Thomas Alva Edison, one among them.

During the 1980s, Thomas Edison and his British assistant William Dickson had been working on developing a camera that could record moving pictures. In 1890 Edison and Dickson announced their Kinetograph, a primitive motion picture camera. In 1892, the pair unveiled a machine that could project moving images onto a screen. In 1894, Edison held the first public film viewing of moving pictures. The viewers were thrilled and amazed by the marvel of moving images. Edison's earliest films lasted for about 20 seconds or less because of the amount of film one could put into a film camera. To meet the demand for moving pictures, Edison employed a host of camera operators who went around the city filming anything and everything that *moved* to feed the demand for new moving images for the kinetoscope machines. In 1893, Edison built the world's first film studio, the Cinematographic Theater that became known as the "Black Maria",[2] in West Orange, New Jersey – the location of Edison's laboratories.

---

[2] The Black Maria was a small and uncomfortable place to work. Edison employees W. K. Dickson and Jonathan Campbell coined the name–it reminded them of police Black Marias, (police vans, also known as „paddy wagons") of the time because they were also cramped, stuffy and a similar black color. Edison himself called it „The Doghouse". This

As technology progressed and longer movies could be made, the films began to tell short stories lasting a few minutes. Edison's invention soon became the new popular entertainment in cities and towns across the United States. The first public exhibition of projected motion pictures in the United States was at Koster & Bial's Music Hall on 34th Street in New York City on April 23, 1896.

The projected moving images were shown at the end of the then-popular vaudeville shows. The flickering images were a signal that the show was over, and the customers were to leave. In this role, the moving pictures were known as "chasers". At the end of a vaudeville show, moving pictures were projected on a screen to signal the patrons that the program was over. Fate took an interesting turn when, in 1901, the vaudeville performers went on Strike and the movies became the replaced entertainment moving from a scientific invention and a novelty to a medium that could document, inform, and tell stories.

EDWIN PORTER – A TRUE PIONEER

One of the filmmakers at the Edison Manufacturing Company was Edwin Stanton Porter (1870-1941). Porter was a writer, a cameraman, and an editor. He made a fairy tale, *Jack and the Beanstalk* (1902), a theatrical film with dreams and visions. The film tells a story with the help of several scenes, not unlike chapters in a book. According to Musser, "The scenes are carefully constructed with narrative continuities which give the audience the information to interpret the spatial relationships between the shots"(1979, 24). The film was a huge success.

For his next project, Porter turned to a new genre – the documentary. His film, *Life of an American Fireman* (1903) consisted of seven sequences telling the story of a mother and her child being rescued from a house on fire. For this film, Porter used a lot of footage already filmed and archived by various camera operators of Edison's company. Porter used cross-cutting

---

is where Edison's staff shot the 20 to 30-sec shorts for the kinetoscopes. In 1901, Edison built a glass-enclosed rooftop studio in New York City and the Black Maria was closed in 1901. It was demolished in 1903. a reproduction of the Black Maria was built in 1954 at a part of a museum at the Edison National Historic Site in West Orange.

to show developments in different locations and cutting back and forth between the exterior and interior shots as the firemen rushed in and out of the building.

Life of an American Fireman turned out to be a big success for Porter and Edison. However, Porter was yet to play his biggest trump card – *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), the most celebrated of Porter's work (Gomery 1991, 18) which is often credited as the first American narrative film, the first crime film, and the first western (Mast 1986, 36-37). It was also the first time that a camera was mounted atop a moving train and the first to use a close-up of a bandit firing directly at the camera (i.e., the viewer) breaking the fourth wall – something the audience would witness for the first time.

With the *Great Train Robbery*, Porter and Edison pulled the American film business out of its infancy and captured the imagination of the movie audiences, investors, and other filmmakers who saw the financial rewards in the business of making and showing films. One such filmmaker was D.W. Griffith (1875-1948) who began his career as an actor in Porter's film, *Rescued from an Eagle's Nest* (1908) and soon became a major film director and producer raising the "chasers" to an art form in themselves.

MOVIES FIND A HOME

Seeing the popularity of the moving pictures, small business owners converted their shops or restaurants into makeshift movie theaters where the audiences sat at tables and watched the flickering images projected onto a bedsheet while a single musician played frenzied interludes on piano or violin. The first "storefront theater" in the US dedicated exclusively to showing motion pictures was Vitascope Hall, established on Canal Street, New Orleans, Louisiana June 26, 1896 – it was converted from a vacant store. The storefront theaters remained the main outlet for films until they were replaced around 1910 by large modern theaters.

The first theater devoted solely to films, The Electric Theater in Los Angeles, opened in 1902. It was housed in a tent; the theater's first screening included a short film titled – *New York in a Blizzard*. Admission cost about 10 cents for a one-hour show. Nickelodeons developed soon after, offering both movies and live acts. In the early years, vaudeville theater

owners bought films from factories (film studios were called film factories as films were made there) via mail order, rather than renting them, making it expensive to change shows frequently. Starting in 1902, Henry Miles of San Francisco began renting films to theaters, forming the basis of today's distribution system.

The first movie houses were called "nickelodeons"–*Odeon* is the Greek word for theater, and the cost to attend a movie performance– a nickel. On June 19, 1905, some 450 people attended the opening of the world's first movie theater, located in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The storefront theater was equipped with 96 chairs and charged each customer five cents.

By 1908, there were nearly 8,000 such theaters in the U.S.; by the end of 1910, their number grew to 10,000; grossing $91 million in the United States. The moving picture shows were 15 to 90 minutes long and changed every couple of days –sometimes daily. The film segments were quickly produced with threadbare storylines. The novelty –and the low price –of the moving pictures filled the theaters nationwide.

During the early 1890s, Broadway theater or the opera tickets were out-of-reach for the immigrant but even those with meager salaries could afford a ticket to the nickelodeon. Initially, the nickelodeons were packed with European immigrants and the poorest citizens; soon, the movie halls were open to people from all walks of life, making cinema a "democratic art". With a large population of immigrants, Chicago became America's number one movie-loving city. For a population of two million in 1909, it had 407 theaters where the immigrants, lacking in language skills and feeling alienated from much of the life around them, flocked to the movies where the pantomimes of the silent films were perfectly comprehensible (Lasar 2010, npg).

Although it was decades away from the Great Depression, the lives of the working classes were much harder than the working classes of the 21st century. People sought escape from their harsh worlds by getting involved in the stories that unfolded on the film screens, and the lives of the film stars. Filmmakers caught on to the idea of extending the fantasy world from just the screen images to the whole movie-going experience. New movie theater buildings not only held hundreds of audiences, but their scale, decor, and grandeur reminded one of grand European palaces and Cathedrals. Because of their opulence and extraordinary architectural beauty, these theaters were dubbed as Movie Palaces where the average person was treated like royalty. Comfort was the dominant feature with upholstered

seating and air conditioning, where the ushers showed the patrons to their seats. The Movie Palaces were such a commercial success that between 1914 and 1922, 4,000 Movie Palaces opened in the United States.

EDISON AND THE BATTLE FOR CONTROL

Edison saw the financial potential in moving pictures and took steps to gain control of the production, distribution, and exhibition of movies. Along with George Eastman, he formed The Motion Picture Patents Company(MPPC). Since Edison or Eastman did not own movie theaters, they brought several theater owners under one umbrella – General Film Exchange, a subsidiary of the Patents Company. The General Film Exchange controlled the distribution and exhibition of the movies. Edison and Eastman proceeded to patent their inventions such as the celluloid film, the film camera, and the film projector. Anyone wanting to make a film or show a film was forced to buy the film and the equipment from the Patents Company. The Patents Company refused to sell raw film stock to anyone but Patent Company licensees – a plan to push European film cameras, projectors, and film stock out of the country.

The Patents Company faced stiff competition as several European nations had already begun manufacturing motion picture film stock, and film equipment. Edison and Eastman insisted that motion pictures were their invention and anyone making or showing moving pictures should pay $2 a week as royalty to the Patents Company. Some filmmakers and theater owners complied with the demand. Others refused to pay. To combat those filmmakers, the Patents Company hired a team of goons that went around destroying the film cameras and projection equipment of the non-compliant companies (Smith & Selzer 2015, 82).

Edison and Eastman, the two Anglo-Saxon Protestants were opposed most vehemently by two foreigners: Adolph Zukor (1873-1976), an Austro-Hungarian Jew – born in Ricse, Hungary, and Carl Laemmle (1867-1939), a Jew from Laupheim, a small southwestern village in Germany. Zukor and Laemmle legally challenged the Patents Company, accusing it of monopolistic practices. In the years to come, Zukor would become one of the three founders of Paramount Pictures, and Laemmle would go on to create Universal Studio.

Adolph Zukor came to New York in 1891. He began as an apprentice to a furrier and soon established his own business. In 1903, he became involved in the movie business as an investor in a chain of movie theaters. In 1912, Zukor established Famous Players Film Company with the primary goal to bring literary works and famous stage actors to the screen. The company distributed the French film *Les Amours de la Reine Élisabeth* (1912) starring Sarah Bernhardt (Wu 2010). The following year, Zukor produced *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1913) that featured a stage star, James Hackett, and was directed by none other but an old Edison employee– Edwin S. Porter.

Recruiting its performers from the New York stage, Famous Players built a roster of some of the theater's biggest names including Marguerite Clark, Hazel Dawn, and H. B. Warner. The company also featured cinema's biggest star of the era, Mary Pickford (Alleman 2005, 231), and presented theater actor John Barrymore in several pictures including his first two films released in 1914: *An American Citizen* and *The Man from Mexico* (Peters 1990, 149).

Not many studios from the early years of the movies have survived. The old studios still operating in 2020 are the French studio Gaumont Film Company that began in 1895, *Pathé* opened in 1896, the Danish company, Nordisk Film opened in 1906, Universal Studio was created in 1912, and Paramount in 1916 (Abel 1994, 10). Paramount is the last major American film studio still headquartered in Hollywood. Zukor and Laemmle, along with several other independent filmmakers filed a case against Edison's Patents Company accusing it of monopolistic practices[3] and restrictions of trade. A case Edison lost when "a federal court agreed with prosecutors that the Patents Company and General Film had broken every antitrust principle in the book ... terrorizing exchanges and exhibitors ... and driving away competitors by ... arbitrary, oppressive, and high-handed methods"

[3] In the spirit of free trade and market economy, the businesses in the United States of America are allowed to compete by engaging in fierce competitive practices seeking larger market shares, however, the businesses are not allowed to win. If a business could eliminate all its competition, it will become a monopoly – a market situation prohibited by law and the Sherman Anti-trust Act of 1890. The outcome of this paradox is that most industries such as automotive, cosmetics, food processing, air travel, broadcasting, publishing, and entertainment become oligopolies. This has been true of the film industry. During the Golden-Years of the studio system, these were the five dominant studios: Fox, MGM, Paramount, RKO, Warner Brothers. In recent years, the big five are Columbia, Disney, Paramount, Universal, and Warner Bros.

(Lasar 2010a, npg). Ironically, another group of independent filmmakers including Charlie Chaplin, Walt Disney, Samuel Goldwyn, David O. Selznick, Mary Pickford, and Orson Welles would file a similar case in 1948 against Paramount Studio accusing it and other major studios of violating the antitrust laws.[4]

Edison's other archrival was Karl Lämmle who became Carl Laemmle upon arriving in the U.S. For 12 years, he worked as a bookkeeper for a dry goods store in Oshkosh, Wisconsin. Failing to get a raise, he left the job and came to Chicago to start his own business. He saw a five-cent movie show in Chicago; the success and popularity of the moving pictures impressed him. He abandoned the idea of starting a dry goods store, instead, he gathered all his family's resources and opened a small movie theater, the White Front Theater on Milwaukee Avenue in Chicago where his family members sold tickets, ushered the customers to their seats, sold the refreshments, and ran the projector. The success of his theater encouraged him to acquire a second movie theater. When a distributor failed to supply him with the movies, Laemmle started his own rental service. As the demand for the movies escalated, he launched a production company: The Independent Motion Picture Company – IMP for short.

In addition to rocking the foundation of the Patents Company, Laemmle is credited with two significant contributions to the movie business. With Florence Lawrence, a Canadian American actress who worked uncredited for Griffith and the Biograph Company, Laemmle launched her as the first movie star, i.e., the beginning of the star system. And in 1912, he created the Universal Film Manufacturing Company that soon became Universal Studio – a vertically integrated operation combining movie production, distribution, and exhibition, the three central elements of the Studio system. In 1915, on a 230-acre (0.9-km^2) lot, Laemmle would open the world's largest film production facility, Universal City Studios, in Los Angeles. Edison made an appearance at the opening ceremony of Universal's all-electric film studio.

[4] The case, *U.S. v. Paramount Pictures, et al.*, reached the U.S. Supreme Court and resulted in a ruling against Paramount Studio, a ruling that became one of the key reasons for the demise of the studio system.

CONCLUSION

For Edison, movies were a novelty; for him, the creative possibilities for moving pictures were exhausted with *The Great Train Robbery*. For the independent producers such as Carl Laemmle and his other immigrant colleagues – Adolph Zukor, Samuel Goldwyn, Louis B. Mayer, William Fox, and Jesse Lasky – movies were a means for recognition through stretching the limits of creativity and imagination (Gabler 1989); they had everything to gain by making better, more technically daring films, and marketing them in new and original ways (Lasar 2010a, npg).

Edison cannot be held responsible for chasing the film industry away from New York or New Jersey. To meet the insatiable demand for movies, the filmmakers moved to Florida and California in search of a better climate and to avoid the dark and bitter cold of the east coast. Florida, with its rains and humidity, lost to southern California that offered more sunny days, more daylight, and a landscape suitable for western dramas that had become popular with the audiences. For all practical purposes, Edison's' Trust was dead long before a federal court declared that the Patents Company and General Film were monopolistic and in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890.

Edison would remain the beloved genius who invented the light bulb, the phonograph, and the moving pictures. However, a mass medium and eventually a global industry – the movies – for which he will always be credited as the founding father, slipped through his fingers and moved away to a sleepy town in southern California – Hollywood, where others elevated the flickering images to a most wonderous art form that has brought joy and tears, entertainment and enlightenment, and culture and literature to humanity for more than a hundred years.

References:

Abel, Richard. 1994. *The Ciné Goes to Town: French Cinema, 1896–1914*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Alleman, Richard. 2005. *New York: The Movie Lover's Guide*. New York: Broadway Books, 231.

Barth, Linda. 2013. *A History of Inventing in New Jersey: From Thomas Edison to the Ice Cream Cone.* Charleston, SC: The History Press.

https://books.google.pl/books?id=lex2CQAAQBAJ&printsec
Behring Center. "History of Sweatshops: 1880-1940." Accessed December 14, 2019. https://americanhistory.si.edu/sweatshops/history-1880-1940
Erenberg, Lewis. 1984. *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
https://books.google.pl/books?id=nulbpUq-rFkC
Gabler, Neal. 1989. *An Empire of Their Own: How the Jews Invented Hollywood*. New York: First Anchor Books.
Gilfoyle, Timothy. 1994. *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790-1920.* New York: Norton & Co.
https://books.google.pl/books?id=ccEP_1Lox-cC&hl
Gomery, Douglas. 1991. *Movies History: A Survey*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
Handlin, Oscar, 1951. *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People*. 1951, 3)
Kennedy, John F. 1965. *A Nation of Immigrants*. New York: Harper & Row.
Lasar, Matthew. 2010. "Thomas Edison's Plot to Hijack the Movie Industry."Arstechnica.com. September 1. Accessed December 12, 2019. https://arstechnica.com/tech-policy/2010/09/thomas-edisons-plot-to-destroy-the-movies/
Lasar, Matthew. 2010a. "Take Heed, Tech Giants: Edison's Failed Plot to Hijack Hollywood." Wired.com. 4 September, 2010. Accessed December 12, 2019. https://www.wired.com/2010/09/thomas-edisons-plot-to-hijack-the-movie-industry/
Mast, Gerald. 1986. *A Short History of the Movies*. New York: MacMillan.
Peters, Margot. 1990. *The House of Barrymore*. New York: Touchstone.
https://books.google.pl/books/about/The_House_of_Barrymore.html?id=08qJ0I9ev00C
Smith, Michael G, and Adam Selzer. 2015. *Flickering Empire: How Chicago Invented the U.S. Film Industry.* New York: Wallflower Press.
Smithsonian. History of Sweatshops: 1880-1940. Accessed December 14, 2019. https://americanhistory.si.edu/sweatshops/history-1880-1940
Wu, Tim. 2010. *The Master Switch: The Rise and Fall of Information Empires*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

SHALA BARCZEWSKA
Jan Kochanowski University, Kielce, Poland

Inherit the Wind: The Movie and the Myth in American Cultural Memory

Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to identify and evaluate the influence of Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee's play turned movie *Inherit the Wind* (1955) on American cultural memory of the 1925 Scopes trial as evidenced by online corpora. The first section presents the theoretical foundations for this study, namely, cultural memory theory. The second section introduces the case study and compares the 1925 trial of John T. Scopes with *Inherit the Wind*. The third section explains the methodology employed for this study–using online corpora–and how it reveals the continuous presence of the play/movie in current discourse. The fourth section presents the results of the study. The fifth and sixth sections, respectively, discuss the results and provide suggestions for future research.

Keywords: cultural memory, *Inherit the Wind*, Scopes trial, remediation, corpus linguistics

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to identify and evaluate the influence of the play/movie *Inherit the Wind* (hereafter, *ITW*) on American cultural memory of the 1925 Scopes trial. Although "The trial produced more words in print than any comparable event to that point in the country's history […],"(Ferguson 2008, 7), it is perhaps best-known through its presentation in Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee's play turned movie. *ITW* "has become a staple for high school drama productions in addition to its

widespread use in history classes" (Larson, Depew, and Isetti 2008, 151). As a result, Larson (2006, 225) observes, *ITW* has become an ingrained part of US citizen's understanding of the 1925 trial and the continuing debate over the theory of biological evolution. What this paper adds to Larson's observation is two-fold. First, it provides support for Larson's claim in examples of real language use. Second, it demonstrates how references to *ITW* are used in current discourse to contribute to discussions on a variety of topics, from the debate over evolution to the direction a jazz musician feels his music is moving. Thus, it represents an attempt to better understand the way *ITW* functions in American cultural memory.

The first section presents the theoretical foundations for this study, namely, collective memory theory and cultural memory theory. The second section provides the contextual and historical background for the case study by comparing the 1925 trial of John T. Scopes with its later Broadway and cinematic portrayals in *Inherit the Wind*. The third section explains the methodology employed for this study–using online corpora–and how this tool makes it possible to analyze the continuous presence of the play/movie in current discourse. The fourth section presents the results and analysis. The fifth and sixth sections, respectively, discuss the results and provide suggestions for future research.

COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND CULTURAL MEMORY

When we think of culture and memory studies, two main schools come to mind. The first, *mémoire collective*, is inspired by the works of Maurice Halbwachs, and the second, *Kulturelles Gedächtnis*, follows the approach of Jan and Aleida Assmann. Both theories have produced a significant degree of scholarly output and can be viewed as addressing similar issues at different levels (see Erll, Nünning and Young 2008; Halbwachs and Coser 1992; Harth 2008). A summary of the two approaches to cultural memory can be found in Harth:

> Halbwachs […] the cognitive discrepancy between the scholarly reconstruction of the past and the experienced, that is, the lived, tradition.
> Assmann's concept […] medial conditions and social structures of organization which groups and societies use to connect themselves to an objectified supply of cultural representations, available in diverse forms (for example, in writing,

> image, architecture, liturgy), in order to construct patterns for self-interpretation legitimized by the past. (2008, 91)

In other words, Halbwachs focuses on the disconnect between academic description and 'folk' or local knowledge of a historical event, whereas Assmann and Assmann focus on the way media is used to create and solidify this understanding of history.[1] J. Assmann (2008, 109) divides the approaches to memory studies into three general categories: inner (or mental) memory, communicative memory, and cultural memory. He claims the first is comparable to Halbwachs's understanding in that it focuses on the individual's perceptions. The second is socially constructed through various forms of communication and can usually be traced back three generations. The third, cultural memory, refers to elements of the past that have been memorialized in various artifacts of culture and have helped create the myths and identities of a given culture. The events represented by cultural memory usually go back beyond living memory—several hundred or several thousand years (see J. Assmann 2008, 109). However, other scholars developing this theory, including Harth (85-96) and Erll (383-389), published in the same volume as J. Assmann's work cited here, have used the term "cultural memory" to describe events of the last 100 years that have been portrayed in movies. This is also the term used by Moller (2011) in her description of the mutual influence of American perceptions of late-20th century history and the movie *Forest Gump*. Thus, this paper uses the term "cultural memory", although communicative memory would also be appropriate.

While both *mémoire collective* and *Kulturelles Gedächtnis* provide background for this paper, it is Assmann and Assmann's approach that is most relevant. As it is newer and perhaps less well known in English-speaking communities, we will take a closer look at the Assmanns' terms.

First, the German words used by J. Assmann to coin the theory have different meanings and, as a result, different connotations from their English translations. Harth (2008, 87 with reference to Assmann 1992) draws attention to this difference. He notes that the English *culture* is used "as a collective term for ideas, customs, and art in the contexts of society and

---

[1] In his description of his approach, J. Assmann (2008) acknowledges Halbwachs as an inspiration. At the same time, he differentiates his work–which is focused on social and communicative representations of memory–from Halbwachs's–which is focused more on cognition.

civilization," whereas the German *Kultur* refers to "the intellectual, artistic, and creative achievements of a community and is used to express the advanced development of humanity." Thus, the German term seems to place greater emphasis on the creative artifacts of a community and its progress and expresses something that is slightly more tangible than the vaguer concept suggested by the English word.

Moreover, *memory* as used in English designates a "force, process, or repository, primarily refers to the reproducing and recalling of learned knowledge," but *Gedächtnis* also focuses on "the capacity to store [...]sensory impressions and 'mental processes,' which can then at an opportune moment be allowed to 'enter one's consciousness' again" (Harth 2008, 87). The difference between these two terms is slight but significant. Here, the German word is more impressionistic. Hence, we could say that the approach used by the Assmanns focuses on creative artifacts that store impressions or ways of thinking about a given topic. In our case, this would be the way *ITW* stores or carries impressions regarding not only the trial but, as we shall see, presupposed dichotomies between evolutionists and creationists; faith and reason; the north and the south; the city and the country.

CULTURAL MEMORY AND MOVIES

With these notions of cultural memory and communicative memory in mind, it is necessary to look at the role movies play in influencing and exploiting them.

The role of movies in influencing a society's understanding of its past and present identity and place within the world has received significant scholarly attention as regards, for example, WWII and cold war propaganda (cf. Fox 2007). This is because cultural memory is based, in part, on communication through media. Shared versions of the past are invariably generated by means of "medial externalization" (Erll 2008, 389).

In this context, Erll (2008) discusses two other terms relevant to this study: premeditation and remediation. The former, premeditation, "draws attention to the fact that existent media which circulate in a given society provide schemata for future experience and its representation" (392). The latter, remediation, refers to the repeated portrayal of "memorable events" across generations in various artistic and literary forms. As a result,

> What is known about a war, a revolution, or any other event which has been turned into a site of memory, therefore, seems to refer not so much to what one might cautiously call the "actual events," but instead to a canon of existent medial constructions, to the narratives and images circulating in a media culture. (Erll 2008, 392)

Erll argues that these two processes work together, connecting the past to our memories and understandings of the past in three key ways: (a) making the past intelligible, (b) giving "medial representations with the aura of authenticity," (c) and "stabilizing the memory of historical events into *lieux de mémoire*" (2008, 395).

Although it is recognized and even expected that filmmakers change history to make their stories more interesting to the viewer, the effect these changes have on our perceptions of history and identity in the day-to-day is rarely discussed. The lack of critical review can cultivate idealized and inaccurate images of the past. This is echoed by Erll: "Fictional media, such as novels and feature films, are characterized by their power to shape the collective imagination of the past in a way that is truly fascinating for the literary scholar (and somewhat alarming for the historian)" (389). In terms of *ITW*, historian Ronald E. Numbers comments:

> I have no quarrel with the playwrights' invention of dialog to heighten the drama of their fictional encounter. I do, however, question the judgment of the historians who drafted the National Standards for United States History, which recommends the movie as an aid to understanding Bryan's mind and "fundamentalist thinking" generally. This strikes me as being a little like recommending Gone with the Wind as a historically reliable account of the Civil War. (1998, 87)

These fictionalized histories not only create history for their audiences, but also reveal, and at times encourage, common (mis)perceptions or idealized views of the past. In analyzing the way the movie *Forest Gump* interacts with American's conceptions of the twentieth century, Moller (2011, 68) observes: "Given significant communicative, cultural, and political frameworks, a feature film can be a powerful medium of cultural memory". Larson shares this opinion:

> The modern Scopes legend emerged during a thirty-year period bracketed by the appearance of two enormously popular creative works. The process began in 1931 when Harper's magazine editor Frederick Lewis Allen published his surprise best-seller, *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the Nineteen-Twenties* and

> culminated in 1960 with the release of *Inherit the Wind*, a popular motion picture based on a long-running Broadway play by Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee. Far more than anything that happened in Dayton, these two works shaped how later generations would come to think of the Scopes trial. (2006, 225)

In other words, it can be said that *ITW*'s artistic retellings of the trial are "powerful medium[s]" of US cultural memory. In the analysis, we will examine contemporary references of the movie to see in what types of discourse they are being used and to what extent legend is confronted with fact.

CASE STUDY: THE 1925 SCOPES TRIAL VS. *INHERIT THE WIND*

Before going forward with the analysis, it is necessary to look at the 1925 trial of John T. Scopes and the writing of *Inherit the Wind* within their historical contexts. This section does not mention all of the discrepancies; instead, it focuses on some of the key differences between fact and fiction that, as will be argued, have become part of American cultural memory.

A summary of the 1925 Scopes trial

In the 1920s, US state legislatures discussed a variety of bills on the teaching of biological evolution in the science classroom. In 1925, the state of Tennessee succeeded in passing the Butler Act, which forbade teaching that man evolved from a lower animal. It was, however, still possible to teach the evolution of plants and animals. Although this was the third law restricting the teaching of evolution (following Florida and Oklahoma), it was the first to carry a punishment–a fine of $100-500. The punishment provided an opportunity for a test case, and the young American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) advertised its services to defend any teacher willing to try the bill.

In Dayton, Tennessee, businessman George W. Rappleyea convinced other local leaders that such a trial could bring publicity to their struggling town. As the story goes, John T. Scopes, a math and physics teacher who had substituted in biology classes, was in the town's soda shop while they were discussing the plan, and he agreed to 'confess' to having taught evolution. Not long after, progressive, three-time Democratic candidate and opponent of the theory of evolution, William Jennings Bryan, volunteered for the prosecution. Soon after this was announced, well-known lawyer and iconoclast Clarence Darrow offered his services for the defense.

Throughout the event, a circus-like atmosphere dominated with monkey memorabilia and street preachers. Even cynical reporter H.L. Mencken, who disdained both religion and small towns, commented:

> Nor is there any evidence in the town of that poisonous spirit which usually shows itself when Christian men gather to defend the great doctrine of their faith. […]. On the contrary, the Evolutionists and the Anti-Evolutionists seem to be on the best of terms, and it is hard in a group to distinguish one from another. (Mencken, June 29)

He went on to suggest that the town was more interested in publicity and strategy than the defeat of evolution. The trial was not only publicized through the writings of journalists like Mencken but also over the radio. It was the first-ever trial to be broadcast live.

During the trial, the defense was denied the opportunity to let the evolutionists of the day on the stand. The reasoning given by the prosecution was that the question was neither the legality of the bill nor the scientific validity of evolution, but whether John T. Scopes had taught the evolution of man and thereby broken the law. Towards the end of the trial, Darrow asked if he could put Bryan on the stand as an expert on the Bible. Bryan agreed, provided that he be granted the same privilege and be able to put Darrow on the stand. What transpired is still debated and, as has been noted, even some of the most diligent historians and biographers edit the discussion to favor Darrow's wit over Bryan's (See: Bradbury's critic of Larson [2019]). When the court resumed the next day, not only was Bryan denied the opportunity to question Darrow, but he was also denied the opportunity to give his closing speech. In a surprise move, the defense asked the jury to find their client guilty, thereby effectively silencing the prosecution.

After the trial, both sides claimed a sort of victory. Bryan continued speaking in favor of similar anti-evolution bills until he died, just five days later. Moreover, biology books, to ensure maximum sales, removed the word *evolution* from their texts. Nevertheless, retellings of the trial–from Mencken's reporting for *The Baltimore Evening Sun* to Frederick's *Only Yesterday* [1931] 1997–portray the trial as an embarrassment for the South and Christian fundamentalism.[2]

---

[2] Fundamentalism, when used to refer to Christian groups at the beginning of the twentieth century has a different connotation than its contemporary use. Specifically, it meant

Inherit the Wind

According to Pope, Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee are said to have discussed writing a play based on the Scopes trial as early the second world war, but they did not actually do so until 1950. Concerns over McCarthyism caused them to wait another five years before passing the script on to the owner of the Dallas Theatre, where it was first performed January 10, 1955. It later opened at the National Theatre on Broadway on April 21 of the same year. The play saw 806 Broadway performances, won two Tony Awards for acting (1956), and had two Broadway revivals (1996 and 2007).

Lawrence and Lee never intended their play to be taken as history. Their target was contemporary McCarthyism and the question of free speech. In the preface, they clearly state:

> Inherit the Wind is not history. […]
> Only a handful of phrases have been taken from the actual transcript of the famous Scopes Trial. Some of the characters of the play are related to the colorful figures in that battle of giants; but they have life and language of their own–and, therefore, names of their own.
>
> […] So Inherit the Wind does not pretend to be journalism. It is theatre. It is not 1925. The stage directions set the time as "Not too long ago." It might have been yesterday. It could be tomorrow. (Lawrence and Lee 1955, introductory pages)

This preface was evidently read and understood by the screenwriters and the director of the movie version, who made a significant number of changes to the script.[3] However, it seems to have been passed over by many schoolteachers, theatre critics and movie-goers, who have failed to recognize the extent of artistic liberty taken. According to the movie review website IMDb, the movie is "Based on a real-life case in 1925, two great lawyers argue the case for and against a science teacher accused of the crime of teaching evolution." Although both the play and the movie share the same name and basic plot, Pope highlights the difference in quality and quantity between the two works:

---

a return to the fundamentals of the faith and was in opposition to modernizing trends in Christianity that would, among other things, willingly accept the theory of evolution.

[3] The play was adapted for the big screen under the direction of Stanley Kramer. The screenplay was written by Nedrick Young (originally as Nathan E. Douglas) and Harold Jacob Smith. At the time, Young was blacklisted under suspicion of communist activities.

> The choices made by the screenwriters […], in turning a second-rate play into a better-than-average screenplay illustrate how much plays differ from scripts. […] Twenty completely new scenes have been added to the script, and nine scenes […] have been subtracted from the play. (1998, 15, 19)

Pope's observation leads one to question the historical accuracy of either or both productions. For reasons of simplicity, and because the movie is more likely to be the medium through which most Americans come into contact with *ITW,* we will primarily be assuming Kramer's version for the analysis that follows.

Some key discrepancies

In this section, we will mention three areas of the discrepancies between *ITW* and the 1925 case: John T. Scopes vs. Bertram Cates (*ITW*), William Jennings Bryan vs. Matthew Brady (*ITW*), and Dayton vs. Hillsboro (*ITW*). Common (mis)perceptions of the aftermath of the trial, another area of confusion, have been discussed above.[4]

The movie opens with city townsmen ominously working their way to the schoolhouse with "Old Time Religion" playing in the background. Cates is caught teaching at least his second lesson on the evolution of man, arrested, and taken to jail for the duration of the trial. He is portrayed as having grown up in a town that has now turned against him as a heretic. The real-life John T. Scopes was neither arrested nor thrown in jail and never actually taught evolution. As mentioned previously, the confession was part of an agreement between him and some town leaders to bring in publicity. Scopes was actually relatively new to Dayton, but he was well-liked and could have continued teaching after the trial if he had so desired.

In *ITW,* Matt Brady is a likeable but close minded fundamentalist with a limited education about anything, especially science. He is portrayed as bold but in poor health and under the care of his wife. The stress of the trial, the shame of his confrontation on the witness stand and his inability to deliver his closing speech result in him dying from a heart attack in the courtroom after the verdict is read. In reality, William Jennings Bryan, known as the Great Orator, was a renowned speaker and a well-known and

---

[4] For a more detailed look at the differences, see *Summer for the Gods* Larson (2006) or one of the many articles (e.g. (Wesolowski 2019; J. Larson, Depew, and Isetti 2008; Iannone 1997)) or websites compiled by university professors (e.g. Linder 2019, Bradbury 2019) dedicated to this subject.

well-liked progressive: he ran for president three times on the democratic platform. He also treated Christianity seriously and was very well-read, especially as concerned the debate over evolution, which he viewed as having a demoralizing effect on society. Far from being discouraged by the trial, he immediately went on a speaking circuit to promote anti-evolution laws in other states. He did die of a heart attack, but it was several days later. Moreover, it was not his wife who took care of him, but he who took care of his wife.

Finally, we will look at the tone of the trial and its results. Hillsboro (*ITW*) is portrayed as highly religious and overwhelmingly opposed to Cates as well as anyone on his defense team. In reality, as even Mencken was forced to notice, the townspeople of Dayton were polite and friendly towards both prosecutors and evolutionists:

> The trial of Scopes is possible here simply because it can be carried on here without heat […] Elsewhere, North or South, the combat would become bitter. Here it retains the lofty qualities of the duello. I gather the notion, indeed, [...] -- that it is, in its local aspects, rather a joust between neutrals than a battle between passionate believers. (Mencken, June 29)

In Mencken's reporting of the trial, he does not speak softly or kindly of the prosecution, religion or the south, and yet, here he is forced to admit that the town is very different than he had expected. Unfortunately, later chroniclers did not pick up on this, and a different atmosphere not only prevails in *ITW* but also in many other retellings.

> A discrepancy of this kind between legal and nonlegal narratives is symptomatic. It indicates that a completed trial is still "at work" in social understanding. […] Despite its inaccuracies and its claim to be fiction, Inherit the Wind became the text that controls much of contemporary thought about Tennessee v. John T. Scopes, and it could do so because it dramatizes the way that many Americans, though by no means all, would prefer to solve that controversy. The story that survives after trial, the story with the longest half-life in cultural memory, marks the boundary between conflict and consensus. (Ferguson 2008, 28)

In their discussion of the trial, J. Larson, Depew, and Isetti (2008, 151) concur: "each generation of viewers typically brings it new meaning". It is these levels of meaning that this project has been designed to reveal.

RESEARCH METHOD

The question that this paper sets out to answer is *how are these discrepancies between the play and reality recognized by the public?* In other words, *to what extent has ITW become part of the American memory of the trial? How are people really talking about ITW? How is it appearing in online discourse: news page, blogs, forums, etc.?* To do this, the 14 Billion Word iWeb Corpus (iWeb) (Davies 2018-) was used as source material. The corpus contains 14 billion words from 22 million web pages–approximately 100,000 websites.

Three hundred and eighty occurrences of *Inherit the Wind* were found using the iWeb search engine. They were saved in table format and uploaded to the qualitative software program QDA Miner (Provalis Research). The program enables researchers to both code data content and assign a variety of variables. In this case, apart from the URL, the type of website was added: blog, Christian, creationist, forum/network, intelligent design, music, news, religion, evolution/science, education, and review. These variables were assigned to better understand the relationship between the type of information found on the website in general and the way in which *ITW* was referenced therein.

The codes were created according to the content and not proscribed according to pre-determined categories. They identify the role *Inherit the Wind* plays in the discourse and, where possible, the author of the text's understanding of the play in terms of its historical or cultural significance. Once the codes were assigned, they were organized into categories. These codes are presented in Table 1. Each occurrence of *ITW* was given at least one meaning or purpose code.

Table 1 Codes and their descriptions

Category	Code	Explanation
1	2	3
DRAMA	1. courtroom drama	The excerpt mentions *ITW* as an example of a courtroom drama.
	2. comment on actor/ actress	The excerpt comments on at least one of the actors/actresses; the whole article may be focused on the actor/actress.
	3. performance	The excerpt comments on a past or upcoming performance.

1	2	3
	4. school play	The excerpt mentions the play being performed by students.
	5. comment on playwrights or directors	The excerpt comments on the playwrights and/or directors of *ITW*.
	6. movie	The excerpt mentions *ITW* as a movie.
HISTORY	7. inaccuracy	The excerpt draws attention to discrepancies between *ITW* and history and treats these differences as significant.
	8. Scopes trial	The excerpt identifies *ITW* with the Scopes trial but does not refer to the differences. (It might say fictionalized but does not take time to deal with the differences apart from, perhaps, character names.)
	9. school lesson	The excerpt mentions or recommends *ITW* be taught/shown in class.
ARGUMENT	10. message pictures	The excerpt highlights that *ITW* is a message picture.
	11. academic freedom	The excerpt mentions *ITW* as a discussion of academic freedom.
	12. religion	The excerpt discusses *ITW* as an example of religious conflict.
	13. evolution debate	The excerpt discusses *ITW* as an example of the conflict over teaching evolution.
	14. victory of reason	The excerpt discusses *ITW* as an example of the victory of reason.
RELEVANCE	15. quote	The excerpt includes a quote from *ITW*, used to make a point in another context.
	16. re-use	The excerpt uses *ITW* as an argument/reference to an idea.
	17. modern debate	The excerpt ties *ITW* to modern debates, issues.
NOT SCOPES	18. not Scopes	The excerpt is not related to the play/movie about the Scopes trial. These included the Elvis Presley song, the Bible verse and applications of the proverb.

As can be seen above, the play/movie is mentioned in a variety of different contexts with a variety of different purposes and perspectives. Although it was possible for an excerpt to be coded in more than one way, to simplify the marking and make the results more clear, certain codes were treated as mutually exclusive. For example, "not scopes" and all of the codes in the drama category, apart from "school play", could not co-occur with any of the other codes. In other words, only those hits that only discussed performance issues—e.g., the play is going to be performed on a certain night, or an actor or director did particularly well—were thus coded. Moreover, "Scopes" (as history) and "inaccuracy" were not assigned to the same excerpt. This made it easier to determine the historical weight given to *ITW*.

Inherit the Wind in Internet discourse

The iWeb Corpus returned 380 instances of *Inherit the Wind.* Among these, 26 referred to the song by Elvis Presley, 30 quoted the proverb from the Bible and 30 used the proverb in a discussion in which the reference was clearly the proverb and not the play/movie. These references were coded "not scopes" and therefore not included in the analysis that follows. Once they were removed, the number of relevant occurrences totaled 294. These were coded for the main meaning or purpose using QDA Miner. One of the advantages of using this software is that it made it possible to give multiple labels to the same excerpt where necessary. For the most part, only the fragment of the text visible on iWeb's context page was used for coding. However, if something was unclear, the larger context available on the iWeb search engine was consulted and, in some cases, the website itself.

Results

The results of this first stage of analysis are provided in Figure 1. The codes can be divided into four main categories: a performance of the play or a showing of the movie; the historical importance of the 1925 Scopes trial, the main arguments of *ITW*, or, finally, the play/movie's current relevance. Once again, references to Scopes were marked as "Scopes trial," if they treated *ITW* as a more or less reliable retelling of the trial, as far as could be expected from the cinema, or as "inaccuracy", if they highlighted and discussed the discrepancies between factual and fictional accounts. As can be seen below, more of the mentions treated *ITW* as history or a more or less reliable re-telling. This suggests that the play/movie has become a salient part of how many Americans view the trial and the related issues.

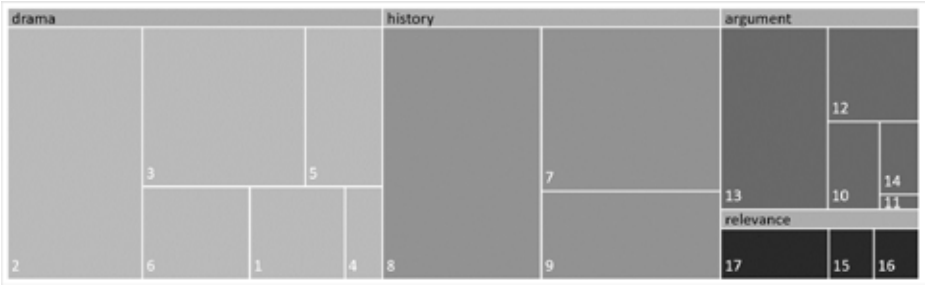

Figure 1 *Use of* Inherit the Wind *in iWeb*[5]

To better understand where these excerpts occur, they were sorted according to the type of website. As has been mentioned, this information was given as a variable within QDA Miner. Figure 2 shows a cross-tabulation of the codes with the type of websites where *ITW* was found. While it may not be surprising that "REVIEW" websites fail to notice the differences between historically accurate and fictionalized retellings, it is disturbing that "EDUCATION" and "SCIENCE" websites do not provide their readers with a more critical analysis.

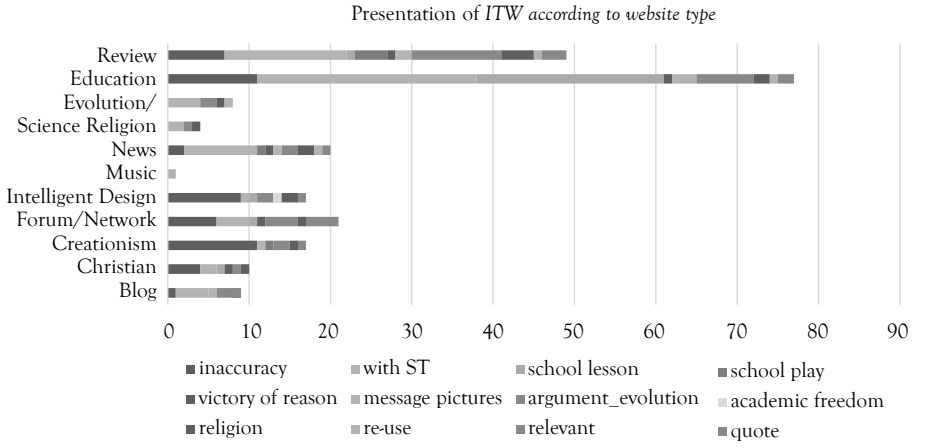

Figure 2 *Use of* ITW *according to the type of website*

[5] Code (as in Table 1): 1. courtroom drama; 2. comment on actor/actress; 3. performance; 4. school play; 5. comment on playwrights or directors; 6. movie; 7. inaccuracy; 8. Scopes trial; 9. school lesson; 10. message pictures; 11. academic freedom; 12. religion; 13. evolution debate; 14. victory of reason; 15. quote; 16. re-use; 17. modern debate; 18. not Scopes.

That said, it must be realized that fragments of text were analyzed, not webpages or blogs in their entirety. This posed two potential problems. First, some articles occur more than once in iWeb because they use the phrase *inherit the wind* repeatedly. Secondly, sometimes the approach to the movie and its relationship to the trial can only be found in the context of the page as a whole. Thus, the next stage in the research project was to look at each of the websites and determine how the article or website as a whole discussed *ITW* and its relationship to the Scopes trial.

Here, a more fine-grained analysis was used: *ITW* as fact/rendition, *ITW* as a fictionalized version of the Scopes trial, *ITW* as an inaccurate description of the Scopes trial, and inaccurately identifying the inaccuracies in *ITW.* To get a better idea of how these codes were assigned, we will look at a few excerpts:

Table 2 *Inherit the Wind as an (in)accurate portrayal of the Scopes trial*

Code	Citation	Reference	Type of website
Inaccurate	I found the play reduced all the people to caricatures so we sent away for the actual transcripts of the trial and poured through them.	Nationalpost.com	Review
Inaccuracies inaccurately	In the 1950s, the Scopes trial became the basis of a famous play and then the movie, *Inherit the Wind*. This portrays the Bryan figure as a bigot, wedded to a crude picture of life's past. In fact, Bryan in respects was an odd figure to be defending the Tennessee law.*	Stanford.edu	Education
Fact	*Inherit the Wind*, a play completed in 1950; and a film with the same title released in 1960, were based on the Scopes trial.	u-s-history.com	Education
Fictionalized	This is the trial dramatized (and fictionalized) as INHERIT THE WIND.	byrnerobotics.com	Review

* This page from Stanford's encyclopedia of philosophy is marked "inaccurate" because it mentions only one of the many ways in which ITW differs from the historical event and does so in a less than accurate manner. The same information is repeated on associated pages in Australia and elsewhere.

The results of this analysis of *ITW* are presented in Figure 3. They show that over half of the websites present *ITW* as more or less accurate and just over a quarter try to correct the discrepancies between the play/movie and history.

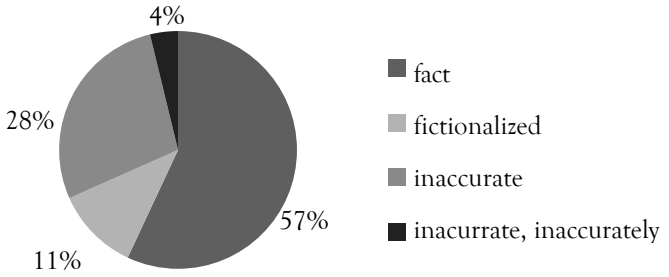

Figure 3 *Recognizing* ITW *as fact or fiction*

These results are disturbing when one considers their cultural implications; namely, acceptance of the play/movie's caricatured understanding of the issues and localities involved. These can be seen in instances in which the movie was cited to make an argument in its own right, as will be presented in the following section.

***Inherit the Wind* remediated**

While *ITW* could be viewed as a remediation of the Scopes trial, H.L. Mencken's reporting of the trial, and Allen's *Only Yesterday* ([1931] 1997), it is itself remediated in a broad variety of discourses. In these discourses, identified both via iWeb and the TV Corpus, *ITW* is used to carry or exemplify several different arguments. Here we will mention three of these instances.

The first comes from the TV series *House, MD* and was found using the TV corpus. In the relevant scene, Dr. House has a patient who is refusing treatment because of a pact he has made with God. In discussing what to do, House tells his colleague: "He needs to see *Inherit the Wind*"; the implied meaning being that watching the movie will remove his faith in God and cause him to trust science instead.[6] This use presupposes that the

[6] The scene comes from a 2010 episode titled "Small Sacrifices" and the script can be found at https://clinic-duty.livejournal.com/40615.html.

viewers not only know the movie but also associate it with the science-faith dichotomy it creates.

The second comes from a jazz blog and was found via iWeb. It is part of a discussion with jazz artist Gil Scott-Heron about his new album "I'm New Here".

> Though I'm New Here focuses primarily on events of the past, Gil Scott-Heron told the Village Voice that he's looking towards the future: "It makes you think, and that may turn out to be dangerous, *but his ain't Inherit the Wind. To hell with sponges!* This is the 21st century – let's keep on movin'."[7]

The phrase of interest "*but his ain't Inherit the Wind. To hell with sponges!*" references a scene in *ITW*: Drummond has Brady on the stand, and they are comparing the sponge's potential capacity to think to that of man's. It is a well-known scene in which Drummond is trying to demonstrate Brady's lack of scientific knowledge or faith without knowledge. In other words, the mention of *ITW* is used here to reference a backward, potentially less-evolved way of (not) thinking. In so doing, Scott-Heron not only repeats the stereotypes and false dichotomies presented in *ITW* but also presupposes that his audience will readily accept and understand them.

The third comes from the *Rolling Stones* webpage and discusses a recent court case involving a bank:

> This was no *trial scene from popular lore, no Inherit the Wind or State of California v. Orenthal James Simpson*. No *gallery packed with rapt spectators, no ceiling fans set whirring to beat back the tension and the heat* […] Like so many court cases involving big banks, the proceeding looked more like a roomful of expensive lawyers negotiating a major corporate merger than *a public search for justice*.[8]

Several things warrant our attention. First, *ITW* is mentioned as a recognized representative of a certain type of trial. Second, it is the film/movie, not the actual Scopes trial, that is juxtaposed with the trial of O.J. Simpson. Third, the primary focus is the crowds, tension, and media attention. Finally, the two trials are seen as examples of a fight for justice. It is the latter two aspects of the trial that the writers for *Rolling Stones* feel are most salient or relevant and form the grounds for their comparison with the current trial.

---

[7] http://www.bluenotejazz.com/newyork/schedule/moreinfo.cgi?id=7698

[8] https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-news/the-scam-wall-street-learned-from-the-mafia-190232/

In all three examples, it is presupposed that readers/watchers have a certain amount of knowledge about *ITW*. Moreover, it is also understood that they will read/understand the trial according to a particular perspective. The first two depend on the misunderstandings of the trial promoted by *ITW*: as a victory of science over reason in the case of House, MD or as a representation of backward or limited thinking on the jazz website. In the third example, the first element of the trial—the spectators and the heat—were very real. In a sense, so was the public search for justice. Despite their differences, the citations confirm *ITW*'s place in American culture as both an iconic play/movie and as a commentary on society.

Discussion

From the data above, we can draw a few general conclusions. Firstly, *Inherit the Wind* is a well-known play/movie. This is evidenced in its frequent mention in conjunction with high school and college courses as well as in its use as a comment or argument in online discussions. These comments presuppose both common public knowledge and a shared way of reading the Scopes trial as a cultural commentary via its portrayal in *ITW*. However, these school lessons and online references rarely acknowledge the serious discrepancies between the play/movie and the historical event.

Thus, it is safe to say that claims made by Larson and others have been demonstrated: for many, the movie has become equated with reality and a part of American cultural memory of the 1925 Scopes trial. This memory includes acceptance of certain dichotomies presented in *ITW*, along with the play and movie creators' perspective on the trial and the issues discussed therein:

- *Faith vs. reason—with reason as the victor*
- *Evolution vs. science from Faith—with science as the victor*

According to Larson, these results are in line with the main goal of the ACLU in setting up the test case. To support this, he cites a comment made by defense attorney Malone:

> "Our objective in going to Tennessee was," Malone stated, "first, to expose the ignorance and intolerance which had produced such a law, and, secondly, to test its constitutionality […]". (2003, 72)

Thus, in hindsight, the ACLU 'won' in so far as it convinced a significant number of Americans, particularly those in places of authority, such as teachers, journalists and reviewers, that the trial proved the 'foolishness' of both fundamentalists and the Butler Act. This reading of the trial reinforces prejudices that continue to affect relationships between different segments of the US population.

Nevertheless, within discourse theory, one may talk of resistant discourses, that is, those discourses that do not accept the main-stream or majority views as true. In this case, the phrase would refer to those references to *ITW* that attempt to set the record straight. When we look at excerpts from *ITW* fulfilling these roles, they span a variety of website genres: education, reviews, creationist, and Christian. Strikingly absent from this list are scientific websites. Education websites identified in this study also tend to favor a simplified understanding of *ITW.* This is a pity as the movie, the trial, the prejudices, and the dichotomies all provide fertile ground for lessons involving critical thinking on a variety of issues.

Conclusion and future research

To summarize, this paper has demonstrated through the use of online corpora that images of the 1925 trial of John T. Scopes are still alive and well in American cultural memory via the continuous presence of *ITW.* Since the play/movie is frequently presented uncritically in classrooms, it has become synonymous with the trial in the minds of many citizens. Moreover, this understanding of the trial has also been absorbed by journalists, and presumably their readers, in other English-speaking countries. While such claims are not new, documentation of these claims as presented here is. This study can be informative and cautionary for both teachers in the classroom and scholars in academia.

First, there are several ways in which this study can be useful in the classroom by encouraging greater historical-cultural awareness and critical reading skills when using works of fiction inspired by real-life events. It would not be too complicated to encourage students to compare the movie with history—or look for conflicting historical versions.

Potential materials for such a project could come from different sources: books written by historians, websites prepared by law professors, among others, and alternative cinematic retellings of the trial. The historians cited in this paper, Edward Larson and Ronald Numbers, are generally recognized by all sides of the debate over evolution as providing a more or

less fair analysis of historical events. Although the authors do have their own perspectives on evolution and the history of the debate, which comes through at different points in their books, for the most part, they give the Scopes trial fair coverage. That said, attention has been drawn to Larson's editing of Bryan and Darrow's confrontation on the stand which makes Darrow look more cleaver and Bryan more foolish (Bradbury 2019).

Another source for comparing the two trials are the numerous websites established for this very purpose. Some of these are the work of scholars involved in the debates over evolution (e.g., Discovery Institute's Critique of PBS's Evolution: *Getting the Facts Straight* 2001), others were created by law professors (e.g. Linder 2019 and *The Scopes Monkey Trial* compiled by Bradbury 2019.)

Moviemakers have also attempted to retell the story. Two examples are PBS's *American Experience: Monkey Trial* and *Alleged*. The former stays closer to the actual events of the trial than *ITW*, but it has been criticized for following the play's ideological narrative (*Getting the Facts Straight* 2001). The latter, *Alleged,* uses the main characters' real names and is more balanced, but also adds additional fictionalized characters to highlight the issues the directors felt were important, such as Mencken's bias as a reporter and the racism and support of eugenics present in *Civic Biology* (Hunter 1914), the coursebook Scopes reputedly taught from. One of the articles found on iWeb also reviews a play that aims at a more accurate rendition of the trial and would be worthy of consideration (Hobson, October 30, 2016).

Secondly, in terms of academic research, the continuous and multiple discursive uses of *ITW* would be a good context for exploring how meanings of historical events not only change from one generation to the next but also vary depending on a variety of contextual factors. A possible tool for this would be the conceptual blending theory of Fauconnier and Turner (2002). This would facilitate a much-needed connection between theories of cultural memory and theories of cognitive linguistics, thereby linking the conceptualizations of the trial with their linguistic mode of transfer.

In all cases, it is safe to say that the issues raised here have shaped and continue to shape American culture and will affect future retellings of the trial and the continuous, ever-evolving debates over biological evolution and evolution education.

References:

Allen, Frederick Lewis. [1931] 1997. *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the 1920s*. Wiley investment classics. New York, Chichester: John Wiley.

Assmann, Jan. 1992. *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*. C. H. Beck Kulturwissenschaft. München: Beck.

Assmann, Jan. 2008. "Communicative and Cultural Memory." *In Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning, and Sara B. Young, 109-18. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Bradbury, Andrew John Douglas. 2019. "The Scopes Monkey Trial." http://www.bradburyac.mistral.co.uk/tenness2.html. Accessed May 10, 2019.

Davies, Mark. 2018. *The 14 Billion Word IWeb Corpus*. Accessed September 25, 2019. https://www.english-corpora.org/iWeb/.

Erll, Astrid. 2008. "Literature, Film, and the Mediality of Cultural Memory." In *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning, and Sara B. Young, 389-398. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Erll, Astrid, Ansgar Nünning, and Sara B. Young, eds. 2008. *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Fauconnier, Gilles, and Mark Turner. 2002. *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities*. New York: Basic Books.

Ferguson, Robert A. 2008. *The Trial in American Life*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press. Accessed May 3, 2019. https://www.press.uchicago.edu/Misc/Chicago/243252.html.

Fox, Jo. 2007. *Film Propaganda in Britain and Nazi Germany: World War II Cinema* 113. Oxford, New York: Berg.

Getting the Facts Straight: a Viewer's Guide to PBS's Evolution. 2001. 1st ed. Seattle: Discovery Institute Press. Accessed May 10, 2019. http://www.reviewevolution.com/viewersGuide/Evolution_00I.php.

Halbwachs, Maurice, and Lewis A. Coser. 1992. *On Collective Memory*. Heritage of Sociology Series. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Harth, Dietrich. 2008. "The Invention of Cultural Memory." *In Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning, and Sara B. Young, 85–96. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Hobson, Louis B. 2016. "Monkey Trial Offers Honest Recreation of 1925 Scopes Trial at Theatre Junction Grand." October 30. Accessed October 9, 2019. https://nationalpost.com/entertainment/theatre/monkey-trial-offers-honest-

recreation-of-1925-scopes-trial-at-theatre-junction-grand/wcm/af6d0571-4d20-4b22-bf83-949e5534d2fc.

Hunter, George. 1914. *A Civic Biology.* New York: American Book Company.

Iannone, Carol. 1997. "The Truth About Inherit the Wind." *First Things: a Journal of Religion and Public Life* 70 (2): 28–33.

IMDb. "Inherit the Wind (1960)." Accessed May 31, 2019. https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0053946/.

J. Larson, Edward, David Depew, and Ronald Isetti. 2008. "Inheriting Inherit the Wind: Debating the Play as a Teaching Tool." *Evo Edu Outreach* 1 (2): 150–57. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12052-008-0039-6.

Larson, Edward J. 2003. *Trial and Error: The American Controversy over Creation and Evolution.* 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Larson, Edward J. 2006. *Summer for the Gods: The Scopes Trial and America's Continuing Debate over Science and Religion.* New York: Basic Books.

Lawrence, Jerome, and Robert Edwin Lee. 1955. *Inherit the Wind.* Toronto, New York: Bantam Books.

Linder, Douglas. 2019. "Famous Trials: Scopes 'Monkey' Trial (1925)." Accessed April 15, 2020. https://www.famous-trials.com/scopesmonkey.

Mencken, H. L. 1925. "Coverage of the Scopes Trial by H.L. Mencken: June – September 1925." *The Baltimore Evening Sun*. Accessed April 15, 2020. https://archive.org/details/CoverageOfTheScopesTrialByH.l.Mencken.

Moller, Sabine. 2011. "Blockbusting History: Forrest Gump as a Powerful Medium of American Cultural Memory." *International Social Science Journal* 62 (203-204): 67–77. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2451.2011.01794.x.

Numbers, Ronald L. 1998. *Darwinism Comes to America.* Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press.

Pope, Thomas. 1998. *Good Scripts, Bad Scripts: Learning the Craft of Screenwriting Through the 25 Best and Worst Films in History.* New York: Three Rivers Press.

Provalis Research. 2019. *QDA Miner*.

Wesolowski, Pat. 2019. "The Scopes Trial and Inherit the Wind: a Comparison." Accessed May 5, 2019.https://www.bryan.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Scopes-Trial-as-Compared-to-Inherit-the-Wind.pdf.

KRZYSZTOF KASIŃSKI
Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce, Poland

Birth of a Nation – the Dixon-Griffith Quest for the Southern Cause

Abstract: The outbreak of the Civil War, as well as its ending and the process of rebuilding the country after the post-war conflagration, are currently the subject of research of scientific disciplines ranging from history to literary studies. This is a very interesting period in the history of the United States, not only in historiography but also in regarding the changes taking place in American culture and society. One such person, documenting the fate of the postwar South is writer Thomas Dixon, almost forgotten in his country, and little known elsewhere. He is considered one of the most controversial authors of the given century due to his distorted vision of the history of the American South. Without a doubt, he served also as a source of inspiration for other authors. One of them was David Wark Griffith, one of the founding fathers of American cinematography. Likewise Dixon, due to his staunch character and one-sided perception of the world, remains an important but forgotten figure. The aim of this research is to provide an analysis of the impact of the most important creative output by Dixon and Griffith in their quest for Southern cause.

Key words: Civil War, Dixon, Griffith, Reconstruction, slave narrative, slavery

INTRODUCTION

Thomas Dixon, an American writer from the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century, is one of the most controversial authors in the history of American literature. This is because he raises in his work subjects related to the everyday life of the inhabitants of the Confederate States – a rebellious area of the United States, bearing joint responsibility

for the Civil War – a tragic episode in history, that changed its image forever. However, these controversies are not based on the subject of creativity, but rather on the way it is conveyed. The extent of the controversy may be evidenced by the fact that Dixon was not included in any of the leading anthologies of American literature. His name is hard to find in studies of American culture or in reference works such as *Encyclopedia Britannica* or the *Literary History of the United States of America*.

THE RECONSTRUCTION IN AMERICAN HISTORY

The second half of the nineteenth century is a very special period of time, marked by the bloodiest internal conflict in the history of the country. The reasons for its outbreak, the Civil War, should be sought in economic disparities, as well as cultural differences between regions of America. Northern and Southern societies were radically different. In the South, cotton was the primary source of income. It was the basic product used in the textile industry of the North, and also accounted for more than half of the country's foreign exports (Olson, 77). By 1850, 7/8 of the world's cotton production came from the South (79). Slavery in the South was an integral part not only of the economy but also of some form of social relations. In the North, the Negro community was small. The South saw slavery as indispensable in the economy, whereas it was responsible for the relative backwardness of this area of the country (77). Cotton culture provided nine months of work for men, women and children (78). According to the Southerners, the slave system was just and did not dehumanize people (78). In American society, however, opinions began to appear that slavery is not at all humane. In 1808, the American Congress banned the importation of slaves from Africa. William Lloyd Garrison of Massachusetts in 1831 in his newspaper *Liberator* demanded the immediate release of the slave population (79). In 1848, members of the *Free Soil Party* believed that the best form of the policy was to "limit and discourage slavery"(81).

The distribution of power during the war was uneven, and the Confederacy's defeat was inevitable. The North had a significant advantage in terms of population. In addition, it had factories, industry, a good communication network, fleet and money. However, it did not have a trained army nor capable commanders (Bazylow 1986, 619). The North did not have an of-

ficers' corps; most of the officers, in various respects, departed to the South (619). Southerners had a temper, they were eager to fight. Here comes the astonishing paradox: the Northerners, accustomed to working, were uneager to fight, while the Southerners, some of whom had never worked, unfamiliar with the principle of unity of the state, broke into active action. In this respect, Margaret Mitchell captures reality almost 80 years later, in her book *Gone With the Wind*. On April 5, 1861, President Abraham Lincoln issued a decree banning the rebel states of the Confederacy. Beginning in 1863, the North conducted an offensive aimed at the final victory in the abolition war. Universal military service was introduced, hostile propaganda was tamed, arrests and confiscations of property were carried out. On September 22, 1862, Lincoln issued a proclamation that abolished slavery in the Confederate states since January 1, 1863. African-Americans began to flee from the South and enlist in the Northern Army. Organized smuggling of slaves to the North up to Canada was referred to as the *Underground Railroad*. The liberation of the Negro population covered only those states that joined the secession. This part of the populace was equated by law with whites by three constitutional amendments: thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth. In November 1864, Lincoln was elected for another term. For the South, it was the end of dreams of a change in the office of president. On April 27, 1865, Confederate General Joseph Johnston laid down his arms for General Sherman, ending war hostilities. a little earlier, on April 14, President Lincoln was assassinated by actor John Wilkes Booth. The perpetrator was associated with conspirators from the South who attempted to abduct Lincoln, and if that failed to kill him (Bazylow 1986, 625). It was very difficult to regulate relations after a long and very expensive war, which caused the death of almost half a million people and consumed the astronomical amount of three billion dollars (625).

In order to better understand the reasons why Thomas Dixon wrote his novels, one should understand what "Reconstruction" meant in the history of the United States and how it influenced the author. Under the *Reconstruction Act* of March 1867, the territory of the South was divided into five military districts subordinate to the Union's generals. The administrative apparatus was reorganized, new elections to the legislative chambers in the states were held. Ludwik Bazylow claims that it was a reorganization, not a reconstruction (626). The term "reconstruction", commonly used in Polish literature, is according to Bazylow a decal from the English reconstruction bill. Marek Gołębiowski assumes that the reconstruction should

be called the momentum after the period, when all the effort was directed to the integration of the South into the Union, trying to renew the culture and society of the South (1996, 365). The Reconstruction assumed debt cancellation, creation of new state constitutions, and elections of new governors. In addition, the necessary condition for returning to the structures of national administration was the adoption of the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution. It was a process of restoring normal relations with the Union (Beard and Beard 1944, 286n). The twelve-year period of Reconstruction, which mostly harmed the Black people, weighed on their social history over the next century (Szyszkowski 1966, 17). This was despite the fact that from 1865 the interests of former slaves were represented by the *Freedmen's Bureau.*

There were two concepts for rebuilding the South. The first, created by President Lincoln, assumed that the reconstruction was left within the competence of the executive, the second that standardization tasks belonged to the Congress. Lincoln, faithful to the theory of indissolubility of the country, argued that the rebel states did not cease to be part of the Union. The States were not allowed to leave the Union. The opposite of Congress was the view of Republican radicals who claimed that the southern states were returning as conquered and subordinate to decrees imposed by winners. Southern states did not want to agree with the forced equality of slaves. This was reflected in various state laws, including *black codes* under which African-Americans were forbidden to carry weapons, marry whites, organize rallies and meetings, change the place of residence, etc. In many cases, such laws forced them to return to plantations. Despite the existence of *black codes*, some states included in their constitution's provisions on the equality of blacks, but these were rarely respected. As Gunnar Myrdal recalls in his classic work, discrimination and segregation were still used (Myrdal 1944, 579). Opponents of abolition used terror as a weapon of war. Members of the Ku Klux Klan committed countless murders. Over the next few years, the sharp stance represented by the Republican party remained relatively unchanged in the South.

In the still-occupied southern states, the northern inhabitants, who ruled arbitrarily and accumulated their wealth, were scornfully called carpetbaggers. They appeared in the South with empty travel bags (carpetbags), which they filled quite quickly. Carpet bag (written separately) was then a popular fabric bag with a carpet-like pattern (Gołębiowski 1996, 76). Another known group in the South was the Scalawags. Originally, it was

a term for skinny cattle, then scoundrels (388). Clerical posts were sold for money, corruption reached its peak (Bazylow 1986, 627). The myth prevalent in the South proclaimed that scalawags and carpetbaggers, as well as liberated Negroes, robbed the ruined South and ruled with terror (Gołębiowski 1996, 366). The situation became tense during President Grant's second term. However, in 1876, Republican candidate Rutherford Hayes won the ballot. The election of this president was a compromise achievement. Democrats recognized Hayes' choice, and Republicans promised to stop their current policy towards the South, i.e. the application of reconstruction laws. The process of withdrawing troops that were still in the South began. The period of Reconstruction is often a subject of scientific analyses and debates by modern historians (Szyszkowski 1966, 18). The frequent voice of criticism is that it was impossible to completely equalize the Negro population. Instead of influential ideas, advocates promoted corruption. In addition, unscrupulous carpetbaggers managed politically unaware blacks. Ralph Bunche (Nobel Peace Prize laureate in 1950) claimed that "there was no black reign during the Reconstruction, the damage was done by speculators – carpetbaggers and scalawags (white Southerners who betrayed the matter of the South due to negroes). "The North believed that victory gave it the right to satisfy its own interests. Bunche claimed that the Negroes were dark peasantry (19).

The reconstruction undoubtedly gave the slaves temporary citizenship rights – the ability to vote, and to some extent occupy public positions. Individuals could climb career ladders, and most of the population was exposed to increasingly widespread discrimination. The highlight of the Reconstruction was the adoption of the *Human Rights Act of 1875* (Myrdal 1944, 578-9). The Act, edited by Senator Charles Sumner, provided all persons under American jurisdiction with full and equal right to use the premises, theatres and other entertainment venues. The Act banned discrimination based on skin colour. The above-mentioned forced equality, granting electoral rights, equating citizens before the law regardless of their skin colour, was a threat to identity and sovereignty of the inhabitants of the South. The outbreak of the Civil War, followed by a long period of reconstruction imposed by federal law, was seen as part of the narrative of the superiority and easement of state and federal law, which still remembered the times of the Founding Fathers.

THOMAS DIXON – PASTOR, WRITER AND DIRECTOR

In the years 1893 to 1907, historians in various studies often presented a distorted image of radical Republicans, falsified the behaviour of Southern African Americans. Some of them glorified the Ku Klux Klan and everything characteristic of the South before the outbreak of the Civil War (Wade 1988, 115). The most important of these publications were: *History of the American People* written by Woodrow Wilson, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic* by William Dunning and *Passing of the Great Race* by Madison Grant. In addition to the historical works mentioned above, novels praising the culture, social system and legal order of the nineteenth-century American South were also published. One of such authors, though almost completely forgotten nowadays, was Dixon mentioned at the beginning of this article. During his lifetime he aroused a lot of controversies mainly due to the motives raised in his creative output and the way historical events were presented. Nowadays, he is usually depicted as "the main representative of southern racism", (Slide 2004, 3) "the embarrassing white race leader who wrote bad novels" (Scott 2006, 124). There are however voices that value Dixon's writing, calling him "the greatest genius of the South" (Cook 1974, 142). However, he certainly has exerted an influence on the culture of contemporary the United States.

Dixon was born on January 11, 1864, in Shelby, North Carolina, in a deeply religious Protestant family. His father was a Baptist church pastor and farmer, and his mother was Amanda Elizabeth McAfee, a daughter of a South Carolina plantation owner. Dixon's childhood fell on a difficult period of Reconstruction, the renewal of the South eroded by the recently ended fratricidal Civil War. He becomes a witness to many social problems related to post-war poverty. It was not until his adolescent years that he acquired any form of education. He began at the age of thirteen to reveal his abilities which were to make him remarkable as an adult. He first began regular education by joining Shelby Academy in 1877. He possessed a knowledge of Latin and was able to read Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, Publius Ovidius Naso's *Metamorphoses* and Cicero's *Orations* in the original language (Cook 1962, 520). Only two years later, he became a student at *Wake Forest College*, and in 1883 he earned a master's degree. During his years at college, he received the highest number of scholarships in the history of that academic institution (Winston-Salem, April 4, 1946). It was the place

where he was a superior student and a leading debater. Excellent academic records resulted in receiving a scholarship at *Johns Hopkins University*. There, he made friends with Woodrow Wilson, the future president of the United States of America. As a freshman at *Johns Hopkins University,* he dedicated his interests towards the stage. Eventually, he gave up his studies in favour of an acting career which he started to pursue on January 11, 1884, on his twentieth birthday in New York. The disappointment soon became reality and Dixon decided to come back home to his native Shelby in May of 1884. His interest there turned into politics and Dixon decided to enter law school at Greensboro. He received his law license in 1885 (Cook 1962, 521). Subsequently, he was elected to the state legislature, where he introduced a pension bill to benefit the confederate veterans (*Durham Morning Herald*, April 4, 1946). He soon became disillusioned about the scale of corruption in the assembly. He opened a law office in Shelby. In spite of his delight over the law courts, Dixon felt that his life was lacking in direction and meaning. His wife, Harriet Bussey, married in 1886, urged him to take whatever course was right for him. In 1887 he accepted the office of pastorate at Goldsboro and was called to the Second Baptist Church in Raleigh (Cook 1962, 523). He continued his priestly activities in Boston and New York. One of his greatest admirers in New York was John D. Rockefeller who wished to participate in the founding of a temple in downtown Manhattan (523). During this time *Wake Forest College* authorities invited Dixon as a noble graduate to commencement address. The probability of an honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity was also discussed. Dixon refuted this prize and praised his nominee – Woodrow Wilson (523). Hoping to reach a wider audience, he turned to the profession of lecturer. To the great surprise of the parishioners, in March 1895 Dixon decided to leave the clergy. In 1887 Dixon attended one of the sermons given by Justin Fulton in *Boston Tremont Temple* on the "Southern Problem". His outrage at Fulton's strictures against the South was so great that he interrupted the minister through his lecture to denounce his remarks as false and biased. It was then that Dixon decided to give the world firsthand knowledge of the South (Cook 1968, 71). The accounts of Reconstruction by Dixon are relatively hard to be verified mainly due to the fact that when it was initiated, Dixon himself was one year old. He was only thirteen when the last remaining troops were withdrawn in 1877. During one of his lectures, Dixon had the opportunity to read *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the novel written by Harriet Beecher Stowe and published in 1852. Stowe's book was extremely

popular then. Already in the first year, over 300,000 copies had been sold (Olson, 82). President Lincoln, during one of the meetings with the author, supposedly said: "[...] so this is the little lady who caused this great war [...]" (Gołębiowski 1996, 82). Stowe's book, importantly, was created as a response to regulations of the *Fugitive Slave Law* (from 1850) ordering the return of slaves to their owners. The novel also showed the cruelty inherent in slavery. Dixon believed that this book contained the fullness of false accounts, erroneous descriptions of the South and its inhabitants. He considered that the image of the South was not adequately shown in Stowe's novel and the best response to the content of the book would be to write its continuation (Cook 1974, 51).

The desire to reach greater and larger audiences prompted Dixon to turn at the age of thirty-eight to writing novels. As a result, the book entitled *Leopard Spots: a Romance of The White Man's Burden* was written in 1902. The title was derived from the Biblical question ''Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?" Dixon sent this first novel to Walter Hines Page, his old Raleigh, North Carolina friend for consideration. Page, then partner in *Doubleday, Page and Co. Publishing House* welcomed the book with optimism. The first fifteen thousand copies were printed. The success of the work was instantaneous. More than one hundred thousand books were sold, and foreign translations were undertaken. The book was critically acclaimed as a history of racial tensions in the South and established Dixon as an authority. Chicago's *Record-Herald* stated that Dixon's ''imagination empowered him to create human characters that live and love and suffer before our eyes" (Griggs1905, 419). He completed it in sixty days. It was the first of the so-called *reconstructive novels*. Its unquestionable success made the author decide to write two more books: *The Clansman* and *The Traitor.* While preparing for his second novel about Reconstruction, Dixon sifted more than 5000 pamphlets and books for source material (Cook 1962, 524). The final version of the manuscript was ready in thirty days. In total, Thomas Dixon published about twenty novels. Moreover, he was also a playwright and an actor.

Deeply conservative, both in a political and religious sense, Dixon strongly advised against extending political rights to African Americans, fearing that forced social equality would inevitably lead to conflicts between people. He was not completely alone in this respect. Nineteenth-century writers from the South tried in various ways to restore the pre-war status quo. It was about preserving at least some elements of tradition, culture,

which were threatened by hostilities and the imposed post-war reconstruction by the North. War, also by writers, was referred to as the *Lost Cause.* The view that the Confederate States had become a victim of aggression by the liberal, industrialized North is present in the consciousness of some ultra-conservative movements even today. Mainly in the South, this idealized vision of an innocent victim became a substitute for the real history of war (Nolan 2000, 12). According to some southern writers, including Dixon, the civil war was a tragic mistake. During the Reconstruction, the white inhabitants of the North made the mistake of experimenting with freedom for African-American people. In this way, the bestial instincts of free slaves were freed from their reins and "the Negro animal army was sent, which raped the white daughters of the South, wreaking havoc"(Gillespie and Hall 2006, 8).

Order and peace in the South, according to Dixon, could only be achieved by the resurgence of former defenders – the knightly Ku Klux Klan, which would not only restore the rights and dominance of whites in the South but would also unite the nation. By "nation", Dixon understood the inhabitants of the South who were close to him in historical and cultural terms. The author quickly found a huge crowd of supporters for his version of the story. Two of his early novels, the already mentioned *The Leopard's Spots* (1902) and *The Clansman* (1905) became bestsellers. Soon, the first of the novels sold over one hundred thousand copies, and its total sales exceeded one million copies. *The Clansman* was similarly successful (Cook 1974, 70). The reason for the enormous popularity of the novel was the fact that Dixon wrote about things close to readers, and his books tried to prove that the social vision of history was true (Williamson 1986, 108). Dixon's popularity lured other authors. In 1900 Charles Caroll published *The Negro a Beast.* In 1902 William P. Calhoun continued the attack on the African-Americans in his *The Caucasian and the Negro in the United States*. In 1907 Robert Shufeldt wrote *The Negro, a Menace to American Civilization*. With the powerful tool of motion picture Dixon was able to convince American citizens that the quest for racially pure, white America was still valid, irrefutable and indisputable. Dixon however, was not a defender of slavery. As a child, he would often state that ''I learned to hate slavery as much as I hate hell"(Cheshire 2015, 31).

THE CLANSMAN

Dixon's second reconstruction novel, *The Clansman*, has many features common with *The Leopard Spots*. The novel does not depict *Uncle Tom's Cabin* heroes, as the previous novel. Though both are written in unsophisticated English, and the characters are one-dimensional. Both begin at the end of the Civil War and take place in a small town in the South (the territory of North Carolina is replaced by South Carolina in *The Clansman*). Both novels have grossly racist overtones. They duplicate the same stereotypes, in a similar way showing the alleged barbarism of black people driven only by primary instincts. Both are pure Ku Klux Klan propaganda, though it is much more present in *The Clansman*. Both novels end in reconciliation between North and South. Part I and II of the novel take place in Washington just after the end of the Civil War, there is, inter alia, the murder of Abraham Lincoln (whom Dixon worships greatly), and then the coming to power of Senator Austin Stoneman (hero based on the character of Thaddeus Stevens, radical abolitionist and originator of the Southern Reconstruction Program). In Part III, called the *Reign of Terror*, the action moves to Piedmont, South Carolina, where Stoneman, aided by his mulatto collaborator, Silas Lynch, tries to take control of the state. Finally, part IV presents the emergence of the Klan in South Carolina and the restoration of order under its standards.

The following quote can be regarded as a summary of Dixon's views and justification for writing the novel in question:

> It was an uncontrollable movement of the race, not of a single man or leader. The secret weapon they struck was the scariest and most effective in human history – those pale armies of white and crimson riders! They hit them with a cloak of darkness and terror. They struck where the resistance was the weakest and the blow was least expected. Retaliation was impossible. Not a single disguise has ever been exposed. Everything was planned and ordered according to a purpose. (Blight 2001, 184)

DIXON, KU KLUX KLAN AND *THE BIRTH OF A NATION*

The image of the Ku Klux Klan, known for sowing lawlessness before the Civil War, reappeared in the minds of whites at the turn of the century. At that time, the Klan only appeared on the pages of books. Works based

on the history of this organisation were written, among others, by Dixon. It is important to emphasize the importance of the two stated novels, *The Leopard's Spots* and *The Clansman*, for the reactivation of the Klan. The large readership and financial success of the latter novel, made Dixon consider its possibilities as a drama. In 1905 Dixon converted his novel into a dramatic play, whose script won the praise of John Hay, Secretary of State and Albert Bigelow Paine, the future literary executor of Mark Twain. The *Clansman* as a play was described on a national level both as ''disgusting beyond expression" (Virginian-Pilot, September 23, 1905) and ''the greatest theatrical triumph in the history of South" (Times-Democrat, December 15, 1905).

The play, which was to be shown all over the country, was based on the motifs of Dixon's novel. It enjoyed such great popularity that the actors playing in it had to travel more than 25,000 miles during the season (Bellingham Herald, September 26, 1908).

In 1912, Dixon was coming back to the United States from Europe. During this voyage, he was deliberating over his future years. He already knew of a new medium – motion picture. Following the return, he was trying to persuade producers to take on his film scenario based on *the Clansman*. However, the interest was very low. None of the directors was eager to participate in this ''historical beeswax" (Cook 1968, 127). Partially due to the fact that comedies, farce and short action movies were what the audience really enjoyed. Late in 1913, Dixon met Harry E. Aitken and through him was introduced to David W. Griffith. His film company – *The Epoch Producing Corporation* decided to proceed with production in Hollywood. Griffith, originally from the state of Kentucky, had a certain sympathy for the Southern cause. Dixon, on the opening night of one of the theatrical performances, would say, that none but the son of a Confederate soldier could have directed the future film (*New York Times*, March 4, 1915). Filming took nine weeks between July and October of 1914. The history of troubles and constraints in making the movie is also a fascinating story of overcoming difficulties. Griffith had to suspend production three times due to a lack of funds. Members of the production and actors offered salaries for the continuation of the project. In this way, in 1915 one of the most important films in the early history of American cinema was made – *The Birth of a Nation.*

To understand Griffith, wrote theorist and film director Sergei Eisenstein, ''one must visualise an America made up of more than visions of

speeding automobiles, streamlined trains, racing ticker tape, inexorable conveyor belts. One is obliged to comprehend this second side of America as well – America the traditional, the patriarchal, the provincial" (Rogin 1985, 156). Griffith stressed the importance of realism in the movie-making process. The motion picture was a faithful picture of life. Against stage authorities and theatrical ''rules," and in the name of depicting ''real life;" Griffith invented the techniques of narrative cinema. Considered by Eisenstein to be (despite his politics) the first great storyteller in film, Griffith took Edwin Porter's parallel montage technique and introduced different camera lengths, bringing the close-up and the extreme long shot. Parallel editing, according to Tom Gunning, responded to the demands of a complex narrative style. Griffith used editing to dynamize action within scenes. He pulled the viewer into the action through varying the lengths of shots, close-ups and camera angles. By borrowing from the Russian filmmakers like Eisenstein, Griffith introduced some of the basic principles of editing and camera setups, thus fathering the distinctively modern art form (Rogin, 157). Prior to this time, the majority of films were composed of a series of stilted poses taken at random distances and tagged together with little continuity. Griffith understood that the unit of film was not the scene but the shot. By cutting back and forth, he juxtaposed events separated in time (the flashback) and space (the cutback) and collapsed distinctions between images in the head and events in the world. Griffith created art of simultaneities and juxtapositions rather than traditions and continuities (Rogin, 157).

However, Eisenstein's appreciation of Griffith was not uncritical. Eisenstein took him to task for political and ideological reasons. The notorious racist depiction of the blacks and the heroic portrayal of the Ku Klux Klan in *The Birth of a Nation* made Griffith ''an open apologist for racism" (Eisenstein 1951, 234). On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the movie, in 1940, Eisenstein explained in writing what he thought of *The Birth of a Nation*. His letter was published in the English language journal, *International Literature,* in 1940 and in Russian the following year. He protested against assertions that the movie greatly influenced his creative work. Although Eisenstein had always given Griffith his due as an outstanding master of the bourgeois film, this could not be applied to *The Birth of a Nation*. The movie was seen by him as intrinsically alien and inimical Eisenstein claimed that he saw the movie after Potemkin appeared and therefore could have been in no way influenced by *The Birth of a Nation*. The disgraceful propa-

ganda of racial hatred toward the coloured people which permeates in this film could not be redeemed by the purely cinematographic effects of this production (Platt 1992, 81).

The subsequent movie *Intolerance* (1916), straddled four different eras and tackled no less than the destructive forces of religious, cultural, and social prejudice. *The Birth of a Nation* electrified viewers with its sophisticated storytelling on an epic scale. With *Intolerance,* Griffith wanted to push the art of cinematic storytelling into new dimensions. In this epic movie, the camera was even more dynamic in action. Griffith used crosscutting not simply to create tension within the stories, but to draw connections between the separate sequences and eras. This thematic editing inspired Sergei Eisenstein's theories of montage. Continuity, like montage, situates editing as the driving element of narrative film making. Griffith developed and implemented a grammar of film through his use of continuity editing by a logical sequence of shots. Sergei Eisenstein codified the use of montage in Soviet and international film making and theory. Beginning with his initial work in *the Proletkult*, Eisenstein adapted montage to the cinema and expanded his theories throughout his career to encompass the internal nature of the image. He was the most outspoken and ardent advocate of montage as a revolutionary form. Eisenstein abandoned conventional narrative, and individual characters and their motivation left undeveloped. He wanted to lead ''towards a purely intellectual film, freed from traditional limitations, achieving direct forms for ideas, systems and concepts, without any need for transitions and paraphrases" (Eisenstein 1951, 63). Eisenstein insisted that film continuity should progress through collision – a series of shocks arising out of the conflict between spliced shots (Eisenstein 1943, 17). In his cinematography, not only should there be a conflict between shots, but there should also be conflict within the frame at every level: conflict of graphic directions, scales, volumes, masses and depths. Conflict of tempo, close and long shots, the lighting were also of great importance (Eisenstein 1951, 39).

A preliminary private screening of the new production by Griffith was held in Clune's Auditorium in Los Angeles on February 8, 1915. It was during that first showing of the movie when Dixon suggested to Griffith that "…The Clansman was too tame a title for such a powerful story and that it should be changed to *The Birth of a Nation*"(Crowther 1965, 25ff).

It is certain that although movies enjoyed much appreciation at the turn of the century, a majority of spectators had never seen anything so

spectacular in nature. Raymond A. Cook states that *Birth of a Nation* will always be the film that gave the motion picture its stature as an art form. It was the first full feature-length film with a score written specifically for it by Joseph Carl Breil and performed live by an orchestra. The music score had its roots in Negro folk songs and passages from Wagner's *Rienzi* and *Die Walkure* (Franklin 1968, 423). After discarding some scenes, the film was twelve reels long, unheard-of-length of that time (Iris 1940, 21). Billy Bitzer's images of the war mimicked famous daguerreotypes by Mathew Brady.

The three-hour *Birth of a Nation* had a profound dual impact: aesthetically, it synthesized the various cinematic storytelling devices that had been created until that time into a grand whole that many saw as announcing the arrival of a full-fledged art form; commercially, it performed spectacularly in road-show engagements across the country as to propel the industry from the era of nickelodeons for working-class audiences toward that of stand-alone movie palaces aimed at middle-class viewers (Cheshire 2015, 29).

In order to popularize the image, Dixon decided to organize a private film screening for the then president of the United States and his former friend, Woodrow Wilson, as well as members of the government and Supreme Court judges (Cook 1962, 528-531). Dixon once wrote to Wilson that ''this play is transforming the entire population of the North and West into sympathetic Southern voters. There will never be an issue of your segregation policy" (Franklin 1968, 430). Since Wilson was still mourning the loss of his wife, he could not attend a theatre. The screening was thus organized on 18 February 1915 in the East Room of White House. Having seen the motion picture, he said: "It's like writing history with thunderbolts. My great regret is that it is so true'' (530).The following step for Dixon was the projection for the members of the Supreme Court. With the help of the Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels of North Carolina, Dixon secured an appointment with Chief Justice Edward D. White, who encountered by novelist said: ''I was a member of KKK" (531). With the approval of White, a former member of the Klan, justices were given the opportunity to see the film. After projections for the White House, Congress and Supreme Court, the censors withdrew their objections and the movie opened to audiences in theatres on March 3, 1915. Rabbi Stephen Wise, a member of the *New York Board of Censors* regretted he was a member of this institution (426). The provocative subject matter caused a controversy which in turn stirred up audience interest (Finler 2003,20). The movie by Griffith enjoyed enormous popularity, not only in the traditionally conservative South.

Until 1931, *Birth of the Nation* was the highest-grossing movie, accumulating over 10 million dollars at that time (356). It was also recognized by the Library of Congress as "culturally important" and entered in the *National Film Registry* (Prescott Courier, December 7, 1992). The film received great attendance numbers despite the high prices of tickets. Marek Gołębiowski claims that due to the apotheosis of the Ku Klux Klan, which allegedly saved the South from black anarchy, the film has never been unequivocally praised (1996, 306).

The first part of the film introduces the Stoneman brothers, Phil and Tod, from Pennsylvania, who are visiting their school friends, the Cameron brothers, in Piedmont South Carolina. They are the sons of Austin Stoneman, a member of Congress. Phil falls in love with Margaret Cameron, while Ben Cameron falls in love with Elsie Stoneman. When the Civil War erupts, the Stoneman family returns North to join the Union Army. Camerons fed the ranks of Confederate troops. Two young Cameron brothers and Tod Stoneman are killed during the war. Ben Cameron is wounded and is care given by Elsie Stoneman. Elsie and Austin Stoneman are busy urging Southern blacks to rise against whites. Finally, the weddings between the Stoneman and Cameron families, are symbolic of the unification of the North and South. The second part raised the issue of the fall of war and the time of Reconstruction. Stonemans supervised the African American participation in the South Carolina elections. One of the heroes of the Cameron family, Ben, seeing social injustice and lurking danger, is thinking about reactivating the Ku Klux Klan. His decision is accelerated when Gus, a former slave, known for his penchant for white women, kidnaps his sister, Flora Cameron. Rescuing herself from the hands of Gus, she commits suicide by falling off a cliff. The actions of Ben and his Klan are best described by the words of the article by Thomas Byers that: "A man who wants to live freely, farm the land and build a family is forced, guided by the need to avenge the woman he swore to protect, to lead a revolution against imperial invaders and to form a nation" (T. Byers, nd.).

David Wark Griffith, directing the film, wanted to tell the audience the true story of the South. The film inspired especially the so-called "white poor" who blamed the Negroes and Jewish bankers for their difficult economic situation. The *Birth of the Nation* was primarily seen as an important film in the development of cinema. This happened mainly because of the innovative solutions proposed by the director. And so in the film, an important role is played by photos of Johann Bitzer, or battle scenes su-

pervised by specialists from the West Point academy. The director placed particular emphasis on the role of editing in dramatizing the action. Camera movement has been dynamized; scenes were shot from several settings. Griffith broke with the classical principle of three unities, and also applied three dramatic climaxes affecting the film's action. In addition, after the box office success of *The Birth of the Nation*, he decided to make a film that could also be a response to potential voices of criticism. The result was one of the most expensive of early cinema films – *Intolerance*, which cost 2 million dollars (Garbicz 1981, 37). The film celebrates the Ku Klux Klan as heroes who saved the white South from ruination.

The *Birth of the Nation* undoubtedly contributed to the renewed interest in the Ku Klux Klan on a national level. This situation was cleverly used by William Joseph Simmons, who attached leaflets about the reactivation of racist association to the posters of the film (Shawn 1985, 51). Another issue leading to the popularization of the Klan, especially in scientific circles, were numerous publications on the social history of the country. Anti-immigrant and xenophobic sentiment played a significant role in the rebirth of this organization.

The Invisible Empire of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was already a known, albeit a past, institutionalized form of repression against all forms of "crime" directed against the white inhabitants of the South. Its purpose was to sort out the chaos, protect the weak and defenceless, widows and orphans of soldiers who died for their country, as well as to protect the community from shame and re-establish white civilization. According to David Blight, Dixon's novels created the romantic myth of the Klan. In search of rescue, the South needed white men who would take the law into their own hands and above all protect women from the black male brutality. Such a vision captured the minds of thousands and forged, in the form of a story, the collective memory of the lost war and the inevitable victory of the Reconstruction. Klansmen were noble knights who sought to build a new, united nation. Initially, Dixon was reluctant to think that the organisation was a threat to American democracy. He condemned the Klan for attacks on immigrants. He claimed that "we are all immigrants, except for a few Indians whom we did not kill"(Gillespie 2006, 13). Despite this, he undoubtedly contributed to the resurrection of the second Ku Klux Klan. Griffith portrays the Ku Klux Klan as saviours against degenerated and angry African-Americans. Susan Gillman claims that in the South, "being American meant being white"(Gillman 2003, 73).

The Birth of a Nation was controversial on its first release, and it has remained such ever since. The film celebrates the Ku Klux Klan as heroes who saved the white South from ruination. The movie aroused the tone of criticism. Kelly Miller, the dean of Howard University wrote to Dixon that "his teachings subvert the foundations of law and established order. You are the high priest of lawlessness, the prophet of anarchy" (Franklin 1968, 424). The opposition to *Birth of a Nation* was more formidable. Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of *New York Evening Post* and Moorfield Storey president of *American Bar Association* were both founders of the NAACP. They claimed that the film was a travesty against truth as well as an insult to an entire race of people (New York Times, March 31, 1915). Booker T. Washington denounced the film in newspapers (Cook 1968, 176). *Birth of a Nation* helped to revive the KKK but also it gave a similar boost to the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. Founded five years before the premiere of the movie, it became a nationwide enemy opposing the movie. Hector Turnbull of the *New York Tribune* called it a "spectacular drama" with "thrills piled upon thrills" (New York Times, March 7, 1915). Francis J. Grimke, a distinguished minister in Washington, published a pamphlet entitled *"Fighting a Vicious Film"* that was a virtual line-by-line refutation of the Dixon-Griffith duet work. *Crisis Magazine,* official press organ of the *NAACP*, published monthly reports under the heading *"Fighting Race Calumny"* (Franklin 1968, 427).

Dixon, in response to the enormous criticism of *The Birth of the Nation*, decided in 1916 to write a novel entitled *The Fall of a Nation*. This is an example of an invasive novel, a literary genre popular in the United States until the First World War. Invasive literature was a convenient means to channel the social fears of citizens constantly afraid of losing supremacy. Invasion literature has become a kind of sub-genre standing on the border of popular and ambitious fantasy literature, celebrating absolute triumphs. Most novels were geared to meeting the need for sensation in the average reader (Stachowicz 2017, 85). Soon Dixon would also direct a film based on the book of the same title. In *Fall of a Nation,* he continues the racist narrative known from his previous film. In the summer of 1915, Dixon moved to California, opening the *Dixon Studios Laboratory and Press*. The novelist did not succeed as a director and returned to New York in 1923. Over the past fifteen years of his writing career, his radicalism gradually diminished. Although he made a fortune during his lifetime, he was a pauper on the day of his death on April 3, 1946.

CONCLUSION

White populace tried through the literary works of such writers as Dixon, to find a rationale for their own prejudices. The Southern cause, strengthened by this literature, could serve as the gospel of truth. Dixon believed that African-Americans and whites were separated by innate differences. Any hopes of constructing a society based on equality were doomed. These two races, according to believers of racial barriers, should be kept away following the rules set out by Jim Crow laws. American democracy should be built around the superiority of the white race. The legacy of Thomas Dixon, the *Dixonesque* can be found even in post-war years. *The South during Reconstruction*, published in 1948 by Merton Coulter, professor of history at Georgia University, revives the glory of the Old South with white privileged civilisation and the triumphant Ku Klux Klan measuring the rope of justice over corrupt and drunken black legislators.

The age of Reconstruction following the Civil War is a period that attracts historians – both professionals and amateurs. They often seek historical explanations for given contemporary social and political problems. Dixon was a great example of such a layman – he minded the Reconstruction to seek a historical justification for one's own social attitudes. His early opinions were shaped by a boyish account when he accompanied his uncle to a session of the state legislature in South Carolina at the age of eight. The impression on young Thomas of blacks and unworthy whites sitting in the seats of the mighty was a lasting one and ostensibly had a profound influence on his future career (Franklin 1968, 418).

Nowadays, Dixon's name is identified, mainly through the prism of cooperation with David Griffith, with art in a unique way marked by racist ideology. Due to its deeply xenophobic overtones, Dixon is one of the main representatives of a group of radical writers who, seeking some form of justification for their own failures, ignorance, blamed Black and abolitionists from the North for all the imaginary wrongdoings that took place in the South. Thanks to the distorted version of the history of this part of the country, they satisfied the tastes of millions of Americans sharing such a one-sided perception of the world.

References:

Barry, Iris. 1940. *D.W. Griffith, American Film Master*, New York: The Museum of Modern Art.

Bazylow, Ludwik. 1986. *Historia powszechna 1789-1918*. Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza.

Beard, Charles A. and Mary R. Beard. 1944. *a Basic History of the United States.* Philadelphia: Doubleday, Doran & Company.

Bellingham Herald. September 26. 1908.

Birth of a Nation, Biblioteka Kongresu, National Film Registry https://www.loc.gov/programs/national-film-preservation-board/film-registry/complete-national-film-registry-listing/. Accessed 22.11.2019

Blight, David. 2001. *Race and Reunion. The Civil War in American Memory.*Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University.

Byers, Thomas. "Czarni w kolorze: rasa, rasizm, wybielenie we współczesnych produkcjach hollywódzkich." translated by: Małgorzata Paprota, Bartosz Wójcik. http://www.akcentpismo.pl/pliki/siec/byers.html. Accessed 15.05.2019.

Cheshire, Godfrey.2015. "Why no One Is Celebrating the 100th Anniversary of the Feature Film." *Southern Cultures*. Vol. 21. No. 4.

Cook, Raymond A. 1968. *Fire from the Flint: The Amazing Careers of Thomas Dixon*. Michigan: John F. Blair.

Cook, Raymond A. 1974. *Thomas Dixon.* New York: Twayne Publishers.

Cook, Raymond A. 1962. "The Man Behind the Birth of a Nation." *The North Carolina Historical Review.* Vol. 39. No. 4.

Crowther, Bosley. 1965. "Birth of a Nation, Fifty Years After." *NY Times in Magazine.* February 7. 1965.

Davenport Garvin Jr, "Thomas Dixon's Mythology of Southern History." in *The Journal of Southern History.* Vol. 36. No. 3 (1970)

Durham Morning Herald. April 4. 1946.

Eisenstein, Sergei. 1951. *Film Form*. London: Dennis Dobson.

Eisenstein, Sergei. 1943. *The Film Sense*. London: Faber & Faber.

Finler, Joel W. 2003. *The Hollywood Story*. New York: Wallflower Press.

Franklin, John H. 1968. "Birth of a nation: Propaganda as History." *The Massachusetts Review.* Vol. 20. No.3. https://www.jstor.org/stable/25088973. Accessed on 22.11.2019.

Gallagher, Gary, and Alan Nolan. 2000. "The Anatomy of the Myth." in *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History.* Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt16gzbp2. Accessed on 22.11.2019.

Garbicz, Adam and Jacek Klinowski. 1981. *Kino, wehikuł magiczny. Przewodnik osiągnięć filmu fabularnego*. Vol. 1. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Gillespie, Michelle K., and Randall Hall.2006. "Introduction" in *Thomas Dixon Jr. and the Birth of Modern America*. Edited by Michelle K. Gillespie and Randall Hall, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Gillman, Susan. 2003. *Blood Talk: American Race Melodrama and the Culture of the Occult*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Gołębiowski, Marek. 1996. *Leksykon kultury amerykańskiej*. Warsaw: Twój Styl.
Griggs, Sutton E. 1905. *The Hindered Hand, or the Reign of Repressionist*. Nashville: The Orion Publishing.
Gunnar, Myrdal. 1944. *An American Dilemma. The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Gunning, Tom. 1981. "Weaving a Narrative: Style and Economic Background in Griffith's Biograph films." *Quarterly Review of Film Studies (6)*. p. 12-25.
New York Times. March 4. 1915.
New York Times. March 7. 1915.
New York Times. March 31. 1915.
Nolan, Alan T. "The Anatomy of the Myth." 2000. In *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*. Edited by Gary W. Gallagher, Alan T. Nolan. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Platt, David. 1992. "To the Editors of International Literature." in*: Celluloid Power: Social Film Criticism from „The Birth of a Nation" to „Judgement at Nuremberg."* Metuchen: Scarecrow Press.
Prescott Courier. "25 American films are added to National Film Registry." December 7. 1992.
Rogin, Michael. 1985. "The Sword Became a Flashing Vision": D. W. Griffith's The Birth of a Nation.' In *Representations, (9)*, p. 150-195. Oakland: University of California Press.
Scott, Romine. 2006. "Thomas Dixon and Literary Production of Whiteness." in *Thomas Dixon Jr. and the Birth of Modern America*, edited by Michelle K. Gillespie, Randall L. Hall. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
Shawn, Lay. 1985. *War. Revolution and the Ku Klux Klan. a Study of Intolerance in a Border State*. El Paso: Texas Western Press.
Slide, Anthony 2004. *American Racist. The Life and Films of Thomas Dixon*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
Stachowicz, Jerzy. 2017. "Wszystkie wielkie wojny, Wizje konfliktów militarnych w literaturze fantastycznej." in *Kulturowe oblicza wojny. Kultura Współczesna. Nr 2 (95)*. Warsaw: Narodowe Centrum Kultury.
Szyszkowski, Wacław. 1966. "Walka o prawa obywatelskie ludności murzyńskiej w Stanach Zjednoczonych." in *Studia Iuridica.*Vol VI. Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe.
Times-Democrat. December 15. 1905
Virginian-Pilot. September 23. 1905.
Wade, Wyn Craig. 1988. *Fiery Cross*. New York: Touchstone Book.
Williamson, Joel. 1986. *a Rage for Order: Black/ White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Winston-Salem Journal. April 4. 1946.


Druk i oprawa
Wydawnictwo UJK

ISBN 978-83-7133-894-6