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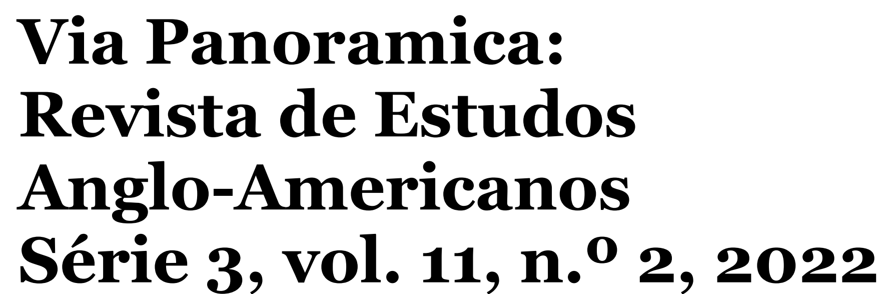

Via Panoramica: Revista de Estudos Anglo-Americanos
Série 3, vol. 11, n.º 2, 2022

Apresentação

Via Panoramica: Revista de Estudos Anglo-Americanos/ A Journal of Anglo-American Studies (ISSN: 2182-9934 | DOI: 10.21747/2182-9934/via) acolhe artigos para os seus próximos números.

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Via Panoramica is published by CETAPS (Centre for English, Translation and Anglo-Portuguese Studies), at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Porto. The journal, which is published twice a year, welcomes essays in Portuguese or in English, within the field of Anglo-American Studies, proposed preferentially by early-career researchers, from post-graduate students to researchers who have recently obtained their PhD degrees. *Via Panoramica* has a Scientific Committee which ensures double blind peer-review of the texts submitted for publication.

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MÁRCIA LEMOS

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A Prefatory Note

Márcia Lemos

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The current issue of *Via Panoramica* illustrates the power of literature and other media in representing and expiating human suffering brought about by religious conflicts, bloody wars, and all sources of blatant discrimination. In her opening essay, Rita Cipriano addresses John Foxe's work on the martyrdom of Saint Alban to examine how the sixteenth-century English writer analytically recovered the medieval genre of the *passio* as to promote a new vision of the English Church that included the martyrs of the Reformation movement. Cipriano does so through the comparative analysis of Bede's and Foxe's respective texts, which reveals many similarities between the two accounts (18).

In "Poetics and Politics: The Use of Poetry as War Propaganda during the World Wars", Vitória Ávila Fioravanti focuses on Rupert Brooke's "The Soldier", Thomas Hardy's "Men who March Away", and Ezra Pound's "Canto 46" to demonstrate that, although dealing with similar topics, the aims of the poets were distinct and so was their motivation to write: ranging from patriotism and a wish for glory to a conscious effort to boost war propaganda, sponsored by the British government.

From old wars to current ones, Miguel Alarcão's article, suggestively titled "Ukraine Girls and Liverpool Boys Back in the USSR: Revisiting The Beatles in Times of Trouble and War", offers an analysis of the opening track of the double LP *The Beatles* ("Back in the USSR", 1968), a timely revisitation as the Russian military aggression towards Ukraine fills the news with words, sounds and images of horror and suffering (41).

Carlotta Pisano's "Representation as Collective Memory: Carnivalesque and Orality in *Eldorado West One* by Sam Selvon" addresses Selvon's radio drama (1969) and the feeling of disillusionment reflected by the Caribbean migrants and

descendants upon their (lack of) integration in British society, in the 1950's and beyond. As Pisano explains Carnival plays "a cathartic function . . . as life's celebration and as a primary tool for collective memory" (60).

The issue is brought into a conclusion by Fábio Casanova and his analysis of two Hollywood films: *The Children's Hour* (1961) and *Carol* (2015), respectively inspired by a play and a novel. Casanova demonstrates that, although the context and contents of the films are different, their protagonists are, nonetheless, all forced to pay a price for their romantic and sexual choices. Still, Casanova identifies positive developments in the depiction of homosexual female relationships, and he thus concludes that *Carol* is "a sign of the effort that is being made, now more than ever before, to bring more diverse and inclusive realities to the big screen" (71).

The Hagiographical Tradition: Bede’s and Foxe’s Accounts of the Martyrdom of St. Alban

Rita Cipriano

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Abstract

By comparing the accounts of the martyrdom of the English proto-saint Alban written by Bede (c. 673-735) and John Foxe (1516/7-1587), this essay aims to analyse how the sixteenth-century author reworked the medieval genre of the *passio* to create a new history of the English Church that incorporated the martyrs of the Reformation movement.

Keywords: Hagiography; Martyrdom; Bede; John Foxe; Reformation

Resumo

Através da comparação das narrativas do martírio do santo inglês Alban escritas por Beda (c. 673-735) e John Foxe (1516/7-1587), este ensaio procura analisar como o autor do século XVI recuperou o género medieval da *passio* para criar uma nova história da Igreja da Inglaterra que incorporava os mártires da Reforma Protestante.

Palavras-chave: Hagiografia; Martírio; Beda; John Foxe; Reforma

Introduction

Western biography has its origins in educational stories of remarkable men from the Classical period. These had moral purposes and often a political agenda but were also written to entertain (Lee 22-5). These characteristics were inherited by the literature of the Medieval Ages, dominated by religious texts written in monasteries throughout

all Christendom in the first centuries of the period. The most popular were the saint's lives, or hagiography ("holy writing"). Much like classical life-writing, which emphasised traits and provided models of behaviour, hagiography displayed prototypical virtues that should be imitated by fellow believers (Lee 25). It followed a standard pattern and structure and did not change much since its emergence in the fourth century until the end of the Middle Ages, although, over time, they became more complex and interested in the saint's conversions and self-doubts than in listing the miracles performed (Lee 25).

After a period of long decay, hagiography was recovered in England by authors of the sixteenth century who wanted to write a history of the English Church that incorporated the persecution and martyrdom of Protestants by Henry VIII (1491-1547) and Mary I (1516-1558). Although some innovations were introduced, the genre remained identical, with the Protestant martyrs being used as examples of faith and devotion in contrast with the evil and tyranny of the members of the Roman Catholic Church. The best example of the appropriation of hagiography in the period is John Foxe's (1516/7-1587) *The Acts and Monuments of the Church*, a vast collection of persecutions. First published in England in 1563, the book popularly known as *The Book of Martyrs* became well-known and ultimately found its place next to the Bible in English churches. To understand how Foxe reworked the medieval hagiographic model to fulfil certain religious and political purposes, we are going to compare his text about the martyrdom of St. Alban, considered the first English saint and martyr, with his main source for the story, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (731), by Bede (c. 673-735).

We will start by looking at *The Ecclesiastical History* and to what Bede wanted to achieve with it. Also, in the first part of this essay, we will briefly analyse the main aspects of the martyrdom of St. Alban as told by the Northumbrian monk, which stands here as a typical example of hagiographical production in the early Middle Ages. This will allow us to explore several aspects of hagiography and understand better Foxe's recount of the story and his approach to Bede's narrative. Foxe's version will be addressed in the second part. We will look at some passages from the 1583 definitive edition of *The Acts and Monuments* and highlight aspects that will reveal Foxe's conception of martyrdom while comparing it with Bede's views on the subject. We will conclude with some final remarks that we hope will highlight the differences and the similarities between the two texts that are part of the same ancient literary tradition.

I. The martyrdom of St. Albans in *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (731)

Bede's account of the martyrdom of St. Alban occupies all Chapter 7 of *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Finished in 731, in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria, the book was intended as an account of the history of the Christian Church in British territory, starting with the Roman conquest of the British Islands and ending with the consecration of the ninth archbishop of Canterbury, Tatwine (c. 670-734), in 731. Bede's literary effort should be understood within a wider cultural, religious and political movement of attempting to connect the history of the Church with the story of his people, whose acceptance of Christianity happened later (mid-seventh century) than on the continent. Hagiography of the early Anglo-Saxon period presented the first English saints as prominent members of the growing international Christian community while proclaiming "to all of Christendom the place that the English had carved out for themselves" in the same group (Anderson 135). Complying with the spirit of the time, Bede included stories about those figures in *The Ecclesiastical History*. Not all were technically English, like St. Alban, but Bede and consequent writers seem to regard them as such since they place them in the territory.

The story of St. Alban, as told by Bede, can be classified as *passio* or *martyrion,* one of two primary models of hagiographical narrative. A *passio* is focused on the suffering and death of a saint or martyr and usually omits other details about his or her life, developed in the *vita*, which narrates his or her whole existence, from birth to death (Palmer 20). It is characteristically set in the age of persecutions and divided into three main moments: interrogation by the authorities; refusal to renounce the Christian faith and worship pagan gods, followed by torture; and martyrdom, usually by decapitation, following the example of St. Paul (Anderson 134). In both the *passio* and the *vita*, death is the climax of the story. It is generally described as a moment long-waited by the "true" believer, who accepts it with undisturbed peace of mind. Gregory of Tours emphasised its importance in shaping the cult of saints, saying that no one should be called a saint until he is dead (Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* 245).

Bede places the martyrdom of St. Alban in modern St. Albans, in the time of the Great Persecution of the fourth century, ordered by the Roman emperor Diocletian. An obscure figure before his election in 284, Diocletian took action against Christians in 301, when he demanded the surrender of scriptures and the demolishing of churches. Subsequent edicts dismissed all Christians in state service and subjected them to legal

disabilities. Finally, he ordered the arrest of the clergy (Kazhdan 626). Bede describes the Diocletian Persecution, “the tenth persecution after Nero”, as the cruelest, saying that innocent people were outlawed and martyrs were slaughtered (16). The historical introduction in Chapter 6 prepares the ground for the story of the martyrdom of St. Alban that comes next and contextualises the saint’s death. It also makes him look more real and his story more believable.

The liveness of the historical moment contrasts with the flatness of Alban’s personality. The evident aim of hagiography was to promote the cult, attract adherents, and empower the religious institutions that grew around the saints’ remains. This led to the emergence of a literary model that smoothed their particularities to render their appeal as ecumenical as possible (Anderson 133). The desire to foster the cult also led to a movement of intense copying and adaption of the best texts and ideas, which generated “bland stories about saints who were just like other saints - sometimes to the extent that the stories were virtually the same, only with the names and a few key details changed” (Palmer 21). The approach was conscientiously decided by many hagiographers that sought “to make their subject as much like a generic saint as possible” (Palmer 21). In the story of St. Alban, not much is told about him or his family, not only because these details are usually addressed in the *vita*, but also because they were not relevant to the story – Alban’s single function as a literary character is to provide an example for others to follow. Bede’s saints were not different from other saintly figures, for he resorted to the old literary mechanisms as others.

The cruelty of the actions taken by Diocletian is demonstrated at the beginning of Chapter 7, when Bede tells that, during the persecution, “St. Alban suffered” (16). This is the first reference to Alban, who is right from the start presented as someone who “suffered”, *i.e.*, a martyr. To Augustine, “the martyrs were *the membra Christi* par excellence. The hand of God that had rested with unshakable constancy above Christ rested also above his elect” (Brown, *The Cult of the Saints* 72). Martyrs and saints were thus often identified with the sufferings of Christ, “but also with the unmoved constancy of his election and the certainty of his triumph” (Brown, *The Cult of the Saints* 72). They were shaped in his example (*imitatio Christi*) and presented as individuals capable of following the teachings of Christ more perfectly than others and could therefore be used as patterns of Christian living (Cubitt 33-4). “It has long been recognized that the point of a saint is that they are a role model, an exemplar, somebody whose piety, charity, and continence anyone might aspire to match. Texts were explicitly designed to carry such examples of behaviour” (Palmer 28-9).

Bede then tells how the saint converted to Christianism inspired by the example of a cleric to whom he “gave hospitality” (16). The man, who was fleeing, was eventually discovered by the Romans. When the soldiers arrived to take him, St. Alban offered himself in his place and was presented before the judge. The Roman tried to make Alban worship pagan gods, but the saint “declared himself a Christian before the enemies of the faith and was not all afraid of the ruler’s threats” (17). Bede tells that although he was subjected to the worst tortures, the stubborn saint “bore them patiently and even joyfully for the Lord’s sake” (17). “I am now a Christian and am ready to do a Christian’s duty”, he declared, referring to the fact he was ready to be executed and to die for his faith (17), an attitude towards death defined by Augustine as *donum perseverantiae* (preservation of the state of grace till the end of one's life).

The way Alban endured physical pain can be interpreted as the first of three miracles he performed. According to Peter Brown, the sufferings of the martyrs were miracles in themselves (*The Cult of the Saints* 79). They were a point “in a long chain of manifestations of the power of God throughout their lives, continued up to the present at their shrines” (Brown, *The Cult of the Saints* 79). For Augustine, miracles are “acts of God, not subject to the laws of nature or the usual way in which man acts within nature, while nature and mankind are themselves subject to the ‘miraculous’ power of God” (Ward 5). It means saints do not have any miraculous power in themselves, being only agents through whom God signifies His power: “It is their special proximity to God because of the sanctity of their life that naturally explains the transference to and recapitulation in them of God’s own virtue” (Fadda 61).

The second miracle, the drying-up of a river, happened when Alban was being led to the place of execution. Bede makes clear that it was performed through the direct intervention of God after he “raised his eyes towards heaven” (18). On seeing the miracle, his executioner “cast himself down at the saint’s feet, earnestly praying that he might be judged worthy to be put to death either with the martyr whom he himself had been ordered to execute, or else in his place” (18). The sudden conversion of this man is a reminder of the true purpose of *mirabilia Dei* — to inspire “greater faith a devotion, to prayer and almsgiving and to the offering up to sacrifices to God in the holy oblation, for the deliverance of their kinsfolk” (Bede 209). There are not many early accounts of conversion in which miracles represent an instrumental part (Rosenthal 333), but in Bede’s text, they are crucial.

With his executioner turned into “a companion in the true faith” (Bede 18), Alban climbed the hill where he was to die. As Catherine Cubitt has pointed out, topography and geography were important in early Anglo-Saxon saints’ lives (40). In

Bede's work, the description of the place of execution of Alban coincides with the early-Christian imagery of Paradise, and its flourishing vegetation emerges as a symbol of the vigour of the blessed soul of the saint. Bede says its "natural beauty had long fitted it as a place to be hallowed by the blood of a blessed martyr" (18), which suggests predestination, as if Alban was destined to die there and be remembered for centuries to come.

When St. Alban reached the top of the hill, he asked again for God's intervention and a third miracle was performed: "a perpetual spring bubbled up, confined within its channel at his very feet" (18). "The river, when it had fulfilled its duty and completed its pious service, returned to his natural course, but it left behind a witness of its ministry" (18). Alban was beheaded on the spot and the ones responsible for his death were punished by God (their eyes fell to the ground together) (19). "Astonished by these strange heavenly miracles", the Roman judge ordered the end of all persecutions and "began to respect the way in which the saints met their death, though he had once believed that he could thereby make them forsake their devotion to the Christian faith" (19) - another reminder of the power of *mirabilia Dei*.

II. The martyrdom of St. Albans in *Acts and Monuments* (1583)

The Acts and Monuments of the Church, popularly known as *The Book of Martyrs*, is a vast collection of accounts of religious persecution against British Protestants collected by John Foxe. It was "conceived as a new ecclesiastical history of the English Protestant Church and as a repository for the documentary evidence for that story" (Steward 57). Published in England in 1563, it had several editions. In the later ones, Fox expanded his chronology to incorporate the martyrdom of early English saints, setting the story of persecution and martyrdom in England in a much larger framework. In one of the prefaces, Fox explained his decision: "If Martyrs are to be compared with Martyrs, I see no cause why the Martyrs of our tyme deserue any lesse commendation, then the other in the primatiue Churche, which assuredly are inferiour vnto them in no poynt of prayse" (qtd. in Collinson, "John Foxe as Historian" n.pag.). For him, these early stories were a way of authorising contemporary martyrdom and integration of Protestant martyrs in a long dynasty of noble figures that suffered and died for the 'true' faith.

The first saintly figure he chose to recover was St. Alban because he was "the first Martyr that euer in England suffered death for the name of Christ" (Fox 111). Fox tells the story of his martyrdom in the first book of the 1583 edition, the final one he published, about the ten first persecutions against Christians, during which an

"infinite" number of people were killed, including "certain particular Martyrs ... worthy of speciall memory ... for the more edification of other Christiās, which may and ought to looke vpon their examples" (111). Foxe's account follows closely Bede's version, except in the events leading to Alban's execution. Contrary to Bede, Foxe did not think miracles were crucial, so he opted to offer a very summarised version of the extraordinary acts performed by the saint while calling the reader's attention to the unreliableness of the original story: the "prodigious miracles in his story ... seeme more legēdlike, then truthlike", he says, admitting not seeing "great profit, nor necessitie in the relation thereof" in telling them. "I leaue them to the free iudgement of the Reader, to thinke of them, as cause shall moue him" (111).

One of Foxe's intentions in recovering the early stories was to fight the "partial dealing and corrupt handling of histories" of the old writers and replace them with "the plain truth of times lying long hid in obscure darkness of antiquity" (qtd. in Collinson, "John Foxe as Historian" n.pag.). He argues that many aspects of the original story, including the "Monkish miracles and grosse fables", do not make sense and were assembled by "Abbey monks . . . to beguile the whole world for their owne aduātage" (112). Foxe explains that he is not trying to degenerate "the blessed and faithful martyr of God", no doubt worthy "of condigne commendation". He only wishes his and others' martyrdoms might have been delivered "simply as they were, w[t]out the admixture of all these Abbey like additiōs of Monkish miracles" (112).

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the attitude towards the miraculous in England was very different from that of the Middle Ages. Protestants believed sainthood was accessible to any believer and was not dependent on the ability to perform marvelous deeds. Protestant ministers also maintained that miracles had long ceased. They did not deny they had taken place in biblical times but considered God no longer worked wonders. They were no longer necessary. This religious concept was explored in sermons and tracts, and by the early seventeenth century it had become a "cultural commonplace" (Walsham 274). But the reality was much more complex than implied. As Alexandra Walsham has shown, the question of miracles, which was connected with the discussion of the precise mechanisms by which Providence worked, occupied a "grey area" in Protestant theology, but ministers were not interested in exposing those ambiguities to the laity. Instead, "in a context of confessional rivalry, they often glossed over the technical, polemically driven distinction between a miracle and a providence" (Walsham 287). Like other Roman Catholic opponents, Fox tried to decentralise the role of the miraculous, calling attention to what, in his view, really meant to be a martyr: risking life to testify on behalf of Christ. All the stories of

Protestant martyrs he collected are focused on the attitude of the accused against the accusers and on how those people stood bravely against authorities without denying their faith, even when subjected to the most violent tortures, and not on the marvellous deeds they performed. This is one of the main differences between his work and Bede's, but both authors follow the same old literary tradition.

The Acts and Monuments is a reworking of the medieval *passio*, following the same three-part structure of interrogation, refusal to recant, often followed by torture and execution accepted with cheerful readiness to die. Foxe's martyrs are also depicted as following the example of Christ and as examples themselves or as seeing their suffering as a means of attaining union with Jesus after death (King xxxvii), and their words were understood as being important, namely their final ones, pronounced at the stake. The political aspect is also present. Various authors have called attention to how "the militant anti-Catholicism in this book was fundamental to the emergence of an English nation and an insular identity" (Hattaway 110) after the ups and downs of the Reformation movement in England. Considered the most relevant collection of life-writing in early modern England and the second most important book of the period after the Bible, Foxe's book created a model for the Protestant suffering under the tyranny of the Roman Catholic Church (Steward 13) whose representatives are described as cruel and devilish. By redefining the past and designing the present, Fox contributed, like Bede before him, to the birth of a new national identity forged from the history of the Church.

Fox then goes on to give other details he found out during his research (or by one of his collaborators) and tries to clarify some points he considers nebulous, like the name of the clerk and spiritual guide of Alban and the time of the saint's martyrdom. Foxe's preoccupation with historical accuracy makes it impossible for him to add much more to the story, so he turns his attention to the historical aspects of the episode. He ends the chapter with information about the ten persecutions and their impact on the Christian population in Britain and on the continent (112), demonstrating, once again, his preoccupation with historical rigour that is present throughout his book, which is full of quotes from sources he "faithfully collected" to write the "full and complete story" (qtd. in Collinson, "John Foxe as Historian" n.pag.) of the persecution in England. The compilation of original documents which is at the base of his work brings it much closer to the great encyclopaedic works of the Middle Ages than to what we can call an "original work". This characteristic is not unique to Foxe's work. As stressed out by Daniel Woolf, "there is a high degree of continuity between late medieval and Tudor historical writing", namely "the dominance of the standard form

for the recording of stories about the past” that we find in Foxe and that “continued well into the century” (417-8).

Conclusion

Although written centuries apart, the accounts of Bede and John Foxe of the martyrdom of the English proto-saint Alban share similar characteristics. They both imitate the old hagiographical model of the *passio*, established in Late Antiquity, without introducing much innovation. Both texts follow a specific religious and political agenda. They were written "to make a claim for a legacy", one of the goals of early modern life-writing identified by Alan Steward (9) that can also apply to other historical periods and authors. In both cases, they were trying to link the foundation of the English Church to the long history of the Christian Church, validating its claims as the most distinguished member of the Christian community. In doing so, they were carving a sense of national identity that was closely connected to the history of the Church itself: for both authors, being English meant to be a Christian (although not the same kind of Christian); and to be a ‘good’ Christian, meant to be willing to suffer and even to die for the faith, following the example of Christ. St. Alban is the perfect representation of someone capable of following the teachings of Christ, and his story can therefore be used as a pattern of living for others. It was one of the purposes of hagiographical narrative: to provide a model of behaviour that others might aspire to match. Because of that, these authors were not interested in individualising the saint: he represents a “type”, not himself.

The main difference between the two texts has to do with the miraculous. For Bede, miracles were acts of God performed by martyrs by His direct intervention to win the hearts of men to Christianity; for Fox, they were “grosse fables” (112), introduced by monks for their advantage, that distracted the reader for what in his opinion really mattered: the exemplar behaviour and suffering of the martyr. Besides these and other small differences, such as the branch of Christianism professed by the authors, both texts belong to the same literary tradition of life-writing, which Fox and other English Protestant writers tried to rehabilitate in the seventeenth century to answer to the religious, social and political convulsions of the time, in an age when the dominance of hagiography had long faded away (Lee 25). The popularity of Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs* attests to the success of his enterprise that was only possible because, like Bede before him, he followed a model well established and much loved: many readers acknowledge the effect it had on them (Steward 726) and the book continued to be printed, revised and adapted in the next century (Collinson 384; Hattaway 110).

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Poetics and Politics: The Use of Poetry as War Propaganda during the World Wars

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Abstract

This paper aims to critically analyse and discuss the use of poetry as war propaganda during World War I and World War II considering the distinct cases of Rupert Brooke's "The Soldier", Thomas Hardy's "Men who March Away", and Ezra Pound's "Canto 46", which was read by the author himself during one of his Radio Rome broadcasts in 1942. While Brooke, similarly to other young soldiers who saw in the war a chance of fulfilling their patriotic duty and achieving glory, wrote verses clearly marked by his personal idealism, Thomas Hardy had many of his war poems commissioned by the British government in the context of a national propaganda effort in which he might have agreed to participate moved by his initial optimism regarding the war. Decades later, Ezra Pound, a fierce supporter of the fascist regime of Benito Mussolini, would dedicate a great part of his works *The Cantos* to the spreading of fascist, antisemitic, and pro-Axis ideas during World War II, the most notorious case within this effort being the reading of "Canto 46", which contains explicit antisemitic and anti-American references, during a broadcast for Radio Rome. These propagandistic campaigns, first during World War I then later during World War II, would contribute to the spreading and reinforcing of nationalist tendencies on both sides, with poetics (not for the first time in the history of Literature) turning into an ally of politics.

Keywords: Poetry; Propaganda; World War I; World War II; Nationalism

Resumo

O presente artigo tem como intuito analisar criticamente e discutir o uso da poesia como propaganda durante a Primeira e a Segunda Guerra Mundial, tendo em conta os casos de Rupert Brooke e seu poema "The Soldier", Thomas Hardy e "Men who March Away", e o "Canto 46" de Ezra Pound, poema este que foi lido pelo próprio autor durante uma das suas transmissões

radiofónicas para a rádio de Roma em 1942. Enquanto Brooke, tal como outros jovens soldados, via na guerra uma oportunidade de cumprir o seu dever para com a pátria e alcançar a glória, muitos dos poemas de guerra escritos por Thomas Hardy foram patrocinados pelo governo britânico no contexto de uma missão nacional de propaganda na qual o autor teria concordado em participar devido ao seu otimismo inicial em relação à guerra. Décadas mais tarde, Ezra Pound, grande defensor do regime fascista de Benito Mussolini, dedicaria grande parte da sua obra *The Cantos* à divulgação de ideais fascistas, antissemitas, e pró-Eixo durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial, sendo que o caso mais notório que resultou de tal esforço foi a leitura do "Canto 46", poema que contém explícitas referências antissemitas e antiamericanas, durante uma transmissão feita pela rádio de Roma. Tais campanhas propagandísticas contribuiriam para a divulgação e, em alguns casos, para o reforço de tendências nacionalistas em ambos os lados, com a poesia (não pela primeira vez na história da Literatura) agindo como aliada da política.

Palavras-chave: Poesia; Propaganda; Primeira Guerra Mundial; Segunda Guerra Mundial; Nacionalismo

I.

Few periods in History watched the rising of political propaganda as intensively as the two World Wars did: as young men were prompted to exchange their homes and crafts for a uniform and march to the fronts, where fighting was being done and time could rarely be spared, British cabinet minister C. F. G. Masterman organised a meeting on September 2 1914, at Wellington House, invited writers such as Arnold Bennett, Rudyard Kipling, John Galsworthy, Arthur Conan Doyle, G . K. Chesterton, H. G. Wells, and Thomas Hardy in order to undertake a literary propaganda effort (Haynes 26). The aim of this mission, which would soon be known as "The War Propaganda Bureau" and worked alongside the Foreign Office News Department, was to provide financial support to propagandistic initiatives led by private individuals so that they might assist the war effort by using their pens and their consolidated reputations in the literary world (Badsey 9). Hardy would be one of the first authors to express the initial patriotic excitement that dominated Britain during the first months of World War I, and one of the results coming from the belief that British soldiers who fought bravely, sometimes until the very end, for their country were destined to greatness and glory is Hardy's poem *Men who March Away*, written only three days after the meeting with Minister Masterman and published on September 9 in *The Times*.

But what exactly is "propaganda" and how can it be used in the context of war? Historians Eberhard Demm and Christopher H. Sterling, in the book *The Encyclopaedia of World War I: A Political, Social, and Military History*, suggest that, "Propaganda could be used to arouse hatred of the foe, warn of the consequences of defeat, and idealize one's own war aims in order to mobilize a nation, maintain its morale, and

make it fight to the end" (Demm et al, v. 3, 941). The idealisation of the aims of war is used at the beginning of such conflicts, but later, when the harsh realities start to appear, critics surface and express the real consequences of it, which are death, suffering, and trauma. World War I produced the first generation of poets who were later praised for their anti-war views and verses, which were contrary to the commonly perceived notion of war, particularly in Britain, as a righteous cause; such views were expressed by the works of the authors mentioned above and in the context of the national propagandistic effort.

Eventually, those who would later be sacred as the "Great War Poets", men such as Wilfred Owen, Siegfried Sassoon and Robert Graves, would realize that war was not, contrary to the initial belief that perhaps might have been on their minds and hearts, a glorious or beautiful thing; war was most definitely not the playing grounds of the Victorian schools they had spent their childhoods in, but one of those modern terrors that accompanied the progress brought by the Industrial Revolution; it was the modern world and modern society at their worst and in their most terrifying form, yet these young men would only learn that once they had ventured into the trenches themselves. For many writers who initially supported the war effort through a kind of literary "call to arms", such as Thomas Hardy and Rupert Brooke, the rejection of the war would only come after the ending of the war itself, that is, it was a post-war phenomenon which can be identified in the later poems written by Hardy, for example, who would later label war as a waste of life and youth.

In his book *The Great War and Modern Times* and regarding British thinking during World War I and the rhetoric in which the early war writing was based, literary critic Paul Fussell states:

> The language is that which two generations of readers had been accustomed to associate with the quiet action of personal control and Christian self-abnegation ("sacrifice"), as well as with more violent actions of aggression and defence. The tutors of this special diction had been the boys' books of George Alfred Henty; the male-romances of Rider Haggard; the poems of Robert Bridges; and especially the Arthurian poems of Tennyson and the pseudo-medieval romances of William Morris. We can set out this "raised", essentially feudal language in a table of equivalents:

A friend is a	comrade
Friendship is	comradeship, or fellowship
A horse is a	steed, or charger
The enemy is	the foe
Danger is	peril

To conquer is to vanquish
To attack is to assail
(Fussell 21-2)

It is not surprising, therefore, that an entire generation made up of young men who dreamed of proving their value and achieving glory through patriotic sacrifice was so eager to engage in fighting. As the war broke in 1914, British right of centre or right-wing newspapers read by the upper classes, such as *The Times*, were flooded with patriotic verses written by both amateur and professional poets, the majority of them employing the same devices of high diction transcribed above: suddenly a friend was not only just a friend, but a comrade, a brother in arms, and men who belonged to different social structures and came from different backgrounds were now united by the great British cause. As poetry praised soldiers and the patriotic efforts conducted so as to fight the common enemy and more men enlisted in the army every passing hour, Minister Masterman's initial purpose had now been achieved in the form of The War Propaganda Bureau: literature, and most specifically poetry, was now a successful propaganda device.

II.

Written in 1914 yet a few weeks before the outbreak of World War I, Brooke's poem "The Soldier" contrasts heavily with other, anti-war poems that were being published along the patriotic verses of the idealist Rugby-born writer who would later die in a rather unglamorous way due to an infected mosquito bite while on a boat making his way to Gallipoli.

Brooke, an idealist, would be posthumously consecrated for the famous, rather nationalist verses that were published one year later, in 1915, in the collection entitled *1914*. The opening lines would later acquire even more meaning after the poet's own death during wartime:

If I should die, think only this of me:
That there's some corner of a foreign field
That is for ever England. There shall be
In that rich earth a richer dust concealed;
A dust whom England bore, shaped, made aware,
Gave, once, her flowers to love, her ways to roam;
A body of England's, breathing English air,
Washed by the rivers, blest by suns of home.

And think, this heart, all evil shed away,
A pulse in the eternal mind, no less
Gives somewhere back the thoughts by England given;
Her sights and sounds; dreams happy as her day;
And laughter, learnt of friends; and gentleness,
In hearts at peace, under an English heaven.
(Brooke 112)

As he presents his own self, a soldier, as a piece of England, as "a dust whom England bore, shaped, made aware" and as "a body full of England", Brooke portrays his relationship with his native country, from which he finds himself away, in a highly sentimental, idealised, almost epitaphic way: he is not more his own person than he is an Englishman who owes everything, including his personality and the braveness that led him to enlist in the army, to the nation which "gave, once, her flowers to love, her ways to roam". Here, England assumes a personified, intensely idealized and female (as opposed to the German male concept of "Vaterland") character as seen through patriotic eyes, a representation which was not uncommon to the propagandistic verses which were being widely spread during the first months of the war.

Furthermore, Brooke's perhaps exaggerated use of the words "England" and "English" and of the first-person "demonstrated […] the poets of the Great War believed their craft to be fulfilling a higher purpose" (Solomon 65). Brooke and other pro-war poets such as Jessie Pope were part of a generation which had very little experience with the horrors of war and even conflict itself, prompting them to find comfort and meaning in the ideals of patriotic duty and national unity in support of something bigger and more important than their mundane existences. To the young soldier poets marching to the trenches, their writing had its own purpose to fulfil: the patriotism-filled verses that graced the literary scene during the first months of the war, either sponsored by the government or born out of the unprecedented idealism of the youth, should spark support for the British military among their fellowmen and perpetuate the myth of national greatness. Unlike Owen and Sassoon, whose first-hand experiences in the battlefield later fuelled their realistic views of the war, their idealistic predecessors believed it their duty to fight not only with actual arms, but also with words.

Similarly, Robert Bridges, Britain's Poet Laureate since 1913 and often referred to as the "silent laureate" due to his refusal of the government's requests more often than not, would be one of the first poets to deliver an enthusiastic

response to the first days of war in the shape of patriotic poems that, like Brooke's, aims to unite the English citizenry and push the nation forward. In his ardent, expressively pro-war poem *Wake up, England*, written and published at the outbreak of the Great War, Bridges urges the country to proudly stand by "using chivalric clichés and abstract diction" (Leadingham 16) and, speaking of Salvation and Beauty as being achieved only through suffering and bloodshed, "successfully integrated the crusading spirit to his 'call for action'" (Ibid).

III.

Contrary to Rupert Brooke, who enlisted in the British army at the age of 27 and would eventually perish thousands of miles away from home (although without having fought), Thomas Hardy wrote his famous poem "Men who March Away" at the outbreak of the Great War and when he was seventy-four years old, therefore not eligible to enlist due to old age. A few years later, the 1916 Military Service Act would state that only men aged between eighteen and forty-one years old could join the army as soldiers (Beckett and Keith 14).

Hardy's optimistic, heroic approach of the war as seen in his 1914 poem would deeply contrast with the writings of former soldiers such as Edmund Blunden and Siegfried Sassoon, and a few years later, would be replaced with a shock of realism which began to take place as soon as British soldiers started coming back home from the trenches, the poet's idealised "faith and fire" and his failed prophecies of greatness would be met by Blunden's poem "Festubert, 1916", which refers to the attack conducted by the British army in the Artois region of France and declares the poet "tired with dull grief, grown old before my day" (Blunden 32) and Sassoon's desperate, heartbreaking plead to "O Jesus, make it stop!" (Sassoon 71) in his brief yet hauntingly vivid, almost cinematic piece *Attack*, in which the savagery of war is made evident as suspense is built on only to culminate in tragedy and despair at the end.

Nevertheless, poems like Hardy's, some of them commissioned during the first months of the war and sponsored by Wellington House, inspired a wave of patriotic fervour that would lead thousands of men to volunteer for service in Kitchener's Army, also known as "The New Army", an all-volunteer section of the British military force founded by Secretary of War Lord Herbert Kitchener once it became clear the professional national army was not large enough to fight in a global conflict (Simkins 39). The phenomenon of massive enlistment that began in the first weeks of August and took place all over the country would be known as "The Pals Battalions"[1]: years

before Wilfred Owens declared “Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori” a lie, young men who quickly enlisted in the so called “Leeds Pals” and “Grimsby Chums” were filled with optimism and, as Owens himself put it, “ardent for some desperate glory” (Owen 55).

Published in *The Times* on September 9, 1914, a few days after the first meeting with Minister Masterman in Wellington House, “Men who March Away” presents itself as one of the first great calls to action produced in the early days of the war and which aimed to conduct the British propagandistic initiative towards its success. Hardy begins his “heroic” piece with the image of soldiers marching at the break of dawn:

> What of the faith and fire within us
> Men who march away
> Ere the barn-cocks say
> Night is growing grey
> Leaving all that here can win us;
> What of the faith and fire within us
> Men who march away?
> (Hardy 538)

The poem quickly became popular upon its publication and was the subject of praise by other pro-war poets, namely Edward Thomas, who, in a letter to W. H. Hudson, stated that, after having read Hardy’s poem in *The Times*, it was “the only good one concerned with the war” (Fussell 59).

However, the most attentive readers did not fail to notice the questioning element introduced by the poet in the shape of the doubtful civilians who watch the marching soldiers and which might have discreetly demonstrated Hardy’s own personal doubts regarding the conflict: in a letter to Sydney Cockerell dated September 11, 1914, in which the two men discuss the recently published poem, Hardy writes that Cockerell “may have possibly have suspected the ‘Friend with the musing eye’ to be the author himself” (Purdy 48). The second stanza, similar to the first one, begins with a question:

> Is it a purblind prank, O think you,
> Friend with the musing eye,
> Who watch us stepping by
> With doubt and dolorous sigh?
> Can much pondering so hoodwink you!

Is it a purblind prank, O think you,
Friend with the musing eye?
(Hardy 538)

As the soldiers declare that "much pondering" will inevitably deceive ("hoodwink") those who watch them march regarding the nature of their confidence and bravery, which the civilians believe to be untrue, the alliteration "purblind prank" may be interpreted as a representation of the soldiers' enthusiasm as they sing their marching song. However, one cannot ignore that such doubt and questioning have been introduced in the poem through the alternative angle of the observer: the word "musing" not only suggests "poetic inspiration (the "muse")" (Whitehead 89), but also "the thoughtfulness of potential insight" (Ibid). The fighters then proceed to reassure the onlookers:

Nay. We well see what we are doing,
Though some may not see —
Dalliers as they be—
England's need are we;
Her distress would leave us rueing:
Nay. We well see what we are doing,
Though some may not see!

In our heart of hearts believing
Victory crowns the just,
And that braggarts must
Surely bite the dust,
Press we to the field ungrieving,
In our heart of hearts believing
Victory crowns the just.
(Hardy 538)

Referring to the idealised rhetoric used not only by poets but also by British newspapers, namely *The Times*, in articles written all throughout the Great War and which employed euphemistic terms such as "renewal of youth" and "glorious baptism of fire" (Bogacz 643) to characterise the conflict, historian Ted Bogacz writes that

> as the war dragged on, such archaic and euphemistic language seemed to many veterans of the trenches increasingly incongruous and even absurd […] Such language

> inspired not only contempt but also anger on the part of many returning soldiers, for it seemed to them that it deceived those at home about the nature of modern war. (643-4)

While “Men who March Away” might have been written within the propagandistic mission launched by Minister Masterman, much like his 1917 piece *A Call to National Service*, Hardy’s personal view and opinion would be made evident in his later poems, namely “And There was a Great Calm”, written upon the signing of the Armistice in 1918 and in which the poet wonders if all the suffering and losses caused by the war could not have been avoided: “and again the Spirit of Pity whispered, ‘Why?’” (Hardy 590). Nevertheless, and despite the poet’s possible attempt to portray the watching civilians’ doubts and hesitancy as being completely justified, the piece would eventually be the subject of harsh critical interpretation in the second half of the 20th century, with English poet Jon Silkin referring to Hardy as a “poor apologist for the war” (51) in his book *Out of Battle: The Poetry of the Great War*, published in 1972, and later, in his 1986 work *The Penguin Book of First World War Poetry*, describing the poem as a “recruiting song” (80) which aimed to appeal to the British patriotic sentiment.

Misinterpreted or not, it cannot be denied that “Men who March Away”, along with other poems published upon the outbreak of the war, deeply affected society’s idealised thoughts of battlefield glory, patriotic sacrifice, and the duty of being employed in national service, as well as having a great influence on phenomena such as the formation of Kitchener’s Army and mass enlistment campaigns.

The government’s involvement in the production of literary propaganda must be taken into account when analysing said propaganda: one must bear in mind that, although they are often absent in the contemporary study of British war literature, the pro-war poets were “considered the pre-eminent voices of 20th century British society” (Solomon 68). Considering this and their elevated social position, poems such as Hardy’s should be carefully analysed as so the government’s influence that helped shape them can be recognised: as they found themselves in the service of Wellington House, those poets, among them Hardy and Kipling, were no longer strictly under their own personal, historical, societal, or ideological influences, but now felt the weight of their roles as government-sponsored writers.

IV.

Two decades later, the world would once again witness the rise of war propaganda amid the outbreak of World War II in 1939 after the invasion of Poland by Nazi

Germany. This time, however, it found itself no longer limited to writing and the visual arts: with the popularisation of radio in the 1920s and its rapid growth within households all over the globe, both the Allies and the Axis powers had a new, very powerful propagandistic tool at their disposal. Not only had the radio reached an impressive level of popularity since it started being used for public entertainment in 1920, but its widespread accessibility and availability, especially in Europe and in the United States, meant that it was able to fuel propaganda and reach a great number of people, including those who were illiterate and consequently would have been excluded from the literary propagandistic efforts that had taken place during the Great War. As the BBC broadcasted Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's words "this country is at war" on the morning of September 3, 1939, and the Axis powers went on to develop English-speaking shows which disseminated fascist propaganda such as *Axis Sally*, *Tokyo Rose*, and *Lord Haw Haw*, the world found itself once again dominated by propaganda battles and the spread of disinformation.

It is in this context that Ezra Pound, the Idaho-born poet who had been living in Italy since 1924 and collaborated with the fascist regime of Benito Mussolini, recorded more than a hundred broadcasts (Doob 6) for Radio Rome and later for a recently created radio station in the Salò Republic, often referred to as a Nazi "puppet state" in Northern Italy. The project began when Pound first approached the Italian Ministry for Popular Culture a few months before his war broadcast aired in January 21, 1941, and asked to speak to someone about "some of his methods" at "fighting anti-Italian and anti-Fascist propaganda in Europe, in Japan, in China and in the United States" (Corrigan 769). Pound composed and recorded hundreds of broadcasts during the war, most of which aired in *The American Hour*, an English-speaking show broadcasted every three days on the "Ente Italiano per le Audizioni Radiofoniche" (EIAR, "Italian Body for Radio Broadcasting"), the public service broadcaster founded by Mussolini and at the time the only entity allowed by the government to transmit radio shows.

T. S. Eliot's "il miglior fabbro" and one of the precursors of the Modernist aesthetic in poetry, Pound, speaking under different pseudonyms such as "American Imperialist", "Bruce Bairnsfather", Langdon Billings", and "Julian Bingham" (Feldman 98), or simply referring to himself as "Dr. Ezra Pound", would often begin his radio speeches with inflammatory utterances and accusations against leaders such as Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt, then proceeding to glorify Mussolini and launch racist and antisemitic attacks against public figures, namely the prominent Jewish family Rothschild, businessman Henry Strakosch, and English poet Siegfried Sassoon. In one of his earliest broadcasts, dated March 15, 1942, and transcribed by

Leonard W. Doob in his work *"Ezra Pound Speaking": Radio Speeches of World War II*, Pound addresses the English nation and directs his rage towards the Jewish people and several influent Jewish families:

> Is there a RACE left in England? Has it ANY will left to survive? You can carry slaughter to Ireland. Will that save you? I doubt it. Nothing can save you, save a purge. Nothing can save you, save an affirmation that you are English. Whore Belisha is NOT. Isaccs is not. No Sassoon is an Englishman, racially. No Rothschild is English, no Strakosch is English, no Roosevelt is English, no Baruch, Morgenthau, Cohen, Lehman, Warburg, Kuhn, Khan, Baruch, Schiff, Sieff, or Solomon was ever born an Anglo-Saxon. And it is for this filth that you fight. It is for this filth that you have murdered your empire, and it is this filth that elects your politicians. (Pound 62)

Pound's antisemitism does not limit itself to his radio broadcasts: in his 1938 books *Guide to Kulchur*, the author describes Communism, a topic heavily frowned upon at the time, as "barbarous and Hebrew" (270), while "Canto 45" and "Canto 96" corroborate the opinions demonstrated in his radio broadcasts, linking Jews to, respectively, prostitution and venereal diseases and the destruction and obliteration of history. Taking as an example "Canto 96", in which he writes about the destruction of the Colossus of Rhodes and the selling of its fragments "to a Jew" (Pound 677), Pound would later declare, in a broadcast dated July 26, 1942, "Insofar as there are monuments to OTHER races, he [the Jew] is against them . . . they are . . . useless to him until they are reduced to fragments that can be sold in antique shops" (Doob 116).

Although he often repeated themes that were recurrent in his poems without explicitly mentioning them, Pound would eventually, in a broadcast that aired on February 12, 1942, use the poem entitled "Canto 46" to fuel his radiophonic propagandistic efforts on behalf of Fascist Italy. Regarding Pound's employment of his own poetry as propaganda and his political poetics, Matthew Feldman writes, in his work *Ezra Pound's Fascist Propaganda, 1935-45*, that, "there was no clear distinction between Pound's wartime propaganda and his other contemporaneous writings — including the *Cantos*" (69). The most evident example of the merging of Pound's poetics and politics is, undoubtedly, "Canto 46", the one piece he deliberately and directly used as propaganda.

At the beginning of one of his broadcasts, the author introduces the poem in a teacherly, almost arrogant way: "I am readin' [sic] you now another Canto for diverse reasons. It contains things or at least hints at things that you will have to know sooner or later. Berle or no Berle, war or no war" (Pound 34). As he mentions Adolf A. Berle,

one of President Roosevelt’s economic advisors, and the ongoing war before introducing key words and concepts present in his poem, Pound believes it is his personal duty, as a poet and a fierce supporter of Mussolini’s regime, to enlighten his audience and question the actions and attitudes of the Allies, namely Great Britain and the United States, through the live reading of his poem.

Filled with fascist, antisemitic, pro-Axis, and anti-American concepts, “Canto 46” can be interpreted as a pessimistic prophecy of the future of both the British and American nations, two countries which, according to Pound, will eventually find themselves condemned by the sin of usury and reckless profiting. Acting as a mixture of Pound’s personal economic and political beliefs and the denunciation of modern life, the poem criticises the use of the biblical concept known as “*ex nihil*” (in Latin, “out of nothing”) by bankers, who can be perceived as evil omens, and its consequent link to usurer activity. One of those malignant-like figures is one Mr. Rothschild, a banker, among many others, who, in an act of defiance and disrespect towards God, employs the divine tool used by Him in the Bible to create the world “out of nothing”:

> Hath benefit of interest on all
> The moneys which it, the bank, creates out of nothing.
> Semi-private inducement
> Said Mr. RothSchild, hell knows which Roth-schild
> (Pound 233)

By linking the banking activity to distinct Jewish families and individuals and indirectly referring to them as usurers through the deliberate use and misspelling of the surname Rothschild, Pound’s poem and speech succeed in corroborating with popular misconceptions shared by a great part of European and American societies and fuelling generalised prejudice.

A few verses later, the author refers to the year of 1694, the founding date of the Bank of England, as an essential stage “through the ages of usury”:

> 1694 anno domini, on through the ages of usury
> On, right on, into hair-cloth, right on into rotten-building
> Right on into London houses, ground rents, foetid brick work […]
> The bank makes it *ex nihil*
> (Pound 233)

Believing his rather Dantesque conception that usury was the one great economic, if not human, evil (for the usurer bankers, according to Pound and through creating profit *ex nihil*, abused a divine power and even went as far as trying to replace God) and lost deep into his hero-worship of the fascist Italian leader, the poet

> saw in Mussolini an ally in the fight against the usurers and saw the Fascist economists as working toward an appreciation of economic realities and the destruction of the rule of the international banker. This is the basis of the alliance between poetry and politics. (Ferkiss 178)

In the final verses of his poem, Pound outlines a grim prediction of the upcoming American future under the "reign of F. Roosevelt", and states that other countries, namely England and France, are walking towards something similar. The explicit references to the Allies and the pessimistic prospects foreseen in their future is a clear attack conducted by the author, who believes himself a poet turned prophet. Much like a teacher addressing his students after a complex yet enlightening lesson, Pound wraps up the broadcast in a curt, almost enigmatic manner, by saying "E. P. Speaking. That's the end of Canto 46" (Pound 38).

Pound, who since the beginning of his literary career had enjoyed continuous success and international recognition, had now found a new way of spreading his personal discriminating beliefs and supporting the regime of Benito Mussolini and fascism itself. As he places his verses and himself at il Duce's service at the beginning of the war, only to be found indicted for treason by the United States in 1943 (Nadel 284), the poet becomes an expressive part of the intricate Italian propaganda machine.

V.

Although Brooke, Hardy and Pound belonged to different generations and perceived the conflicts they were living through with different eyes, it is nevertheless impossible to ignore the similarities between them concerning their roles as poets, and, in Brooke's case, as a soldier, in the respective wars they witnessed and, in one way or another, took part.

Both Hardy and Pound worked decades apart as government sponsored writers within opposite ideological and political contexts, although their main and major goal remained the same: to fulfil their propagandistic mission through the widespread and popularisation of their opinionated verses. Still, it can be argued that the Italian fascist regime thoroughly enjoyed Pound's contribution as an alien (and an American,

above anything else) and therefore as someone very likely to exercise greater influence on his fellow American citizens and even on the high intellectual circles of London and Paris in order to promote the Italian fascist ideals that permeate many of his poems. Another advantage enjoyed by Pound and yet completely unthinkable to Hardy, who was already a sexagenarian at the beginning of the 20th century, was the possibility to broadcast his speeches via the radio to the northern part of Europe and to the other side of the Atlantic.

Another visible similarity between the cases of the first two poets addressed in this article is the regret and the shock of reality that would eventually overtake them. While Hardy's Armistice-inspired poem "And There Was a Great Calm" evokes a mixture of confusion, despair, hopefulness, and self-questioning regarding the end of the war in 1918, with endless fighters finding themselves doubting their own actions in the past four years and asking themselves if such bloodshed and waste of lives could not have been avoided, Brooke's final poem *Fragment*, written just before his death on board the French hospital ship Duguay-Trouin, foreshadows the pessimistic (or rather, realistic) tones of Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfred Owen. In his final verses, the poet abandons the early idealism which had inspired many of his poems and the hopes for a glorious future and, instead, simply accepts death as his fate and the fact that no heroic acts of bravery can save him from it:

> I strayed about the deck, an hour, to-night
> Under a cloudy moonless sky; and peeped
> In at the windows, watched my friends at table,
> Or playing cards, or standing in the doorway,
> Or coming out into the darkness. Still
> No one could see me.
>
> I would have thought of them
> —Heedless, within a week of battle—in pity,
> Pride in their strength and in the weight and firmness
> And link'd beauty of bodies, and pity that
> This gay machine of splendour 'ld soon be broken,
> Thought little of, pashed, scattered. . . .
>
> Only, always,
> I could but see them—against the lamplight—pass
> Like coloured shadows, thinner than filmy glass,
> Slight bubbles, fainter than the wave's faint light,

> That broke to phosphorus out in the night,
> Perishing things and strange ghosts—soon to die
> To other ghosts—this one, or that, or I.
> (Brooke 115)

It is interesting to notice that the word "pity" is repeated in the poem, and it is one that highly contrasts with the more positive tone employed in his earlier works produced at the outbreak of the war, yet that here aligns significantly with Wilfred Owen's famous preface to the collection of poems that would be published posthumously in 1919, and written just before he was killed in battle in November 1918:

> This book is not about heroes. English poetry is not yet fit to speak of them. Nor is it about deeds, or lands, nor anything about glory, honour, might, majesty, dominion or power, except War. Above all I am not concerned with Poetry. My subject is War, and the pity of War. The Poetry is in the pity. (Owen 31)

Not surprisingly, the rhetoric of the two soldier-poets approaching their own deaths - and one of them who had once been characterised by his striking optimism regarding the war - is very similar and filled with a pessimism awakened by the tough reality that followed during the subsequent months of the war.

Furthermore, it could be argued that Hardy and Brooke's vision of the British Imperialist greatness was then nothing but a faded idealistic dream that was for decades characterised by its oppressiveness and caused great suffering to many people around the world, and has been such since the end of World War II, the Suez Crisis, and Brexit, while the fascist ideals that Pound once nurtured are scarily becoming more evident around the world and is currently and overtly displayed as a means of controlling society and politics.

VI. Conclusion

Unlike Rupert Brooke, who would die a victim of septicaemia caused by an infected mosquito bite at the age of 27, while abroad with the British Mediterranean Expeditionary Force (although he did not get to the point of engaging in combat), both Thomas Hardy and Ezra Pound would live to witness the results of, respectively, the World War I and World War II.

In his later years, Hardy eventually found himself disappointed and sceptical towards the subject of war, writing, in 1918, that he did not "think a world in which

such fiendishness is possible to be worth saving" (Sherman 447). Ten years later, at the age of 87, he became ill with pleurisy and died in his Dorchester home minutes after dictating his last poem to his wife.

As for Pound, who was firstly imprisoned by partisans a few days after Mussolini's death in April 1945 and later transferred to the United States Army Disciplinary Training Centre in Pisa, where he would spend the following months before being extradited to the United States in November of that same year, during the time he spent in prison, started drafting what would be eventually known as *The Pisan Cantos* on sheets of toilet paper.

Back in his home country and after undergoing several psychiatric examinations at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, DC, he was officially declared unfit to stand trial upon the medical conclusion that he was of "unsound mind", a diagnostic which came days after he yelled during a court hearing: "I never did believe in Fascism, God damn it; I am opposed to Fascism" (Moody 213). Although he was never officially found guilty of treason due to attested incapacity to stand trial and therefore did not share the fate of other collaborationists such as William Joyce, a fascist supporter and broadcaster nicknamed Lord Haw-Haw who ended up being executed for treason in 1946, Pound's fascist past would haunt him even after he had been discharged from St. Elizabeth's and returned to Italy. He would die in Venice in November 1972, at the age of 87, after having declared, a few years before: "that any good I've done has been spoiled by bad intentions - the preoccupation with irrelevant and stupid things" (Reck 29) and "[…] the worst mistake I made was that stupid, suburban prejudice of anti-Semitism" (Carpenter 898-9).

While the use of poetry as war propaganda and of patriotic verses written by idealist authors in order to fuel nationalism may seem like something that is buried deep into the vaults of the past and incompatible with modern times, one is left to wonder if concepts and ideas merely take different shapes throughout the decades, and if the ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine will make way for a new wave of political propaganda - this time disseminated through modern tools. It is safe to say that, had Ezra Pound been alive in the 21st century, he might have found a very successful medium in the podcast.

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[1] Aimed at the working classes and highly successful during the first months of the war, the enlistment movement known as "The Pals Battalions", or simply "The Pals", consisted in volunteers that had enlisted together in local recruiting units spread across the country. Moved by the promise that they would be able to serve alongside other members of their families, friends, colleagues, and neighbours instead of being

reallocated to a different battalion, these men would eventually be sent to the same regiments and consequently to the same battles, in which many of those local battalions would suffer considerable casualties.

Ukraine Girls and Liverpool Boys Back in the USSR: Revisiting The Beatles in Times of Trouble and War

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Abstract

This paper was prompted by two totally unconnected but highly evocative events: The Beatles International Conference, organized by the Lisbon branch of CETAPS at NOVA (June 2021), and the Russian military invasion of Ukraine (February 2022). My purpose in drawing them together is to offer some brief comments on "Back in the USSR", the opening track of the double LP *The Beatles* (November 1968), the first edited by Apple Records, and usually known as "The White Album".

Keywords: "Back in the USSR"; Ukraine Girls; *The Beatles* (Double LP, 1968); "The White Album"; The Beatles

Resumo

Este artigo foi despoletado por dois acontecimentos totalmente independentes, mas profundamente simbólicos: o Congresso Internacional sobre os Beatles, organizado pelo polo de Lisboa do CETAPS na NOVA (junho de 2021) e a invasão militar da Ucrânia pela Rússia (fevereiro de 2022). O meu propósito ao relacionar ambos é o de tecer alguns breves comentários sobre "Back in the USSR", a faixa inaugural do disco duplo The Beatles (novembro de 1968), o primeiro editado pela Apple Records e geralmente conhecido apenas como o "Álbum Branco".

Palavras-chave: "Back in the USSR"; Mulheres da Ucrânia; *The Beatles* (LP duplo, 1968); O "Álbum Branco"; Os Beatles

To Prof. Teresa Botelho (NOVA FCSH)

This position paper was prompted by two totally unconnected but highly evocative events: The Beatles International Conference, organized by the Lisbon branch of CETAPS at NOVA (June 2021),[1] and the Russian military invasion and occupation of Ukraine (February 2022), which filled the European TV screens with images of women fleeing from the conflict with their children under their arms, as they were forced to leave husbands, fathers, brothers, belongings and homeland behind. My purpose in drawing them together is to offer some brief comments on "Back in the USSR", the opening track of the double LP *The Beatles* (November 1968), the first edited by Apple Records, and usually known as "The White Album", due to its minimalist cover, so deeply different from the graphic exuberance of those of the two preceding LPs: *Revolver* (1966) and *Sgt Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (1967).

To Mark Donnelly, 1968 "was the most symbolic year of the sixties. If proof was required of how far events had moved from the conformism of the fifties, it came in 1968" (143); whereas Barry Miles argues that: "If 1967 was the summer of love, 1968 was best characterized as a year of political action" (241). From the viewpoint of (early) contemporary history, international politics, and the world order, 1968 was indeed a momentous year, witnessing, for example, the ongoing Vietnam war and the Tet operation; the brutal murders of Martin Luther King (b.1929) and Robert (Bob) Kennedy (b.1925); the Chicago demonstrations at the Democrat Convention; the students' revolt and protests at the Sorbonne; the ideological impact in the West of Mao's Cultural Revolution in China; the first stirrings of "The Troubles" between Catholics and Protestants in Ulster/Northern Ireland; here at home, Salazar's physical and symbolical fall from both chair and power; and, more to my point here, the Warsaw Pact's invasion of Czechoslovakia, cutting short the reforming breeze of the "Prague Spring" led and inspired by Alexander Dubček (1921-1992), to name but a few main events.[2] To Simon Philo,

> . . . 1968 was a watershed year for rock music that protested the war, tied as it was to these and other key political and military events . . . . Through '68 and beyond, a creeping paranoia and violence had seeped into much of rock music . . . an apocalyptic edge that was hard to miss and difficult to ignore. (134)

Considering then, on the one hand, the signs and mental context of the times and, on the other, the new "Cold War" we are now living under, with China and North Korea

playing their part behind the (reframed iron) curtain that has descended across the Continent, the Russian aggression to Ukraine, reminiscent of Soviet (if not Tzarist) imperialism itself, certainly justifies “getting back to where I once belonged” - the late Sixties -, not to mention Paul McCartney’s passionate waving of the Ukrainian flag in several concerts earlier this year.

As Marcus Collins puts it, “. . . existing scholarship on the Beatles’ political impact resembles an echo chamber in which writers amplify each other’s assertions and mistakes” (152-3). In fact, critical assessment and evaluation of the Fab Four and everything that they (may) have stood for does not involve politics alone, but larger cultural questions: for example, were The Beatles mostly agents and representative embodiments of tradition, continuity, and the Establishment or, on the contrary, of novelty, change, and young(th) (sub)cultures?[3] According to Arthur Marwick,

> . . . many took them, legitimately enough, as symbolizing youthful radicalism, though they were never more than what one might call “honorary” members of the movement; like many others they dipped in and out of “counter-cultural” events, being obviously also part . . . of the highly commercialized rock/pop scene. (457-8)[4]

> With Beatles songs direct links between lyrics and current events are not easy to find . . . . Of explicit political commitment there is not a great deal . . . : the single most obviously associated with one particular contemporary outlook on the world’s problems, *All You Need Is Love*, was one of the more banal; *Revolution 1* . . . and *Revolution 9* . . . were both, in their verbal messages, confused and contradictory, and were bitterly attacked by the Left. (459)

Be that as it may, and besides the “political impact” Collins speaks of, much has been written on the ideological views and stances of the Fab Four, again a subject of hot, controversial, and endless debate,[5] often focused on “Revolution”, also from “The White Album”. In spite of John Lennon’s twofold, ambivalent statement towards destruction,[6] “Revolution”, and “the White Album” as a whole, mark a clear shift in The Beatles’ (particularly John’s) political outspokenness, even if/when they choose to dwell on, or resort to, the “warm gun” of ambiguity. There is, however, nothing ambiguous or equivocal in the lyrics’ blatant rejection of violence, hate,[7] and fundamentalism/fanaticism/radicalism.[8] As Fred Inglis points out,

> Written by John Lennon, it [“Revolution”] signaled his frustration and resentment at the Beatles’ commercial obligation to avoid overt political comment. Envious of Bob Dylan’s ability to engage in meaningful contemporary debates in song, Lennon’s

> politicization had accelerated since his relationship with Yoko Ono, and the death of Brian Epstein [1967] had removed the last serious restraint on his desire to participate in "serious" forms of discourse. (117)

Inglis' view is also endorsed by Sean Egan (177-8). However, as far as pacifism is concerned, the best musical example of Lennon's commitment and militancy is probably "Give Peace a Chance" (1969), recorded and released in the context of the Plastic Ono Band project.[9]

As is commonly known, "Back in the USSR" is traditionally seen as inspired by, and responding to, two American rock and pop songs, both tinged with chauvinistic notes, which somehow materialize, in some cultural and civilizational respects, mid-20th century musical versions of the American dream: Chuck Berry's "Back in the USA" (1959),[10] and The Beach Boys' "California Girls" (1965).[11] This influence, as well as an underlying parodical[12] intention by The Beatles, has been noted by the critics throughout the decades,[13] raising the possibility of expert, finely-tuned readings in musical intertextuality/intertextual musicality and/or comparative musicology. Such approaches would be, of course, far beyond the aims of this paper, but, in any case, I would suggest a close and careful verbal-oriented listening to the following two videos, each one interesting in its own way: "The Beatles Back In The USSR" (https://my.mail.ru/mail/gorlova_luba/video/2926/7601.html) and "Paul McCartney - Back In The USSR" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_JbLsYoL3ug).

At this stage, it should perhaps be added that, in spite of a rumour that The Beatles had given a secret concert for the Soviet élites, the band as a whole never played in the USSR, which is perhaps not surprising, considering that they were, after all, global idols and icons of Western consumerism and capitalism, not Eastern communism and state-regulated, military-driven economies. Leslie Woodhead argues, not mincing words:

> Unrecorded in accounts of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the impact of the Beatles - and the musical revolution they inspired - were crucial on washing away the . . . totalitarian edifice. Their music, their style, their spirit were the keys. They were forbidden, never allowed to play in the U.S.S.R. But their music . . . blasted open the door to Western culture, fomenting a cultural revolution that helped to destroy the Soviet Union. (2)

The band's dramatic and traumatic break-up (1970) occurred indeed 15-20 years before Mikhail Gorbatchov's *glasnost* and *perestroika* policies drastically improved the

relations between the USSR and the Anglo-American axis, featuring Ronald Reagan (1911-2004) and Margaret Thatcher (1925-2013), in the mid-1980s,[14] leading, later in the decade, to the demolition of the Berlin Wall (1989) and the beginning of political and ideological "decolonization" and independence of the countries and nations hitherto bound - in every sense of the word - by the Warsaw Pact. Speaking of concrete walls, barbed wire and iron curtains, Des Brown recalls that Elton John (b.1947), the singer of the moving hit *Nikita* (1985, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tg-Q-Acv4qs), was a pioneer in gaining musical access to the USSR and there is a nice story involving him and The Beatles:

> Elton John became the first Western pop or rock act to penetrate the Iron Curtain when he played Leningrad and Moscow concerts in May 1979.
>
> Elton John was considered acceptable, but not the Beatles. Woodhead explained that by the 1970s, the Kremlin recognized that rock music still had to be reconciled with the Soviet system.
>
> While the spirit and energy of the Beatles remained too risky, musicians like Elton John were felt to be safe and unchallenging. Even so, the authorities tried to insist that Elton should not perform "Back in the USSR".
>
> When he defied the ban at the end of his final concert and played the song, it unleashed exactly the explosion of uncontrolled enthusiasm the authorities had feared. (Brown, n. pag.)[15]

Having named the videos (and there are, of course, many more from performances all over the world, including one in the Red Square, Moscow, in 2003, and a later one in Kiev, 2008), I would like now to put up some practical examples for consideration, by recalling O'Callaghan's remarks on the subject. Before that, however, a quote from Barry Miles, one of the main chroniclers of the British Sixties, may be useful to understand the context:

> . . . I went to Cavendish Avenue to see Paul, needing to have a serious meeting with him. . . . Years before, Paul had told me never to be scared to come to him if I was ever in dire need. "Years from now," he said. "Twenty years from now!" We took tea in his living room like two English gentlemen . . . .
>
> He was obviously very pleased about something. "Come and hear this", he said, and we went upstairs to the music room. He put on a white label acetate of "Back in the USSR". "How do you think the cocky Americans will like that?" We both laughed. It was superb. (246-7)

So now onto the song itself. After a ("dreadful") BOAC flight from Miami Beach, Florida, evoked through musical onomatopoeia at both ends, the USSR seems to be viewed, at face value, as an enviable place for "lucky boys", presumably better than the USA and the Western world at large. This stance, coming at the time of the invasion of Prague (1968), could hardly fail to inspire some adverse criticism from different political quarters, including New Left intellectuals and activists both in the UK and the US. As MacDonald recalls:

> Recorded as Soviet tanks rolled into Czechoslovakia, it was a rather tactless **jest** which in America, prompted the John Birch Society to charge The Beatles with fomenting communism (The song later percolated into the USSR on smuggled tapes and became a favourite among the group's Russian fans.) (309-10, emphasis added)

Nonetheless, one may wonder: were the Beatles speaking in earnest or were they being ironical or "mockers", as Ringo, in typical Liverpudlian fashion, once defined himself?[16] O'Callaghan, for instance, argues that "From start to finish, everything about 'Back in the U.S.S.R.' is tongue in cheek." (n. pag.), adding that:

> "Back in the U.S.S.R." is timeless, . . . for reasons beyond The Beatles' global appeal. In a tense world of spying allegations, proxy wars, and shoe-banging, the song was just about political enough to irk the world's overlords, while playing as a private joke to everyone else. (n. pag.)

To start with, "flight" can also mean any sort of "escape" (not necessarily an airborne one) and, if so, what was the character, spy or no spy, fleeing from (or into)? Additionally, did the "dreadful flight", after a bedless night, require a paper bag on his knee, because he was leaving the USA, going back to the USSR, or both? The very word "back" suggests that he had been in the USSR before, and, if so, why did he leave in the first place? And why the Americanism "Gee" before acknowledging that "it's good to be back home" (that is, in the USSR)? Finally, can this sign of linguistic acculturation be due to him "being away so long" to the point of "hardly knowing [knew] the place"?

Secondly, if we analyse the refrain, "I'm back in the USSR/ You don't know how lucky you are, boy/ Back in the USSR", we will find the last line repeated with a slightly different, though significant, ending: "Back in the US/ Back in the US/ Back in the USSR". How should we then, as listeners/readers, interpret this feigned stammer, similar, *mutatis mutandis*, to The Who's "Why don't you all f…, f…, f…, fade away" in

"My Generation" (1964)? If we also add up John Lennon's "count me out (in)" statement in "Revolution" (an intentional fake hesitation or slip of the tongue?), further studies on the extent and role of subtextual innuendo, ambiguity, and *double entendre* in the pop/rock scene of the Sixties would certainly be welcome.

Finally, if we bear in mind the "Backing Britain" campaign, run by the Wilson Cabinet, "**Back in** the US(SR)" is, phonetically speaking, quite close to either/both "**Backing** the US" or/and "**Backing** the USSR" (emphasis added), the superpowers that spearheaded and polarized the geopolitical, ideological, military, and economic world since 1945, including, of course, the late Sixties.

The third and last example from "Back in the USSR" which I would like to draw attention to is the following (including another stutter at the end):

> Well, the Ukraine girls really knock me out[17]
> They leave the West behind.
> And Moscow girls make me sing and shout
> That Georgia is always on ma-ma-ma-ma-ma-ma-ma-ma-ma-mind.

In his essay "We All Want to Change the World. Postmodern Politics and the Beatles' *White Album*", Jeffrey Roessner stresses the importance of irony as an active form of ideological engagement, rather than detachment or aloofness:

> "Back in the USSR" plays on stereotypical Western visions of . . . the United States and Soviet Union, and satirizes the absurdities in each. The song mocks the idealized fantasy of the . . . States as a vast beach populated with attractive women, a nation of sports cars and barbecues. At the same time, McCartney exposes how little the average listener knows of the real inhabitants of the communist empire . . . . The reference to "Georgia" seals the song's irony, as the name of the Soviet republic mirrors its U.S. twin and we confront . . . the cold war fable of absolute good versus absolute evil. . . . Listening to this song, . . . have we entered a postmodern hall of mirrors, constructed through . . . irony . . . ? [W]e find political significance in having our identities troubled, in being asked to confront contradictions in the Western fantasy of purity and goodness as defined against an evil, Soviet Other. (157)

Indeed, Georgia can either mean the American state or the former Soviet republic, now a sovereign and independent country. But till when or for how long?

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[1] “It Was Fifty Years Ago Today: An Academic Tribute to The Beatles” (17-18.06.2021).

[2] See also Sandbrook 658-9: “. . . 1968 had been a year of political turmoil and social upheaval: riots and assassinations in the United States; student rebellion in France; bombings in West Germany; massacres in

Mexico City; bloodshed in Saigon and Prague. But for Britain, it had been another year of gloom, of economic austerity and a limping, bloodied government [Harold Wilson's, 1964-1970]. Few people thought that 1969 would be much better."

[3] Although far too long to be quoted here, see Collins 2-3.

[4] David Fowler argues, in rather harsh words, that "The Beatles were not . . . at the forefront of a cultural movement of the young. Thew were young capitalists who, far from developing a youth culture, were exploiting youth culture by promoting fan worship, mindless screaming and nothing more than a passive teenage consumer" (171).

[5] As Collins puts it: "The ideological soundness of the Beatles was ultimately hard . . . to judge. Their politics changed from year to year and they were not card-carrying members of anything" (177). The whole chapter, entitled "Politics: The Beatles, Parliament and Revolution" (151-92), is worth reading.

[6] "But when you talk about destruction / Don't you know that you can count me out . . . in" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BGLGzRXY5Bw). On this hesitation or contradiction, see, for instance, MacDonald 280-6, 287-91 and 295-6 and Philo 136-8. According to the latter, ". . . 'Revolution' was quite simply the rawest and angriest the band had ever been, and would ever be, on 45. Yet, like 'Hey Jude', it addressed the need for positive and peaceful behavior as a constructive response to increasingly violent, destructive times" (138).

[7] "But if you want money for people with minds that hate / All I can tell you is, brother, you have to wait." (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BGLGzRXY5Bw)

[8] "But if you go carrying pictures of Chairman Mao / You ain't gonna make it with anyone anyhow." (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BGLGzRXY5Bw)

[9] "Give Peace a Chance" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C3_0GqPvr4U).

[10] "Well, I'm so glad I'm livin' in the U.S.A. (uh, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah) / Yes, I'm so glad I'm livin' in the U.S.A. (uh, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah) / Anything you want, they got right here in the U.S.A. (mm-huh, mm-huh)." (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sBsMEuRlq5o)

[11] "I been all around this great big world / And I seen all kinds of girls / Yeah, but I couldn't wait to get back in the States / Back to the cutest girls in the world." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B8yph3rb27o)

[12] In Simon Dentith's definition, "Parody includes any cultural practice which provides a relatively polemical allusive imitation of another cultural production or practice" (9).

[13] John Hunter Davies, for instance, describes this song as "A good joke, in words and lyrics, to ape a very American-type rocker" (181), mentioning also the "Beach Boys-style falsettos" (*Ibidem*); likewise, Ian MacDonald presents it as "a thunderous wall of sound sprayed with jet-engine effects and falsetto backing vocals in the mould of full-tilt Beach Boys's records . . . " (310). Interestingly enough, "Back in the USSR" was also played live by The Beach Boys in Washington, on July 4th, 1984, with Ringo Starr on drums (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fBB6KlqTvig).

[14] Due to the British presence, influence, and interests in India and the Near and the Middle East, the distrust of Russia had been a regular feature of British foreign politics throughout the 19th century, often amounting to Russophobia (see Cunningham 72 and 74), and the Crimean War (1854-1856) had obviously worsened the relations between the British Lion and the Russian Bear. The military and political cooperation during the Second World War would not last long, as attested by Churchill's famous Iron Curtain speech, delivered at Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, on 5th March 1946 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S2PUIQpAEAQ).

[15] According to Leslie Whitehead, "Elton said it was one of the most unforgettable performances of his life . . ." (121).

[16] In an interview recorded at Television House, London, on 20 March 1964, for the ITV programme "Ready Steady Go", "Cathy McGowan asked Ringo, 'Do you think you're a mod? Do you know what a mod is, Ringo? To which he replied, 'No, I'm not a mod, or a rocker. I'm a mocker" (Davies 551).

[17] "And the Southern girls with the way they talk / They knock me out when I'm down there." (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B8yph3rb27o) Likewise, the line "They [the northern girls] keep their boyfriends warm at night" is almost echoed by The Beatles in "Come and keep your comrade warm" (https://my.mail.ru/mail/gorlova_luba/video/2926/7601.html); compare also "The Mid-West farmer's daughters / Really make you feel alright" (Beach Boys) with "Take me to your daddy's farm" (The Beatles).

Representation as Collective Memory: Carnivalesque and Orality in *Eldorado West One* by Sam Selvon

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Abstract

In Sam Selvon's seven one-act radio-drama *Eldorado West One*, written for BBC radio in 1969, a universe of colours, contrasts, accents, nostalgia, and struggle that peculiarise the life experience of the Caribbean community in London is at stake. The main characters of the play are the same as in the well-known novel *The Lonely Londoners* (1956), re-represented in a theatrical context, constructed on the orality and urban communication, reinvented through the immediate representation of radio actors and the expression of the Trinidadian Creole Language. The surrounding reality described by Selvon's conscious disillusionment is interwoven with the historical events that have marked British society, such as the massive migration from the Caribbean territories to London, like the Windrush generation in the 50s, that, in the last decades, have shaped the United Kingdom into a cross-cultural society. This essay is an attempt to show, from a linguistic reflection to ethnographic data about Trinidadian Carnival, how we incur in these elements through the play indicated above; through the connection in Selvon's narrative between the Caribbean heritage, in particular the manifestation of the subculture related to the Trinidadian Carnival, the Creole and Calypso music; and the syncretism created by the tradition and the contact with the Western culture, in the era of European decolonisation during the 20th century.

Keywords: Sam Selvon; Caribbean heritage; Carnival; Trinidadian Creole; Calypso

Resumo

No drama radiofónico de sete atos únicos de Sam Selvon, intitulado *Eldorado West One* e escrito para a rádio BBC em 1969, está em jogo um universo de cores, contrastes, sotaques, saudades e lutas que peculiarizam a experiência de vida da comunidade caribenha em Londres.

As personagens principais da peça são as mesmas do conhecido romance *The Lonely Londoners* (1956), re-representados num contexto teatral, construído sobre a oralidade e a comunicação urbana, reinventados através da representação imediata dos atores da rádio e a expressão da língua crioula de Trinidad. A realidade envolvente, descrita pela desilusão consciente de Selvon, está entrelaçada com os acontecimentos históricos que marcaram a sociedade britânica, tais como a massiva migração dos territórios caribenhos para Londres, como aconteceu com a geração Windrush nos anos 50, tendo moldado, nas últimas décadas, o Reino Unido numa sociedade transcultural. Este ensaio é uma tentativa de mostrar, a partir de uma reflexão linguística e dos dados etnográficos sobre o Carnaval de Trinidad, a presença de tais elementos na peça acima indicada, através da conexão na narrativa de Selvon entre a herança caribenha, em particular a manifestação da subcultura relacionada ao Carnaval de Trinidad, à música crioula e Calipso, e ao sincretismo criado pela tradição e pelo contacto com a cultura ocidental, na época da descolonização europeia no século XX.

Palavras-chave: Sam Selvon; Herança caribenha; Carnaval; Crioulo de Trinidad; Calipso

1. **Creole and *Lingua Hospes*, a revolution in radio drama**

To define his work with BBC radio, for which Selvon produced more than twenty plays in two decades, he said: “I think drama for radio is much more imaginative and less limited than writing for the stage . . . I like writing for radio because there is no limit to where one can place characters” (Selvon, *Eldorado West One* 8). With the freedom of writing using direct speech and extending the peculiarities of the characters from his most famous novel, *The Lonely Londoners* (1955), in *Eldorado West One* (1966) Selvon was able to bring the orality of the Caribbean dialect not just through printed pages, but also via radio, stressing the importance of the orality *per se* and the theatrical representation of a small group of Caribbean immigrants; reaching, in this way, the different substrates of the British population, and showing the unlike musicality of the creole and *patois*. Besides the linguistic bias and barriers, the characterisation of Caribbean voices in literature had been an issue in academia and especially for those who were Afro-descendant writers.

Barbadian poet Edward Kamau Brathwaite stated that in the Caribbean, English is not the standard, imported, educated English (266). Still, it is a language that submerged from a different prism of dialectical influence, coming from the uprooted Hindi, Chinese, French, Dutch and Spanish, and from the first linguistic variant of the islands, such as Amerindian languages and the ones brought by the Ashanti people that were the majority in scale for the enslaved people’s descendants. Through centuries, people were forced to learn a language along other things, such as values, historical events, and way of living, that belonged to the colonisers (Brathwaite 263). When these creoles are used for poetry and novels, the main problem for Brathwaite is to

represent the embodiment of the environment. This expressivity comes through the oral tradition: “It may be English, but often it is an English which is like a howl, or a shout, or a machine-gun, or the wind, or a wave. It is also like the blues. And sometimes it is English and African at the same time” (Brathwaite 266).

Sam Selvon used the Caribbean variants in all his work; since the beginning of his career, he quickly realised how unsuitable these were to represent his characters' experiences and thoughts. He, therefore, chose Trinidadian Creole English (TCE) and in doing so, he added a new multicultural dimension to the tradition. He heightened awareness of a changing society characterised on the one hand by decolonisation and on the other by immigration from the colonies to London. He was also capable of using a miscellaneous variety of styles, through the manifestation of pride of his cultural belonging and memories, and, by doing that, he “seems to be saying to the reader, ‘Man, I is a creolize Trinidian, *oui*’ (Wyke 6). He adopted a writing design strictly linked to orality, opting for a colloquial narrative style in tune with everyday stories addressed to a broad audience. The language, here, is a synecdoche in transcoding the migrant experience.

Selvon’s style reflects his life’s path: he is a West-Indian, born in an East-Indian family with Scottish ancestry, writing about a Black London without owning an African ancestry. This particular standpoint within the fluid diversity of a metropolis like London allows him to be self-defined as an Afro Trinidadian Londoner (Dickinson 70). His tangible cultural heritage allowed him to reveal the characters through various languages. The originality of his style lies in his attempt to capture the language spoken by Caribbean immigrants in London. It is possible to find all the linguistic shades of the cultural pluralism represented in his books through different syntactic structures.

The *lingua hospes hostis* (Derrida, 29), the Master language, the one brought by the colonisers in Trinidad, is reworked, becoming a powerful tool to destroy the alienation related to the painful historical events of the British Caribbean expansion. By the use of an imposed mother tongue, whose font, rules, and laws were located elsewhere (Derrida 50), Selvon exposed himself. He used to state the presence of the otherness as part of the third space between the colonised and the colonisers, where his origin became part of a substructure which cannot have a separation within the meaning and the context where he expressed himself, as stated by Bhabha:

> The pronominal I of the proposition cannot be made to address - in its own words - the subject of enunciation, for this is not personable but remains a spatial relation within the schemata and strategies of discourse . . . this ambivalence is emphasised

> when we realise that there is no way that the content of the proposition will reveal the structure of its positionality; no way that context can be mimetically read off from the content. (36)

According to Brathwaite, the main issue is the full expression of each creole and its musicality:

> Reading is an isolated, individualistic expression. The oral tradition, on the other hand, makes demands not only on the poet but also on the audience to complete the community: the noise and sounds that the poet makes are responded to by the audience and returned to him . . . . And this total expression comes about . . . because people come from a historical experience where they had to rely on their own breath patterns rather than on paraphernalia like books and museums. They had to depend on immanence, their power, rather than technology outside themselves. (273)

In Selvon's case, these barriers are broken through his plays written for the radio, such as *Eldorado West One* (1966), a seven one-act radio drama that was aired on BBC in 1966.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, radio drama has occupied a specific place in mass culture as a new storytelling genre. All the connections with the spectator are made through the audio and sound signals (Crook 7). Radio's global impact on society, from leisure to war, is well documented; it used to be the leading technology to communicate worldwide. The success of radio dramas during the last century should be linked to the importance of orality in the history of humankind before the development of literature since it leans on the same principles: onomatopoeic reliance on rhyme and metrical speech rhythms; plus, it can capture the holophonic sounds of the surrounding environment (Crook 22), providing an immersive auditive experience, being an acoustic performance, which depends on dialogue. It is important to stress that the peculiarity of the communication in theatrical conversations depends on two axes: one internal, within the characters of the play, and another external, related to them and the public (D'Angeli 43). As in a theatre, hearing a radio drama play does not allow the spectator to rewind the conversation as it is possible when he or she is reading a novel; it is about the imminence of the action connected to the words, as Trinidad and Tobago's culture of oral tradition clearly illustrates.

2. Characters and Calypso as a sonic background

Eldorado West One (1966) was written over a decade since Selvon lived in London. This play is focused on two main settings, Trinidad and London, where the affectionate reader can recognise many elements from his short stories and previous novels. The title "is a comic attempt to subvert and demythologise the colonial dream of the streets of London being paved with gold" (Nasta 8). The characters of the *pièce* are West Indians and Africans living their life with struggles and loneliness far away from home. This Eldorado is grey as the city of London and represents the exile of this group of friends, mainly men, who try to colonise England in reverse. The calypso party, the *fête* around the city, and the hustle to find the ingredients for a fresh dish of Trinidadian cuisine represent their comfort zone, from the *maelstrom* of daily life, the jobs, and the routine that suck them down as a powerful whirlpool within the people's ocean of the city, giving them a sparkly hope of *repaysement* (Monteiro, *Elogio do Desconhecido* n.pag.), the feeling of being home.

The play was written between the release *of The Lonely Londoners* (1955) and *Moses Ascending* (1975), and we find the same characters in these two books. We are in the middle of the slow disintegration of the British colonial Empire after the second world war and the direct impact on the West Indies territories because of the immigration politics adopted by the crown. That is when the Windrush generation,[1] with its massive migration to the United Kingdom, will forever change the cultural and social reality of Great Britain. Those events accompanied Selvon's growth and his capability to represent, through the voices of his characters, the challenges and difficulties to adapt to a rough, uncertain, and fluid social situation.

The play, which is characterised by language as a tool to underline the alienness of West Indians in London, through a variety of shades and speech patterns, starts with Moses. A recurrent alter ego of Selvon in his literary production, Moses represents the mimicry in its ephemeral exception of metonymy of presence, forced by the strategy of the dominant and centuries-old authority, fortified through the colonial narrative (Bhabha 129). He is interviewed by a Black British reporter, who symbolises the first generation of Blacks in Britain. Galahad, a historical name referring to Lancelot's son, is a calypsonian figure as, with his tricks, he tries to survive in the immigrant community.

During the play, Calypso is a sonic background, and it declares a cultural performance through the rhythms that lay in the creole's expressions. It can be considered a rhetorical element to define and shape the cultural identity of the

audience (Patton 71). The magical beats of the music that accompany the rhythm of the dialogues between the characters, in the daily challenges where colours, and the measures of their various shadows, are the first barrier to rise within English society.

Let's make a direct reference to the Greek meaning of *Καλύπτω*, hiding, which brings with it myths and stories. We can find a deep sense of this musical genre, used to make statements with allegories and satire against the public government, having the primary function of working as a popular newspaper. Is it not a case that Calypso is the leading music for the Carnival celebration, working as a representation of the Caribbean collective memory (Green and Scher 178). As for the metrics, Calypso uses dactyls, not the iambic pentameter imported by the Crown to the colonies in the West Indies. It is a unique expression of local culture, coming from the Kaiso poetry, made of spontaneous singing which the people from West Africa brought during the times of slavery. The particular position of the tongue and the voice with a deeper tone used to describe the intervallic pattern are part of the dialogue in creole (Brathwaite 272).

In the play, Cap, the Nigerian, Tolroy, Tanty, Big City, and Harris reappear, but there are also new characters. That is the case of Mr Joseph, a white English man exploiting the impact of this mass migration to London. Bob, the white handyman, is also called Friday in *Moses Ascending* (1975). He always tries to support Moses' plan to return to his island, and Crusoe's narrative is inverted. Bob is white and English; he is a libertine and an illiterate, bestial and grotesque as if he summarises the incarnation of all the commonplaces attributed to blacks. He is the modern, white incarnation of the classical figure of Friday in *Robinson Crusoe* (1719). There are moments when he is silenced and does not have his voice, and other when he regains his free will, always waiting for Moses' choices.

The dramatic intention is represented by the continuous stasis in the play: Moses' room is the same for many years, which is metaphorically linked to his desperate idea of return; or the representation of the situation of poverty, challenging to be subverted, such as "Cap Captures a Bird", where the lack of money bring Cap to capture and eat a pigeon (Nasta 11).

The realism of the language allows Selvon to provide a harsh representation of the illiterate, rootless, and mainly male characters represented. They do not own homes or houses, and their lives are characterised by instability and hustling (Nasta 12). However, the described events must be read tragicomically and as satire due to the carnivalesque elements, the *leitmotiv* of this play. The anagnorisis, the recognition of reality, and the peripeteia, the adversities (Aristotle 60) of the main character, Moses Aleotta, belong to typical masks of Trinidadian Carnival; all the

play’s context and the elements listed above leave the reader/listener with a bitter-sweet illusion that the reality can change. The stories are about the dreams and disappointments of Moses’ brigade, fighting as they face racial and class differences in London.

The same name is metaphorically loaded with epiphanies that do not happen. Moses, *Moshe* in Hebrew, which means one who is taken out of the waters (Derrida and Vattimo 138), summarised the personal story of the character: a migrant born on an island, surrounded by water, taken from the Atlantic to follow his exodus. However, he does not save anyone; he does not take anyone to a promised land; his primary purpose is to save himself and try to come back to the island he left for a better future. Moses, as an insider, is too integrated into English society for his conational friends, but for the English men, he is still too foreign. He is thus trapped in a limbo, typical of the outsider in exile, typical of theatre and allegory, as an incarnation of a Carnival character.

3. Carnival as a ritual and as a literary evasion

Moses wears a Harlequin costume; he is used by Selvon to creolise the city’s representation from the liminal space of the character’s view (Dickinson 75), being an enslaved person for his daily jobs, humble, and underpaid; wearing a mask specifically during the night, a metaphor for Carnival in Trinidad and his Kings, celebrating life in the dark, as for the enslaved people, when the masters are not watching:

> The slave in Trinidad worked by day and lived at night. Then the world of the white plantations fell away; and in its place was a securer, secret world of fantasy, of Negro “kingdoms,” “regiments,” bands. The people who were slaves by day saw themselves then as kings, queens, dauphins, and princesses. There were pretty uniforms, flags, and painted wooden swords. Everyone who joined a regiment got a title. At night the Negroes played at being people, mimicking the rites of the upper world. The kings visited and entertained. At gatherings, a “secretary” might sit scribbling away (Naipaul n.pag.)

Selvon is the agent of this synthesis and the emotional impasse, which is reflected in his writing, always looking for an escape from the fixation on repetitive categories of stereotypes sought by the colonial narrative. The link between the global colony and the metropolis becomes central to colonialist ideology, creating feelings of loss and confusion (Bhabha 212) between those who stay and those who decide to inhabit the centre of the empire, in this case, London. The language, the pause, and

the slang are potent tools to “establish a corporate West Indian identity in the face of an alien and rejecting metropolis” (Nasta 10). Words belonging to the creoles are used as shields to protect the characters from the hostility of the natural world, in which Moses dresses a problematic costume to perform his parody, to mark differences instead of similarities (Dickinson 76).

The importance of Carnival, in this context where the language is deterritorialised (Dickinson 82), lies in the fact that it is the ancestral celebration brought by the Caribbean immigrants during the significant exodus to the United Kingdom in the 50s and which was not part of the coloniser obligation. It was an expression of defence of legitimate culture, discredited in front of the official, white, colonial one. It was a form of class struggle where a revolution was performed without really performing it, giving all the people the possibility to improve their *status quo* at least for one night (Gutzmore n.pag.).

The English literary tradition is characterised by cultural elements accumulated through centuries and millennia. They were concealed in the written language but also in the popular form, which was not penetrated by Shakespeare, such as the verbal communication and Carnival, which were reflected in the theatrical spectacles, like mysteries and farces (Bakhtin, *Estética da Criação Verbal* 365). There is an epistemological line between the atavistic and widespread expression of this festivity in the Caribbean islands and the Classic heritage in the Western world. As Bakhtin stated, the speaking subjects of noble declamatory genres have been, through the years, substituted by the writer's figure, who is stripped by the fluidity of the speech that belonged to the sacrality of the Dionysus’ priests (Bakhtin, *Estética da criação verbal* 372). For example, as per Aristotle's definition, comedy has been considered an imperfect style derived from dithyramb and phallic procession to celebrate Dionysus. It represents people who belong to the ridiculous associated with a mistake, not an action linked to a malicious evil. It is far from the kind of mistake we find in tragedy since it does not cause any pain or disrepair (Aristotle 152), which is the main element of the *mythos*.

To understand Selvon and the Carnivalesque elements in his writing, we should define the importance of Carnival in his culture, which was also a festivity brought by the Caribbean community in London: the first official Notting Hill Carnival was in 1966, and it was organised every year, as the maximum expression of the cultural heritage of the West Indies. Selvon is a witness and an actor to the changes in British society, and he does not forget his legacy, his roots, and the power of orality mixed into the magnificence of the Carnival expression, inherent to Trinidad.

Trinidadian Carnival is a holy celebration for the islanders. As per the roman catholic tradition, it begins every year at 4 a.m. on Monday before Ash Wednesday, as the same allusion in the name indicated, i.e. *carne vale*, meat, farewell (Benjamin 28), with a specific ritual called *Jouvay,* a peculiar word coming from both French, *jour ouvert,* i.e. open day, and Creole, *jou ouvé,* i.e. Is it daybreak yet? (Green and Scher 48). Between the 13th and the 19th centuries, the celebrations happened simultaneously as the burning and harvesting of the sugarcane; for this reason, they began to be called *Canboulay* from the French word *cannes bruleés,* i.e. burnt canes (Green and Scher 29). The black community had limited participation in the festivity; a turning point was in 1838 when several ex-slaves left the plantations and were relocated at the capital city, Port of Spain. It was then that the syncretism between the colonial and official traditions and the African ones became more substantial and evident through the music, with the swing, singing, dancing, mime, theatrical re-enactments, and a percussive style of music with the steelpan performed loud in the streets, which caused the resignation of the white community in celebrating publicly with the rest of the population (Green and Scher 29).

The *mas*, such as the masquerades, are mainly grotesque and elvish, like the disguises of all-male characters: the Highlander, the Pulchinello, Pirates, Turks, and Death (Green and Scher, 29) or like the *jab* or devil and have the function to demonise the spirits in a cathartic celebration where the *Jumbies* or ghosts are represented and vilified to allow the birth of a new era (Green and Scher 67). During this period of the year, the city of Port of Spain is full of fairs and markets, space outside the natural world; a place where laughter is allowed and where it is possible to revert to the official hierarchy, a paradoxical embranglement between the real and the imaginative spheres (Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* 255).

Carnival is a counter-cultural event and, with his humorous expressions, reports several aspects of the social structure and governance to which every citizen is a subordinate (Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* 76); it is an *exceptional state* refill with extraordinary all over (Benjamin 26). In *Eldorado West One,* the magic to escape from the daily routine and the characters' resilience are connected to the capacity to laugh at the challenges of living as a minority, as migrants, like blacks or browns, in the white capital which was London in the 60s.

Author Jeremy Hawthorn stated that three main characteristics could define Carnival in seriocomical genres:

> First, they are starting point for understanding, evaluating, and shaping reality, which is the living present; second, they do not rely on legend but, consciously, on

experience and free invention; and third, they are deliberately multi-styled and hetero voices. (Hawthorn 17)

The *kiff-kiff laughers* of Selvon's characters are directly connected to the Carnival laugh, which is universal and timeless (Monteiro, *L'éternel Carnaval sans Retour* 5). This practice was born from a rebellion against the pre-established order, wherein a specific time of the year people could express themselves, their folklore, without being afraid of being different to the approved and socially accepted culture. In a carnivalesque context, Bakhtin believes that laughter allows them to temporarily liberate themselves (*The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* 29). The group acknowledges the identity process, which creates this dualistic opposition and gives the people involved the opportunity to satirise, mock, and critic the official culture now and one century ago, the colonisers (Green and Scher 67).

Carnival is a ritual linked to specific cycles or calendars, which includes a masquerade game where all the social paradoxes are expressed (Monteiro, *L'éternel Carnaval sans retour* 5); it is subversive and egalitarian, born as a spontaneous celebration connected mainly with the end of a season or to celebrate the harvest. In Selvon's play, the carnivalesque elements are displayed, mostly at night, and the Calypso parties represent the rite of passage for the fresh newcomers who arrived from Trinidad. The immigrants discover that a masked, nocturnal, parallel world is possible within the challenges and sacrifices of their daily routine.

In Carnival, there is a conjunction of times, contexts, and structures (Monteiro, *L'éternel Carnaval sans retour* 5). In *Eldorado West One,* the folks promote their *fêtes*: it is a synthesis to express humorously their position in the social structure they are subordinated. In Trinidad, the masquerades were the agents for the subversion of the social norms and the symbolic connection with the enslaved people's emancipation, making Carnival a symbol of freedom. Selvon carnivalizes the literary tradition between Crusoe and Friday, with Moses' white friend Bob, using creole to describe and represent this connection (Dickinson 88), and that is when the synthesis within times, context, and structure happens in the play.

As Monteiro stated, discussing Carnival is complex since it does not respond to binary definitions but embraces the ambivalences of social contradictions: leaving the forced social structure to return to an original Chaos as needed by society to heal the oppression. It is not a trick to recognise the order as necessary but as a fluid element, like a compound of forces that creates new realities (Monteiro, *L'éternel Carnaval sans retour* 2). Thus, it seems that Carnival is a prototype of a sudden escape from the order of things, in a perennial tension in which the action is reduced to a minimum

and circumscribed to time limits, in which what should happen does not often happen. This subversion against an imposed and abstract order is directly linked to the tragic feeling and Aristotelian catharsis (Monteiro, *L'éternel Carnaval sans retour* 4). Aristotle, in turn, borrowed this term from the medical and religious tradition to summarise the content of the mimesis, i.e., the purification from the excess and defect, transforming the pain and pleasure in one to another, compensating them and creating the *energeia* which is living itself (168).

The presence of Carnival in *Eldorado West One* provides the reader/listener with examples of carnivalization and masquerade that create tensions and dualisms both within the radio drama and the academia: Moses and the rest of the group; the British canon and the fluid evolution of creoles; oral and written literature (Dickinson 86). The settings of the play; the representation of the experience of those who were displaced from their little island to the big city; the repetitive lives of the Selvon's protagonists, forced to endure the humblest jobs during the day only to become lovers at the Calypso yard parties during the night, summarise the magic disguise behind the cathartic function of Carnival as life's celebration and as a primary tool for collective memory in *Eldorado West One*.

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[1] The arrival of the Windrush Empire at Tilbury docks was on June 22nd, 1948, when four hundred and ninety-two men from the West Indies disembarked (Olusoga 869). Thus, there was the beginning of an era of renewed relations between Great Britain and the West Indian colonies. At this same time, the British Nationality Act was in the final stages of becoming law, allowing the people of the empire to have the new status of Commonwealth Citizens, with the right to enter and settle in Great Britain (Olusoga 826). After the arrival of the Windrush, the first racial attacks were registered in Liverpool, and between the 1950s and the 1960s, British racism grew against Caribbean migrants. The newcomers had to face many challenges, from the impossibility to rent rooms because of being black to having the possibility only to find primary and humble jobs, even if there were highly qualified people (Olusoga 857). A turning point will be the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962, which determined that Commonwealth citizens, the ones holding passports not directly issued by the government of the United Kingdom but by a government or governor of a British colony, would be subjected to immigration controls at entry (Olusoga 874).

Portraying Homosexuality in Hollywood: The Case of *The Children's Hour* and *Carol*

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Abstract

This essay seeks to analyse the depiction of homosexuality in the films *The Children's Hour* (1961) and *Carol* (2015). For that purpose, we start by considering the main plot points of each film. Then we move into an overview of the cultural and social background of each work. In the case of *The Children's Hour*, we discuss the relationship between this and other Hollywood films from that time with the same subject. We also take into consideration the reception of the homonymous play by Lillian Hellman that inspired this film. As far as *Carol* is concerned, we delve into the social circuit of Patricia Highsmith (the author of the novel on which *Carol* is based): 1950s New York. As a result, we realise the importance of such a novel being published in 1952, as well as a possible reason why it was just now made into a film. Finally, we compare how both films portray homosexuality and lesbian love stories, relating their differences to each film's historical background.

Keywords: Cinema; Hollywood; Homosexuality; Representation; Society

Resumo

Este ensaio procura analisar a representação da homossexualidade nos filmes *The Children's Hour* (1961) e *Carol* (2015). Para isso, primeiro são considerados os momentos mais marcantes da ação de cada filme. Posteriormente, passamos a uma análise do contexto cultural e social de cada obra. No caso de *The Children's Hour*, é discutida a relação que se estabelece entre este e outros filmes de Hollywood da época com a mesma temática, bem como a receção da peça homónima de Lillian Hellman que inspirou este filme. Relativamente a *Carol*, embrenhamo-nos no circuito social de Patricia Highsmith (a autora do romance em que *Carol* se baseia): a Nova Iorque dos anos 1950. Desta forma, compreendemos a importância da publicação desta obra em 1952, mas também refletimos sobre o possível motivo de só no século XXI ter sido adaptada ao cinema. Por fim, comparamos a forma como ambos os filmes

representam a homossexualidade e histórias de amor entre lésbicas, estabelecendo uma relação entre as suas diferenças e o contexto histórico de cada filme.

Palavras-chave: Cinema; Hollywood; Homossexualidade; Representação; Sociedade

Introduction

To begin to think about cinematic representations of homosexuality, first we need to consider two important things: the kind of cinema we aim to analyse and the time of production. These aspects are very important as they provide us a framework for the interpretation of any film. Therefore, for us to analyse either *The Children's Hour* or *Carol*, we must bear in mind that both are products of Hollywood, and, for that reason, they are surely different from European films that share the same subject matter, like *Portrait de la jeune fille en feu* (2019) or *La vie d'Adèle* (2013), for instance. Furthermore, both the period depicted in the film and the time of its actual production can, and usually do, influence the way the film depicts this subject matter.

The Children's Hour (1961) was directed by William Wyler and is based on a play from 1934 by Lillian Hellman. Unsurprisingly, the film depicts that time's society in terms of beliefs and behaviours towards this subject. *Carol*, on the other hand, is a 2015 film whose script is based on a book from 1952 by Patricia Highsmith. It does deviate a bit from its source material, but it perfectly captures the feelings and overall message the book sought to convey — a message far less gloomy than that of *The Children's Hour*. So, for us to understand what makes them so different, it's important to consider each film's main plot points.

1. Plot

1.1. *The Children's Hour*

This film stars Audrey Hepburn as Karen Wright and Shirley MacLaine as Martha Dobie. Karen and Martha are two friends who own a girls' boarding school, where they are accused of being lovers. They are not, however, romantically involved; Karen is even engaged to a doctor called Joseph Cardin. The person responsible for the false accusation is a student at this school. Her name is Mary Tilford and she is a very troublesome, spoiled and manipulative girl. She is constantly whining, lying, and making things up.

A series of events leads to that accusation. First, Mary overhears a conversation between the two teachers, in which Martha tells Karen that she wants the best for her

and then she sees Karen kissing Martha on the cheek. Then, two other students eavesdrop another conversation, now between Martha and her aunt. Mrs. Mortar, who assists Karen and Martha at the school, accuses her niece of not wanting Karen to marry Joseph. She tells her that she is jealous of the couple and that she doesn't want anybody to like Karen. Lily Mortar tells Martha that she has been like that since she was a child and that she considers that behaviour unnatural. Later, after Mary becomes aware of the conversation between Martha and Mrs. Mortar, she tells her grandmother about both conversations and insinuates that Karen and Martha are lovers. Mary is mad at Karen because she rebuked her for lying. She wants to get back at her teachers, so she insinuates they are lovers based only on what she has seen and what she was told.

Amelia Tilford, Mary’s grandmother, proceeds to share what she was told with the other parents, who “quickly withdraw their daughters from the school” (Titus 216). For Karen and Martha’s despair, no one cares to explain why they are doing it. Eventually, one man tells them what he has heard about them. After learning that the rumour had been spread by Mrs. Tilford, they confront her, but she doesn’t change her opinion. Karen and Martha try to sue Mrs. Tilford for libel, but they lose the case because Martha’s aunt doesn’t show up in court to testify on their behalf.

1.2. *Carol*

Carol, directed by Todd Haynes and starred by Cate Blanchett as Carol Aird and Rooney Mara as Therese Belivet, was based upon Patricia Highsmith's novel *The Price of Salt*, published in 1952 under the pseudonym Claire Morgan. Highsmith came up with an outline for this novel in December 1948, while working at a department store in Manhattan. In her review of the film for *The New Yorker*, Margaret Talbot recounts that Highsmith was enthralled by a woman who had bought a doll from her desk. As a result, she created Carol, who is also based on another woman she had met called Marijane Meaker (Talbot n. pag.).

To create Therese, Highsmith drew inspiration from her own life, since Therese works at a department store at the beginning of the film and it is there that she meets Carol, a woman looking for a Christmas present for her daughter, Rindy. From that moment on, the two women start to meet regularly. First, they go out for lunch. Then, Therese visits Carol’s house, where she ends up meeting Carol’s husband, whom she’s divorcing. Harge isn’t happy about the divorce, so he gets angry when he sees Therese there. He is aware of Carol's previous involvement with another woman, Rindy's godmother and Carol's best friend, Abby Gerhard.

Later, Carol is told by her lawyer that Harge wants full custody of their daughter and that he is petitioning the judge to consider a "morality clause" (*Carol*).[1] He makes use of Carol's romantic involvement with women as leverage to get full custody of Rindy. As she is not allowed to see her daughter for a few months, Carol decides to go on a road trip and invites Therese to join her. Therese instantly accepts the invitation, which leads to a fight with Richard, the man she had been dating for a while. Richard wishes to marry Therese and he is constantly saying that they should go on a trip to Europe, something that she seems reluctant to do. When he learns that she is going away with Carol instead, he accuses Therese of having a "silly crush" on her and they end up their relationship.

During the road trip, they are spied on by a man hired by Harge. This man succeeds in gathering proof of their relationship, which is used against Carol in Rindy's custody case. The trip comes to a grinding halt and Carol goes back to New York to settle the issue. Carol and Therese grow apart and stop seeing each other. However, in a meeting with Harge and their lawyers, Carol "finally rejects the prospect of 'living against [her] grain'" (White 15). She relinquishes "custody of her daughter . . . and move[s] out to live on her own" (12).

2. Background

2.1. Depicting gay characters in mid-century Hollywood

The 1995 documentary *The Celluloid Closet* provides a significant glimpse into Hollywood's representation of gay characters. And, as a matter of fact, "[i]n a hundred years of movies, homosexuality has only rarely been depicted on the screen. When it did appear, it was there as something to laugh at . . . to pity... or even . . . fear" (*The Celluloid Closet*).[2] Gay characters were usually depicted in negative ways. Therefore, Hollywood films "were criticized for reproducing dominant stereotypes of homosexuals", the unnatural woman being one of them (Smelik 136). These stereotypes instilled prejudice in straight viewers and encouraged self-hatred in gay and lesbian spectators (136). Basically, Hollywood "taught straight people what to think about gay people and gay people what to think about themselves" (*The Celluloid Closet*).[3]

For decades, homosexual characters "were taunted, ridiculed, silenced and pathologized, and more often than not killed off in the last reel" (Smelik 135). They were usually unhappy, desperate, and suicidal (*The Celluloid Closet*).[4] So, Martha Dobie's fate in *The Children's Hour*, as it happens, was but one example of this culture.

In 1934, when Lillian Hellman's play debuted, it was illegal to portray (or even hint at) homosexuality on the New York stage. But since the show was a massive success, it was allowed to run normally (Brathwaite n. pag.). As a result,

> Hollywood decided to adapt *The Children's Hour* into a movie, but with the newly enacted Hays Code[5] in place, the issue of homosexuality was completely scrubbed from the resulting film, 1936's *These Three*, directed by William Wyler. Instead of a rumored lesbian relationship, one of the women was accused of having an affair with the other's fiancé. (Brathwaite n. pag.)

By 1961, the Code had eased, so Wyler decided to readapt Hellman's play, this time respecting its original plot (Brathwaite n. pag.). "To depict homosexuality, or 'sexual perversion', however, one had to cast it in the most unsympathetic and unflattering light possible. And *The Children's Hour* is a prime example of that" (Brathwaite n. pag).

The Children's Hour, unlike *Carol*, does not try to portray homosexuality as a normal thing. It is far more concerned with the society's moral view of the subject than with portraying gay women as normal. In this film, not a single person seems to believe that being gay is not wrong. Martha loathes herself when she realizes she is in love with Karen. Karen, who loves Martha as a friend, tries to dismiss what Martha tells her. Everybody else obviously condemns homosexuality. They might not want to discuss it, but they acknowledge it.

The events of the film "are structured around gossip, misinterpretation, and lies" (Young 3). Still, everyone is quick to jump to conclusions. They do not confront the two women and avoid talking to them, as if they were afraid of them. They don't have solid proof of their involvement, but the sheer possibility is enough for them to condemn both women. The film simply portrays the homophobic and prejudiced society of the time. It does not try to suggest that being homophobic or prejudiced is wrong. Quite the opposite. And having the only gay character commit suicide at the end of the film is the way of showing that. In this film, to be gay is to be doomed. It provides a shallow and uninformed vision of the subject, which was the dominant view of this matter at the time. There is no happy ending.

2.2. Lesbian Community in 1950s New York

But there might be a happy ending in *Carol*. Unlike Hellman, Highsmith was a lesbian. And according to Talbot, she once met a writer named Marijane Meaker at a lesbian

bar in Greenwich Village who used to write lesbian pulp novels under a pseudonym. However, her editor insisted that her stories couldn't "end well for their heroines" (Talbot n. pag.). In other words, "novels could depict 'perverse' sexuality", but they could not endorse it (Talbot n. pag.). So Meaker had to abide by that. But she and the other costumers at the bar knew Highsmith was the author of *The Price of Salt* and they loved it for its possibility of a happy ending (Talbot n. pag.).

Of course, this fact alone sets Highsmith's novel apart from Hellman's play. According to Armato, Hellman regarded *The Children's Hour* as a story about goodness and badness (443). And although some critics "see Karen Wright and Martha Dobie as 'good' characters who are victimized by 'evil' Mary Tilford" (443), Armato argues that Karen and Martha are, in fact, victimizers who later become victims themselves (445). In this sense, Martha's homosexuality feels more like a plot device, and one can debate if *The Children's Hour* is even a queer film, or just a film which employs homosexuality to justify a character's downfall.

That is not the case with *Carol* or *The Price of Salt*. The setting of the novel is "Greenwich Village in the 1950s, mythical space of dyke bars, butch-femme romance, police raids, and racial mixing" (White 11). Highsmith frequently visited these bars. However, "instead of gratifying the wish to see what lesbian New York was really like", she only "depicts a lover's world" in her novel (11). But this doesn't mean that the film doesn't provide a glimpse into that New York. It does, but in a subtle manner. There is a passage in the book that perfectly introduces this subject.

> Was it love or wasn't it that she felt for Carol? . . . She had heard about girls falling in love, and she knew what kind of people they were and what they looked like. Neither she nor Carol looked like that. Yet the way she felt about Carol passed all the tests for love and fitted all the descriptions. (Highsmith 100)

Here, Therese realizes that her relationship with Carol is not "conventionally heterosexual nor stereotypically lesbian" (Breen 11). And this is a subject tackled by the film since it also provides lesbian representation through iconography. In point of fact, "[v]isual and aural details can be used to typify homosexuality" (Smelik 137). For instance, "codes in dressing, certain gestures, stylistic decor, or extended looks can at glance invoke the homosexuality of a character" (137). Besides making "homosexuality visible", "[s]tereotyping through iconography . . . categorizes the gay or lesbian character as distinct from straight characters and maintains the boundaries between them" (137).

There is a scene in which Therese is in a record store and she spots a butch-femme couple lurking in the background. These are the people she talks about in that quote. Neither Therese nor Carol look like that, and “the film pointedly contrasts [their] style” with the stereotypical butch-femme stylings of the mid-century (White 14). Through the camera shots we learn the significance of the scene. There is a close-up of Therese’s face and then a point of view-shot that allows us to see what it was that Therese was looking at with such a stern countenance. The next shot is another close-up of Therese’s face, who is still looking back, which underlines the importance of the previous shot. She doesn’t talk to these women. But this eye contact is enough for us to understand that Therese is acknowledging the presence of other gay women around her, what makes her wonder about the nature of her own relationship with Carol.

By the end of the film, Therese meets a woman at a party. This woman resembles her and Carol’s style, but she doesn’t seem to be more comfortable around her than she was with those other women. When she notices she is being looked at, she immediately looks away. In this scene, it is the focus of the camera that draws our attention to this interaction. Later, that woman strikes up a conversation with Therese and we can understand how uncomfortable Therese feels because of the way the scene is shot. There is a full shot of the people in that room. We are looking from the outside; we can only see through the windows. Therese is standing at the window on the left, and the other woman is looking at her on the right. The distance between them is emphasized by the blind spot between the windows. The conversation is rather brief and in the next scene she is locked up in the bathroom smoking, away from that woman and everybody else. The framing of this last scene is particularly relevant, as it reinforces our interpretation of this moment in the film and its overall significance. Therese feels trapped in that party. She’s uncomfortable so she escapes to the bathroom. The framing of this scene suggests that sense of trap because our perspective of Therese is partially blocked by the wall. And this is a recurrent framing throughout the film. “Images are often partially blocked as if viewed by someone in hiding” (White 14).

In fact, we can learn even more about Therese and Carol’s relationship just by *looking* at the film. There are many scenes in which we see them through windows, sometimes even wet with raindrops or steam. Being such a recurrent framing, we could argue that the presence of glass in these scenes stands for the obstacles they face to be with each other. When they are the furthest apart that they’ve ever been,

it is through the window of her taxi on her way to the lawyer’s office that Carol sees Therese in the street.

3. Portraying homosexuality in *The Children’s Hour* and *Carol*

The plot of *The Children’s Hour* is instigated by a child's accusation that destroys the reputation of two women.[6] And even though both are affected by that accusation, Martha is the one who pays the ultimate price. She is constantly being attacked, especially by her aunt, who keeps calling her behaviour unnatural. And this is a crucial word, both for the plot of the film and the message it carries. There’s a scene in which Martha’s aunt tells her that God will punish her. Martha simply replies: “He’s doing alright” (*The Children’s Hour*).[7]

By the end of the film, Martha realizes that she is, indeed, in love with Karen. And the scene in which she reveals it to Karen captures the way homosexuals could be led to feel about themselves because of the way the society they lived in regarded homosexuality. She is only now realizing that she is gay. She's shocked and she is not able to talk about it directly, just like everybody else. Homosexuality is a beast whose name cannot be pronounced. She thinks she's a foul person for loving Karen because other people think it is wrong for a woman to love another. She feels ruined and dirty and wishes to get away from Karen. Her self-hatred leads her to suicide. In Martha's case, the loss of reputation is not enough punishment for her "unnatural" behaviour. She has to die, and that is the message of the film.

What we see in *Carol*, however, could not be more different. Therese is in love with Carol, and she never seems to take an interest in any other woman besides Carol. Before her, we only know that she dated Richard, despite not actually loving him or liking being around him. On the other hand, she immediately takes a liking to Carol. In this film, Carol and Therese are portrayed as two people who fall in love. They just happen to be two women. And “Haynes’s approach suits the novel, which is neither prim nor explicit about the women’s affair” (Talbot n. pag.). Furthermore, the words “lesbian” or “homosexual” are never mentioned. In a conversation with Richard, Therese asks him if he has ever been in love with a boy. He says he hasn’t but has heard of people “like that”. “I don’t mean people like that. I mean two people who fall in love with each other. Say, a boy and a boy, out of the blue” (*Carol*)[8]. It’s not that these characters are avoiding labels. They just don’t think of gender as something that defines who they should love.

Moreover, the film depicts a world “where two women in love might live together, hiding in plain sight as roommates, more easily than two gay men or an

unmarried heterosexual couple might" (Talbot n. pag.). According to the director, "the 'unimagined notions of what love between women might look like' is the engine of Highsmith's plot" (Talbot n. pag.).

It's worth noticing, however, that while this portrayal of their love normalizes same-sex relationships, it also seems to set them apart from other lesbian couples, those who look nothing like Carol and Therese. In breaking stereotypes, this depiction of their relationship could promote prejudice towards more stereotypical representations of lesbians.

The nature of Therese and Carol's relationship is also captured in the novel's first title, *The Price of Salt*. It's a strange name, but it makes sense if we think of their relationship as salt. Essentially, this film "shows the price that [Carol] willingly pays for her taste of salt", that is, the price she pays to be with whom she loves (White 8). And the same happens with Therese. As Breen (10) puts it, "[s]alt" . . . stands for flavour and, more resonantly, vitality and self-preservation. For Therese a life without Carol would seem to be a life without salt. Yet the price of loving Carol might well be emotional devastation". Doubtlessly, there are "emotional and social costs that are exacted of Therese and Carol for falling in love with each other" (10). Carol loses custody of her child and Therese gives up the chance of marrying a man and live a "normal" life (in accordance with society's standards). But they are willing to pay that price because they refuse to live against who they are.

Conclusion

It is clear that both films portray homosexuality very differently, and they do so because they're representative of two different approaches to lesbian love stories in American cinema. On the one hand, *The Children's Hour* is a film from the 1960s based on a story from the 1930s. Therefore, its depiction of homosexuality is an example of the culture of moralism in Hollywood that we've discussed earlier. *Carol*, on the other hand, is a very different project. It was made in the 21st century by a gay director and the novel in which it is based, although published seventy years ago, is the work of a woman who actually experienced what she was writing about.

The disparity in the behaviour of the women in these films shapes the message each one provides about homosexuality. All of them pay some sort of price for being gay. Martha feels like she has to give up on her life; that's the price she has to pay for loving Karen. Therese and Carol are also willing to pay something for their love, but they are not willing to give up on each other. In short, we're talking about two texts written around eighteen years apart (a period during which World War II took place)

and two films released over fifty years apart. For that reason, it is safe to say that both films are a product of their time. *Carol* is not the first Hollywood film to portray a lesbian love story in such a favourable way, but it's a sign of the effort that is being made, now more than ever before, to bring more diverse and inclusive realities to the big screen.

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[1] *Carol* 00:45:58-00:46:38.
[2] *The Celluloid Closet* 00:02:38-00:02:57.
[3] *The Celluloid Closet* 00:03:13-00:03:21.
[4] *The Celluloid Closet* 00:55:21-00:55:30.
[5] The Motion Picture Production Code (or the Hays Code) "regulated film content for nearly 40 years, restricting, among other things, depictions of homosexuality. Filmmakers still managed to get around the Code, but gay characters were cloaked in innuendo, leading to some necessary decoding" (Brathwaite n. pag.).
[6] In both films, children are kept apart from women who are assumed to be lesbians. Although both films deal with the idea that children have to be protected from homosexuals, *The Children's Hour* is much more drastic. Karen and Martha lose all their students as soon as the gossip spreads out. Carol, on the other hand, is still allowed to see her daughter after her involvement with Therese is made public.
[7] *The Children's* Hour 01:16:22-01:16:26.
[8] *Carol* 00:51:18-00:51:37.

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Ex: "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times", wrote Charles Dickens about the eighteenth century (35).

4.2. com mais de quatro linhas: separadas do texto, recolhidas 1,5 cm, na margem esquerda, em corpo 10, sem aspas. Manter o mesmo espaçamento entre as linhas (1,5). A indicação da fonte (autor, página) deve ser colocada preferencialmente no final da citação, *depois* do sinal de pontuação.

Ex: At the conclusion of *Lord of the Flies*, Ralph and the other boys realize the horror of their actions:

> The tears began to flow and sobs shook him. He gave himself up to them now for the first time on the island; great, shuddering spasms of grief that seemed to wrench his whole body. His voice rose under the black smoke before the burning wreckage of the island; and infected by that emotion, the other little boys began to shake and sob too. (186)

5. Interpolações - identificadas por meio de parênteses retos: [ ].

6. Omissões - assinaladas por três pontos com um espaço entre cada um deles e um espaço depois do último: . . .

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Se o nome do autor estiver mencionado na frase, indicar apenas a página. Ex: "Poets", said Shelley, "are the unacknowledged legislators of the World" (794).

1.2. Dois autores (sobrenomes + página): (Williams and Ford 45-7)

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(Demetz et al. 30) ou (Demetz, Lyman, Harris, and Johnson 747)

1.4. Um ou mais livros do(s) mesmo(s) autor(es)

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Ex: Shakespeare's *King Lear* has been called a "comedy of grotesque" (Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* 85).

Depois de ter sido mencionado pelo menos uma vez na totalidade (regra que não se aplica a títulos muito longos), o título pode ser encurtado:

Ex: Shakespeare's *King Lear* has been called a "comedy of grotesque" (Frye, *Anatomy* 85).

O título pode também ser abreviado. Neste caso, deve indicar-se, entre parênteses, a abreviatura a usar logo na primeira ocorrência do título:

Ex: In *As You Like It (AYL)*, Shakespeare . . .

Os títulos abreviados devem começar pela palavra que é usada para ordenar o título alfabeticamente na lista de "obras citadas".

No caso de o nome do autor ter sido já referido na frase, indicar apenas título e página:

According to Frye, the play is a "comedy of grotesque" (*Anatomy* 85).

Em todos estes casos, na lista de "Obras Citadas" deverá aparecer:

Frye, Northrop. *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays*. Princeton UP, 1957.

Shakespeare, William. *As You Like It*. Wordsworth, 1993.

1.5. Mais do que um autor com o mesmo sobrenome

(inicial do nome + sobrenome + pág.)

(A. Patterson 184-85) e (L. Patterson 340)

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(Gilbert and Gubar, *Madwoman* 1-25; Murphy 39-52)

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Borroff, Marie. *Language and the Poet: Verbal Artistry in Frost, Stevens, and Moore*. U of Chicago P, 1979.

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No caso de o nome do autor surgir combinado com outros, não usar hífens.

Scholes, Robert. *Protocols of Reading*. Yale UP, 1989.

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2.1.2. Livro de vários autores

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ou

Gilman, Sander, et al. *Hysteria beyond Freud*. U of California P, 1993.

2.1.3. Livros anónimos

The MLA Style Manual and Guide to Scholarly Publishing. 8th ed., The Modern Language Association of America, 2016.

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Usar, depois do último nome do(s) autor(es), e antecedido por uma vírgula, *editor/editors, translator, compiler/compilers*. Em português, usar *editor/editores, tradutor, organizador*.

Peter Demetz et al., editors. *The Disciplines of Criticism: Essays in Literary Theory, Interpretation, and History*. Yale UP, 1968.

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3.3. Artigo anónimo

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3.5. Prefácios, introduções e posfácios

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Kane, Sophia. “Acts of Coercion: Father-Daughter Relationships in British Women’s Fiction, 1778-1814.” Dissertation, University of New York, 2003.

5. Publicações de edição eletrónica

Para a referência a publicações de edição eletrónica deverão ser seguidas as normas de referência acima indicadas para livros, volumes de artigos e revistas periódicas, acrescidas de:

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Eaves, Morris, Rober Essick, and Joseph Viscomi, editors. *The William Blake Archive*. Library of Congress, 28 September 2008, www.blakearchive.org/blake/. Accessed 20 November 2007.

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Sargent, Lyman Tower. "Em Defesa da Utopia." *Via Panorâmica: Revista Electrónica de Estudos Anglo-Americanos/An Electronic Journal of Anglo-American Studies*, no. 1, 2008, pp. 3-12, http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/5168.pdf. Accessed 10 January 2009.

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