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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: Revista de Estudos Anglo-Americanos/ A Journal of Anglo-American Studies (ISSN: 2182-9934 | DOI: 10.21747/2182-9934/via) welcomes the proposal of articles for its next numbers.

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* includes contributions on language studies, literary studies, culture studies and translation.

In the opening essay, Andrew Sampson presents a mixed-methods classroom study within the context of English as a Foreign Language courses with pedagogical recommendations aimed at maximising learning potential in different delivery modes.

With Rita Cipriano's text the focus turns to literature, particularly to the juxtaposition of author and character in *The Book of John Mandeville*. Cipriano concludes that: ". . . Mandeville was not only trying to give credibility to his narrative but also highlighting the role of the auctor in the process of creation" (39).

From the medieval times into twentieth-century literature, Beatriz Simões addresses gender issues and interracial relationships in Virginia Woolf's 1928 novel *Orlando*; and Miguel Alarcão analyses how a Catholic education and set of beliefs coexist with a sense of criticism in David Lodge's depiction of sexuality in the 1960s in *How Far Can You Go?* (1980).

Fernanda Bisi and Joana Ferreira Pinela both consider the role of women in the Beat Generation: while Bisi examines the absence of women Beat writers in the literary canon, Pinela provides a comparative analysis of Diane di Prima's "The Loba Recovers the Memory of a Mare" and Allen Ginsberg's "Howl".

Maria Teresa Castilho brings the volume into current times by reading Trumpism and its set of autocratic mechanisms "as a crisis of faith around the so-called American civil religion" (103), a crisis that, according to Castilho, may announce "the possible final collapse of an imagined American strongly sustained cultural identity" (103).

The issue is brought to a conclusion by Carla Morais Pires' translation of Zelda Sayre's "The Iceberg", a recently discovered prize-winning short story published in her school magazine in 1918.

A Comparison of Learning Outcomes Between EFL Course Delivery Modes

Andrew Sampson

FACULDADE DE LETRAS DA UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO / CETAPS

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Abstract

This paper reports on a mixed-methods classroom study that compared the effectiveness of three adult English as a Foreign Language (EFL) course delivery modes – face-to-face group classes, face-to-face one-to-one tuition, and online self-study – for language learning. Learning outcomes from learners' language-related episodes (LREs), instances in which students "talk about the language they are producing, question their language use, or other- or self-correct" (Swain "Focus on Form" 70) were observed as learners completed the same task in their respective course delivery modes: learner-learner dyads in face-to-face classes, learner-teacher dyads in one-to-one classes, and individuals in online self-study. Learning was operationalized in two ways: firstly, by identifying instances of microgenetic development - that is, observable changes in a learner's knowledge – within learners' LREs; and secondly, by analysing responses to a delayed post-test. The results indicate that significantly more microgenetic development took place in one-to-one interaction between teachers and learners, which was characterised by scaffolded support and learner uptake, than in pair-work or self-study. While little microgenetic development was evident in the think-aloud protocols of self-study learners, the methodological constraint of employing a think-aloud protocol to observe individual LREs may have made observing development more difficult. Learners' post-test responses revealed that one-to-one and self-study learners attempted a significantly higher proportion of test items relating to LREs produced in the task than group learners, suggesting stronger associations between languaging and learning in teacher-learner interaction and independent study than in pair-work. Pedagogical recommendations are proposed for maximising learning potential in all three modes.

Keywords: Delivery Modes; Online Learning; Peer Interaction; Pair Work; Scaffolding; Microgenetic Development

Resumo

Este artigo relata um estudo de metodologia mista em sala de aula, comparando a eficácia de três modos de ensino/aprendizagem de Inglês como Língua Estrangeira para adultos – aulas de grupo presenciais, aulas individuais presenciais, e autoestudo em formato digital. Foram

observados os resultados de aprendizagem dos Episódios Relacionados com a Língua (LREs) dos alunos, instâncias em que os alunos refletem sobre o uso da língua - “talk about the language they are producing, question their language use, or other- or self-correct” (Swain "Focus on Form" 70) - à medida que realizam a mesma tarefa nos respetivos modos de ensino: díades aluno/aluno em aulas presenciais, díades aluno/professor em aulas individuais, e indivíduos em autoestudo online. A aprendizagem foi operacionalizada de duas formas: em primeiro lugar, através da identificação de instâncias de desenvolvimento microgenético – ou seja, mudanças observáveis no conhecimento de um aluno – nos LREs dos alunos; e, em segundo lugar, através da análise das respostas a um pós-teste diferido. Os resultados indicam que se verificou um desenvolvimento microgenético significativamente maior na interação individual entre professor e aluno do que no trabalho de pares, ou no autoestudo, sendo esse desenvolvimento caracterizado por um apoio estruturado por parte do professor e pela aprendizagem consequente do aluno. Embora o desenvolvimento microgenético tenha sido pouco evidente nos protocolos de pensamento em voz alta dos alunos em autoestudo, a limitação metodológica de empregar um protocolo de pensamento em voz alta para observar LREs individuais pode ter dificultado a observação do seu desenvolvimento. As respostas dos alunos no pós-teste revelaram que os alunos em aulas individuais e em autoestudo tentaram uma proporção significativamente mais elevada de itens de teste relacionados com as LREs produzidas na tarefa do que os alunos que tiveram aulas em grupo, o que sugere associações mais fortes entre a linguagem e a aprendizagem na interação professor-aluno e no estudo independente do que no trabalho de pares. São propostas recomendações pedagógicas para maximizar o potencial de aprendizagem nos três modos.

Palavras-chave: Modos de entrega; Aprendizagem digital; Interação entre pares; *Scaffolding*; Desenvolvimento microgenético

1. Introduction

Private-sector adult EFL learners are often given a choice regarding their mode of course delivery: traditional face-to-face group classes, face-to-face one-to-one classes, or online learning (either synchronous or asynchronous). Learners may approach this choice with preconceived ideas about the effectiveness of each mode: one-to-one learning, for example, may be perceived as more effective than group classes, and therefore warranting the higher prices charged for private tutoring; online learning, conversely, may be viewed as a last resort for learners who for geographical, financial or other reasons are unable to regularly attend face-to-face classes. However, the differences between these three modes of EFL study in terms of how much learning occurs have been under-researched. The present study aimed to address this issue by comparing learning outcomes from the same task between the three modes of adult EFL study offered by a private language school in Spain: face-to-face group classes, one-to-one private tuition, and asynchronous online self-study.

2. Literature review

2.1 Studies comparing online self-study with face-to-face group classes

A US Department of Education meta-analysis comparing online self-study with face-to-face group classes found slightly better learning outcomes for online learning, although relatively few of the studies included focused on adult language education. Within language teaching, Zhao's synthesis of research comparing asynchronous computer-assisted language learning (CALL) and traditional instruction concluded that CALL applications are as effective as, if not more effective than, traditional classroom learning, with the increased time online learners spend with materials contributing to this greater effectiveness.

Given the limited research addressing differences in learning outcomes between online self-study and face-to-face group language classes, studies comparing individual task performance with pair-work, which is a commonly employed interaction pattern in group classes, can be drawn on to gain additional insights. Such studies have thus far yielded mixed results. Nassaji & Tian found that although dyads demonstrated greater accuracy than individuals completing cloze and text editing tasks seeded with phrasal verbs, there were no significant differences in learning gains as measured by post-tests. Likewise, Kuiken & Vedder compared the accuracy of individuals and pairs in the use of the passive voice in two dictogloss (text reconstruction) tasks, finding no significant differences during the task or in delayed post-tests.

Kim found that Korean as a Second Language learner dyads completing a dictogloss were able to pool knowledge and correctly resolve most LREs, although individuals thinking aloud while completing the same task tended to leave LREs unresolved, since they had no resources to draw on other than their own knowledge. Dyads also showed significantly higher gain scores than individuals on immediate and delayed post-tests. The L2 think-aloud protocol appeared to have created an additional cognitive demand on individuals not experienced by dyads, which may have affected task and test performance.

2.2 Studies comparing one-to-one tuition with face-to-face group classes

While little research has compared one-to-one tuition with face-to-face group language classes, the nature of learner-learner and learner-teacher interaction has been investigated from a sociocultural perspective, and findings highlight the potential for learning in each mode. The role of the teacher as expert who can mediate learner

development is key to the notion of scaffolding (Wood, Bruner & Ross), finely-tuned support provided to aid learners' development from their current to potential level within what Vygotsky termed the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), the "distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance, or in collaboration with more capable peers" ("Mind in Society" 86). Such scaffolding may be heuristic (Holton and Clarke) or cooperative (Bickhard), where the expert models or simplifies a task to help the novice complete it, or it may be conceptual (Holton and Clarke) or informational (Bickhard), where the expert imparts new information. Scaffolding is contingent on the teacher's ongoing assessment of the learner's current level, and fades as it is withdrawn over time, with responsibility for task completion moving from the teacher to the learner (van de Pol, Volman & Beishuizen).

Since the mid-1990s the concept of scaffolding has been extended beyond student-teacher interaction to peer interaction. Since language learners have different levels of expertise in different areas of language and language skills, peers can provide scaffolding to mediate each other's development. Through a microgenetic analysis of language produced by a triad of university French learners preparing a presentation, Donato observed scaffolding that included collectively managing aspects of linguistic problems, identifying discrepancies between language produced and the ideal solution, and reducing frustration. Similarly, Ohta identified peer scaffolding in protocols produced by Japanese university learners, in which participation in LREs exposed learners to input and feedback and focussed attention on language choices.

While scaffolding appears, therefore, not to be limited to teacher-learner interaction, research into classroom interaction sequences indicates that teacher-learner talk has other structural qualities that differentiate it from peer interaction. The triadic IRF (Initiation, Response, Feedback) sequence identified by Sinclair & Coulthard in teacher-led group lessons consists of the teacher's initiation of interaction (often a question), a learner response (usually an answer), and teacher feedback (usually confirmation or correction of the answer). This sequence, first observed in group lessons, is also evident in one-to-one tuition (Graesser, Person & Magliano), where two further steps may be added: teacher scaffolding by breaking down the task into smaller parts, doing part of the task for the learner or reminding the learner of some important aspect; and teacher elicitation of learner self-evaluation of comprehension of the concept.

The lack of literature comparing delivery modes creates the need for a closer examination of cognitive processes occurring in self-study learners, such as inner and private speech (Vygotsky, "Mind in Society", "Thought and Language") and self-scaffolding (Bickhard; Holton & Clark; Knouzi *et al*), and how these impact on learning when compared to traditional group classrooms and one-to-one contexts. The present study, then, aimed to address the following research question: *How do learning outcomes differ when the same task is completed by learner-learner dyads within group classes, learner-teacher dyads in one-to-one classes, and individuals working alone in online self-study?*

3. Methodology

3.1 Participants

Participants were 60 adult L1-Spanish learners (pseudonymised hereon in) studying at a private language school in Spain. They comprised 30 learners in 15 learner-learner dyads in face-to-face group classes, 15 learners in 15 learner-teacher dyads in one-to-one tuition, and 15 self-study learners in the online mode. All participants had a similar level of English, having studied in an upper-intermediate (CEF B2) general English course in their respective modes for the same period, and having achieved marks of between 70% and 90% on the same institutional progress test taken two months prior to the study. Participants were all following the same digital coursebook materials. The group and one-to-one classes were taught by three different teachers, all of whom had similar teaching qualifications and a similar number of years' classroom experience.

Observations of learners in group and one-to-one classes focussed on dyadic interaction only. While group classes typically involve a wider range of interaction, including small groups, individual study and teacher participation, and one-to-one classes typically involve some individual work, the quasi-experimental design of the present study required a narrow observational focus for comparisons to be drawn between modes. Therefore, only dyadic interaction was observed in group and one-to-one contexts.

3.2 Task

All participants completed the same language-focussed passage editing task (Appendix 1) consisting of an email to a university admissions officer written in informal language rather than a more appropriate formal register. Passage-editing tasks have been shown

to draw learners' attention to a range of language forms (Storch) and lead to discussions and reflections on language choices and hypothesis testing (García Mayo). The passage was seeded with errors and inappropriacies relating to forms studied in the course.

Participants in learner-learner dyads in group classes and learner-teacher dyads in one-to-one tuition talked together to complete the task, and were audio recorded. Online self-study participants completed the task alone, thinking aloud, and audio recorded themselves. Online learners saw a video model of a think-aloud protocol prior to the task. It should be noted here that the use of think-aloud protocols has been argued to be inconsistent with a Vygotskian sociocultural research framework, as think-alouds have the potential to alter the same cognitive processes they aim to observe (Smagorinsky). If, as Vygotsky ("Thinking and Speech") proposed, talking about language mediates the internalization of knowledge, then the act of verbalising itself alters cognition. Despite this potential limitation of "reactivity" (Ellis; Jourdenais), the main alternative for data collection from individual learners is stimulated recall, in which participants watch a video or hear a recording of themselves completing the task and describe what they were thinking. Given that stimulated recall itself is subject to the limitation of memory decay (Bowles), an erosion over time of participants' ability to accurately verbalize what they were thinking, a think-aloud protocol was chosen as the preferred data collection instrument in the present study.

3.3 Post-test

One week after the task, all learners individually completed a post-test consisting of an isomorphic passage editing task (Appendix 2), similar to the original task, and requiring learners to correct the same number and type of language items. The use of an isomorphic post-test was based on the theoretical assumption that if participants had languaged a form in the first task and had either learned something new or consolidated existing knowledge in the episode, they would be able to recognise and correct a similar or identical form in the post-test.

3.4 Data analysis

Learner talk was transcribed and LREs were identified, following Swain ("Focus on Form"), as any instance where learners talked about the language they were producing or self-or other-corrected. Learning within those LREs was then identified in two ways: firstly, by observing instances of microgenetic development (MD) – that is, learning

observable within the short time taken for learners to complete the task; and secondly, by examining post-test responses.

Regarding MD, instances were identified where, based on a qualitative analysis of the protocol alone (i.e. without consulting the post-test), there was evidence of change in one or both of the participants' language knowledge within the duration of the task. To be coded MD, some indication of uptake was required, beyond a phatic response such as "Oh", in the form of a more extended response or further use of the item. In the following example, one-to-one learner Ofelia and her teacher languaged the construction "looking forward to" + gerund. Within the episode itself there were only phatic responses by the learner, so no MD was observed:

Ofelia	OK… to study without the ING I'm looking forward
Teacher	OK yeah, with this expression look forward to, here to is a preposition, OK, so I look forward to, the party, I look forward to university, so to is a preposition, it's not part of an infinitive, so this in fact is correct
Ofelia	Oh
Teacher	So I look forward to studying because here studying we have to use the gerund because it's like it's like a noun, we're using the verb like a noun, OK
Ofelia	OK

However, later in the task there was evidence of spontaneous learner production of the correct gerund form:

Teacher	I agree yeah, so I'm looking forward… I'm looking forward to…
Ofelia	Erm… to studying
Teacher	Good
Ofelia	To studying in your university
Teacher	Great… excellent yeah and you've got the correct form there studying, in that expression

This spontaneous use evidenced uptake, so the episode was coded as demonstrating MD.

3.5 Quantitative analytical methods

Data for the dependent variables (numbers of LREs; instances of MD; test scores) were tested for normalcy of distribution. Where data appeared normally distributed, one-

way ANOVAs determined whether mean responses differed at the $p < .05$ significance level. Where data did not appear normally distributed, a Kruskal-Wallis H test was performed instead of ANOVA. Where the ANOVA or Kruskal- Wallis test indicated a significant difference at the $p < .05$ level, unpaired *t*-tests (for normally distributed data) or Mann-Whitney U tests (for non-normally distributed data) determined whether differences between pairs of modes (group - one-to-one; group - self-study; one-to-one - self-study) were significant. To mitigate the multiplication of risk caused by repeated *t*- and U tests when pairwise comparisons were made between modes, a Bonferroni correction was applied of a/m, that is the alpha level (.05) divided by the number of hypotheses (two), resulting in and alpha level of .025.

4. Results and discussion

4.1 Numbers of LREs

Table 1 presents numbers of LREs observed in group, one-to-one and self-study modes.

Table 1

Number of LREs in group, one-to-one and self-study modes

	LREs	M	SD
Group (n = 15)	406	27.1	7.9
One-to-one (n = 15)	359	23.9	8.7
Self-study (n = 15)	235	15.7	4.4

A one-way ANOVA indicated a significant difference between modes in LRE numbers at the $p < .05$ level, $F(2, 42) = 9.04$, $p = .00054$. Post-hoc comparisons using independent-samples *t*-tests revealed a significantly higher number of LREs at the $p < .025$ level in group than self-study, $t\ (28) = 4.48$, $p = .00012$, a significantly higher number in one-to-one than self-study, $t\ (28) = 3.04$, $p = .0050$, but no significant difference between group and one-to-one, $t\ (28) = 1.03$, $p = .31$. Therefore, significantly fewer LREs occurred in self-study than group and one-to-one modes.

4.2 Microgenetic development (MD)

Table 2 presents instances of microgenetic development (MD) observed in group, one-to-one and self-study modes.

Table 2

Instances of MD in group, one-to-one and self-study modes

	Instances of MD	M	SD
Group (n = 15)	16	1.1	1.2
One-to-one (n = 15)	40	2.7	2.1
Self-study (n = 15)	1	0.1	0.3

A Kruskal-Wallis H test revealed a significant difference in the instances of MD observed at the $p < .05$ level, $x^2(2) = 14.03$, $p = .00090$. Post-hoc comparison using the Mann-Whitney U-test revealed significantly more instances of MD at the $p < .025$ level in group than self-study, U(28) = 50, z = 2.57, $p = .010$, significantly more in one-to-one than self-study, U(28) = 33, z = 3.28, $p = .0010$, but no significant difference between group and one-to-one U(28) = 66, z = 1.91, $p = .056$.

Significantly less microgenetic development occurred in self-study, then, than in group or one-to-one modes. While the difference between one-to-one instances of MD (40) and group instances (16) did not quite reach significance, MD still appears most closely related to one-to-one interaction. The qualitative analysis of teacher-leaner talk revealed MD in one-to-one to be frequently evident in learner uptake following a correction by the teacher. In the following extract, the teacher corrected Olsen's use of "budget" by suggesting the alternative "quote" and explaining the difference in meaning. Olsen accepted this correction by saying "that's a quote" – which in itself did not constitute MD – and confirmed that this word was new for him. The evidence of MD began when he checked the spelling of the new word, which he now wished to use, and continued in all subsequent utterances where he used the new word rather than the originally preferred "budget". He then sought to build upon his understanding by seeking syntactic information regarding the appropriate preposition, "a quote for", and was finally able to produce the expression "a quote for the course":

Teacher	Yeah, that… you could say concern like that, concerning this topic comma… can you…
Olsen	Give me a budget… could, could you give me a budget, can I say that, budget?...
Teacher	Ah… like a *presupuesto* [budget or quote]
Olsen	*Presupuesto* [budget or quote], a budget ah, ah about the course, on the course, or

Teacher	That's could you give me a quote… a quote, a budget is like, my amount of money that I have erm
Olsen	For for the money that I can expend OK
Teacher	I have a budget of 5000 euros
Olsen	OK
Teacher	But if I ask a company for, for a document, that's not a budget, it's a quote
Olsen	that's a quote New for me, doesn't ring, er quote, quot-e, Q U O
Teacher	E, exactly
Olsen	OK, so I change, could you give me a, quote
Teacher	Perfect
Olsen	A quote… a quote, a quote on?
Teacher	A quote for
Olsen	For… this is a this things about prepositions is really tricky ah
Teacher	it's difficult… 'Cause you just have to learn the preposition with the word, it's a collocation
Olsen	Quote, quote of…
Teacher	Quote for
Olsen	Ah, for, sorry sorry sorry
Teacher	for, it's OK
Olsen	For, for the course heh?
Teacher	Yeah…
Olsen	For the course, for the course…

MD in one-to-one appeared to be more visible than in learner-learner interaction because the teacher made it visible by eliciting and checking understanding in ways that students working together did not. MD was still evident in peer interaction, but to a lesser extent, and frequently co-occurred with peer scaffolding. In the following extract, for example, Gema collaborated with Georgina to support Georgina's understanding of the past form in second conditional structures. Georgina raised the question of which form to use, past or present, and Gema confirmed her belief it should be the past. Georgina asked again, seeming unsure whether the information provided by Gema was correct, and Georgina provided specific support contingent on Georgina's apparent lack of sureness in the form of a metalinguistic explanation. Georgina then appeared to have a "lightbulb" moment in which she remembered about conditional sentences. Gema continued to provide more support in the form of a further example, ending this by asking a question. Georgina's confirmation of the correct answer in this analogous example was evidence of MD:

Georgina	Here, he's talking about, er "If I pay a deposit now, how much time shall I have to pay the rest of the money?"… but is pay? Or better in the

	past, “paid”? Or "if I have to pay a deposit now"… this about money all this thing…
Gema	er… paid, if I paid
Georgina	past?
Gema	Yes…. Is not past in the, er meaning, is past in the form only, is con, conditional…
Georgina	Ah conditional sentences, OK
Gema	Like, "if
	I give you a buzz on the phone number you put in your email, are there a chance you can tell me more?”… we need past?
Georgina	Yes, is similar, if I give, gave, gave you a buzz

If, as the data suggest, observable MD is associated with uptake following correction or scaffolded input by a teacher or peer, then it is unsurprising that there were almost no instances of observable MD in the self-study mode, as there was no interlocutor. The only instance of MD in self-study occurred in Saul’s think-aloud protocol, where he thought through and verbalised a problem relating to prepositions of place. By drawing on his knowledge of the analogous prepositional structure “at + school”, he was able to resolve the episode and produce “at + university”. The evidence of microgenetic development is in his application of this constructed knowledge to a subsequent problem involving the same form:

> “just writing to say” . . . “formation in your university” . . . now I’m not, not sure but I think it’s not at, in your university, but language formation at your university, I’m not sure but I think it’s at not in, because it’s like at school, so at your university . . . same mistake erm . . . another time, these languages at, “so it would be really cool to study these languages in your university”. . . erm, I think . . . in your university, at your university, no in your university . . .

Saul’s strategy of drawing on existing knowledge to help resolve a new problem is an example of self-scaffolding. Saul interrogated himself about what he did not understand, then resolved the episode through self-explanation in a process of further interrogation (Holton & Clark). Saul self-scaffolded heuristically by making optimal use of available resources (Bickhard), in this case his knowledge of analogous forms.

4.3 Post-test responses

All learners individually completed a post-test consisting of an isomorphic task (Appendix 2) that drew attention to the same number and type of language items as the original task. The open-ended nature of the post-test meant that learners could attempt as few or as many corrections as they wished. Some corrections attempted were of forms that had been discussed in LREs during the original task, while other

corrections attempted were of forms not discussed. Table 3 presents the numbers of test items attempted by participants, and also expresses this number as a percentage of test items that corresponded to participants' LREs in the original task:

Table 3

Post-test items attempted in group, one-to-one and self-study modes

	Test items that corresponded to LREs in the original task	Test items attempted	Items attempted as a percentage of items that corresponded to LREs
Group (n = 30)	614	249	41%
One-to-one (n = 15)	287	160	56%
Self-study (n = 15)	201	103	51%

A Kruskal-Wallis H test revealed a significant difference between modes in items attempted, expressed as a proportion of tests items that corresponded to LREs, at the $p < .05$ level, $x^2(2) = 9.22$, $p = .01$. Post-hoc comparison using a Mann-Whitney U-test revealed a significantly higher proportion of test items attempted by one-to-one than group learners at the $p < .025$ level, U(43) = 116, z = 2.61, $p = .0091$, a significantly higher proportion attempted by self-study learners than group learners, U(43) = 129.5, z = 2.29, $p = .022$, but no significant difference between one-to-one and self-study, U(28) = 105.5, z = 0.27, $p = .79$.

Learners across the modes, then, generally attempted around half of the test items that corresponded to their LREs, but a significantly higher proportion was attempted by one-to-one and self-study learners than group learners. This suggests that participants found forms focussed on individually or with their teacher more memorable, and therefore easier to identify as errors in the post-test, than forms focussed on in dyads in group classes. This may support Swain's observation that in peer interaction, not all talk is social, but may in fact be private, for the self; often, learners appear to be talking "to each other, but are in fact following their own agenda" ("Inseparability"). Self-directed speech refers to Vygtosky's" concept of private speech ("Thinking and Speech), in which inner speech, that is, speech that has become internalised as a tool for the purposes of self-regulation, surfaces in order to aid the speaker in the resolution of cognitively complex tasks. In the following extract, German vocalises a series of language problems but resolves these himself. His speech does not appear socially directed. German follows his own agenda in order to complete the task:

German	Erm, this idea… "but apart from the studies, time for making leisure activities is also a priority for me" where? Whereas?
Guillermina	*aunque, o algo así, no sé como decirlo* [although, or something like that, I don't know how to say it]
German	whereas *mientras que* [whereas]
Guillermina	Ah vale [ah OK]… *con esto* [with this] then
German	OK "this is important, whereas"
Guillermina	Erm we could erm talk er we could say that erm, we
German	Time for make
Guillermina	Yes
German	Making
Guillermina	We?
German	Time for making leisures activities
Guillermina	ah OK, or
German	Or OK

Post-test items attempted were further categorised as resolved in agreement with the original LRE resolution, or in disagreement with the LRE resolution. Table 4 presents these data, also expressed as percentages of items attempted:

Table 4

Post-test items corrected in agreement or disagreement with LRE resolution

	Items attempted	Items corrected in **agreement** with LRE resolution	Items corrected in **agreement,** as a proportion of items attempted	Mean items per participant
Group (n = 30)	249	182	73.1%	6.1
One-to-one (n = 15)	160	124	77.5%	8.3
Self-study (n = 15)	103	73	70.9%	4.9
	Items attempted	Items corrected in **disagreement** with LRE resolution	Items corrected in **disagreement,** as a proportion of items attempted	Mean items per participant
Group (n = 30)	249	37	14.9%	1.2
One-to-one (n = 15)	160	20	12.5%	1.3
Self-study (n = 15)	103	4	3.9%	0.3

Kruskal-Wallis H tests revealed no significant differences at the $p < .05$ level between modes in proportions of test items resolved in agreement with LRE resolution, $x^2(2) = 2.08$, $p = .35$, and in disagreement with LRE resolution, $x^2(2) = 4.71$, $p = .095$.

Between 71% (in self-study) and 78% (in one-to-one) of test items attempted were resolved in agreement with the LRE resolution. This suggests associations between LREs and learning, with new knowledge constructed or existing knowledge consolidated in the LRE surfacing again on the isomorphic post-test. In the following

extract, Ofelia initiated an LRE regarding “Hi” and its informality, and with scaffolding from her teacher in the form of prompting and the provision of an L1 equivalent, was able to provide the correction *Dear*:

Ofelia	First this Hi
Teacher	Hm
Ofelia	Is like a bit informal
Teacher	OK, what do you think would be better?...
Ofelia	I really don’t know how to make it better but,
Teacher	Hm, if you write a letter or an email, usually, how do you begin?... Is there an expression in English like, a bit like *estimado* [dear]
Ofelia	Ah like, Dear
Teacher	Yeah, exactly, so you could change that for Dear
Ofelia	I wasn’t sure if it was too personal or not, I mean
Teacher	Yeah, you can use Dear for, for er… yeah for a formal email, a formal letter, that’s fine
Ofelia	OK…

In the post-test, Ofelia corrected “Hi” by writing “Dear”. This correction therefore related to knowledge constructed or consolidated in the episode, in which there was evidence that, while Ofelia had previously been aware of the item “Dear”, she had not been fully aware of its usage. The test response therefore suggested that consolidation of knowledge had occurred.

Relatively few test items were resolved in disagreement with LRE resolution in the task: just 4% in self-study, 13% in one-to-one and 15% in group. This suggests that in all modes there exists a relationship between decisions made during talk in LREs and subsequent receptive awareness of forms topicalised. Despite the lack of significant differences between modes, it is noteworthy that the lowest figure was for self-study learners, and the highest for group learners. As discussed above, even when LREs had been resolved a certain way, group learners may have been silently following their own agenda, which sometimes only became apparent in the post-test. Group learner Grisela, for example, went on to produce a post-test in which over half of the items attempted were corrected in a way that differed from LRE resolutions during the task with her partner Gulaterio. In the following task excerpt, Grisela participated in an LRE regarding the formality of the adjective “cool”, which was resolved by Gualterio, who decided on “great”:

Grisela	I’m sure the	course
Gualterio		the course
Grisela	Will be	

Gualterio	Will be… *pero tenemos que utlilzar palabras más, más palabras porque*
	[but we need to use words that are more, more words because]
Grisela	*Más formal* [more formal]
Gualterio	*Otro vocabulario, un diferente vocabulario, todo es muy simple,*
	[another vocabulary, a different vocabulary, it's all too simple]
	yo pienso [I think]
Grisela	Will be, will be
Gualterio	Will be great, I'm sure, the course will be great, "I'm really looking forward"
Grisela	"Really looking forward"

In the post-test, Grisela corrected the word "cool", but instead of "great" wrote "good". This suggests she may in fact have preferred "good" during the task, but was happy to let Gualterio decide on "great".

5. Conclusion

Before drawing conclusions and making pedagogical recommendations, it should first be noted that the present study was subject to a number of limitations. Firstly, that the post-test was isomorphic meant by definition that it was very similar to the task. One possible consequence of this may have been that the test was subject to the effects of task repetition: repeated exposure to the same or very similar tasks may improve learners' accuracy with forms contained within (Gass, Mackey, Alvarez-Torres & Fernández-García). Furthermore, performance on isomorphic items provides no guarantee that learners can extend the application of resolution to non-isomorphic problems. It is also important to reiterate the potential for the think-aloud protocol carried out by self-study learners to be reactive to the task at hand, by adding a cognitive demand not experienced by the other participants.

To conclude, the present study set out to compare the learning, in terms of in-task microgenetic development and ability to recall forms on a post-test, that occurs in group, one-to-one and asynchronous online EFL contexts. Results indicate that the highest number of instances of microgenetic development occurred in one-to-one interaction. This finding may relate to specific structural characteristics of one-to-one dialogue, in which there tended to be scaffolding and MD evidenced by learner uptake of correct forms. MD was also evident, albeit to a lesser extent, in pair-work within group classes, as was peer support. While there was little evidence of self-scaffolding and MD in self-study, the methodological constraints of the think-aloud and the absence of an interlocutor may have meant that these were not observable. Regarding test responses, that a significantly higher proportion of test items relating to LREs was attempted by one-to-one and self-study learners suggests that languaging

is more strongly associated with subsequent language awareness when it occurs in self-study or with a teacher. Self-directed speech sometimes observed in learner-learner dyads in group mode, in which learners followed their own agenda, points towards greater trust in personal or teacher knowledge than in a peer's knowledge. However, in all modes most items attempted were resolved in agreement with LRE resolution, and few were resolved in disagreement, which suggests associations between LREs and learning. The lack of significant differences between modes in these last two respects may indicate that associations between languaging and learning exist regardless of mode.

That greater MD occurred in one-to-one tuition lends support to the role of the expert other in Vygotskian sociocultural theory. The guidance provided by the expert teacher aided learners as they moved from their current level of independent problem solving towards their potential level within their Zone of Proximal Development. Through languaging and the resolution of episodes, forms became internalised, that is, they moved from spontaneous to scientific concepts, and this internalisation was evident both at a microgenetic level within tasks, and also in test responses. One-to-one LRE resolutions often followed carefully structured support – scaffolding – in the form of elicitations and prompts, contingent on learners' current knowledge as perceived by the teacher as expert other. In other words, teachers often created gaps for learners to notice, and to attempt to resolve. The higher number of instances of microgenetic development observed in one-to-one co-occurs with the approach of guiding learners towards their own resolutions, rather than teachers resolving episodes for the learner. This suggests that an inductive guided discovery approach is beneficial for learning.

Regarding pedagogical recommendations, the present findings suggest that if group learners could be encouraged to create gaps for their peers, and take responsibility for others' learning as well as their own, group classrooms may be better able to better approximate one-to-one outcomes. It is unrealistic, of course, to expect learners to provide peers with the same kind of support that teachers provide: peer language is often characterised by inconsistencies, interlanguage and a reduced ability to reformulate forms (Philp *et al*), meaning peers cannot be reasonably expected to identify errors and elicit corrections. However, since peer interaction provides a safe space to experiment with language, it seems reasonable to suggest that teachers could provide learners with guidance regarding how they might ask the kinds of questions and make elicitation moves that invite their partner to consider more accurate, appropriate or sophisticated forms. An interesting avenue for future research would be

the ongoing observation of learner development in classrooms in which such a pedagogy is promoted.

Given the significantly lower numbers of LREs and instances of MD observed in self-study, the presence of an interlocutor appears to be associated with languaging and learning. If financial constraints make it difficult for self-study learners to obtain tutorial support, seeking out other online learners of English with whom to interact could be beneficial, as languaging and development of language awareness has also been demonstrated here to occur in learner-learner dyads.

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Appendix 1: Passage Editing Task

Read this email from a student to a University in the UK, and correct any problems / errors.

Remember to consider the full range of possible errors. These may include:

- Grammar
- Vocabulary
- Spelling
- Punctuation
- Style (formal / informal)

Hi Mrs Horowitz,

Just writing to say thanks a MILLION for your email about language formation in your university. The language learning is really important for students here in spain, not just English but other languages too, at my country it is imposible to find good courses in Chinese or the Russian, although it depends of the place, so it'll be really cool to study these languages in your university. Which reminds me, can you give me an aproximate cost of the courses? If I would come to study with you, how much would I need to pay in total? If I pay a deposit now, how much time shall I have to pay the rest of the money? I'm sure the formation will be BRILLIANT, I'm really looking forward to studying in the uk, but apart from the studies, time for making leisure activities is also a priority for me. There were something in your email about what students can do in their free time at the weekends – if I give you a buzz on the phone number you put in your email, are there a chance you can tell me more?

Bye for now and see you soon!

Andy

P.S. Any recommendations for good places on the city to visit at night-time? We really want to take full advantage of our time in England!

Appendix 2: Post-test (Isomorphic Passage Editing Task)

Read this email from a student to a University in the UK, and correct any problems / errors.

Remember to consider the full range of possible errors. These may include:

- Grammar
- Vocabulary
- Spelling
- Punctuation
- Style (formal / informal)

Hi Mrs. Horowitz,

Just letting you know that I've now received the extra information you sent me about language formation on England, thanks a MILLION, once again. The university studies at spain are BRILLIANT for subjects like Enginneering, for the languages I think it's better in the UK, so it'll be really cool to study there. Any recommendations for an english certification to acredit previous formation? I have seen that we would make an English test in the first week, but what does it consist in? Before I leave Spain I'll check your website again to see if there is things I need to bring, and I should give you a buzz if I have any questions – any chance you can confirm if there are a phone number on your webpage?

Bye for now and see you soon,

Andy

Knight, Traveller, or Author? The Question of Authorship in *The Book of John Mandeville*

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Abstract

Academic studies have been paying less and less attention to the importance of Sir John Mandeville as a literary character. Given the quantity of detail the author gives about himself, he cannot be ignored. In this study, I will take into consideration the theories about authorship and authority that emerged in the Late Middle Ages while referring to some contemporary texts that questioned the role of the *auctor* as heir of an old literary tradition to arrive at some preliminary conclusions about *The Book of John Mandeville* (c. 1375) and the role of its alleged author in the narrative.

Keywords: *The Book of John Mandeville*; John Mandeville; Authorship; *auctoritas*; Middle Ages; Medieval English Literature; travel writing

Resumo

Os estudos académicos têm prestado cada vez menos atenção à importância de Sir John Mandeville enquanto personagem literária. Tendo em conta a quantidade de detalhes que fornece sobre si, Mandeville não pode ser ignorado. Para este estudo, irei considerar as teorias sobre autoria e autoridade que surgiram no final da Idade Média para chegar a algumas conclusões preliminares sobre *The Book of John Mandeville* (c. 1375) e o papel do seu alegado autor na narrativa, ao mesmo tempo que farei referência a alguns textos contemporâneos que questionam o papel do *auctor* enquanto herdeiro de uma muito antiga tradição literária.

Palavras-chave: *The Book of John Mandeville*; John Mandeville; autoria; *auctoritas*; Idade Média; Literatura Medieval Inglesa; narrativa de viagens

The identity of Sir John Mandeville, author of the most popular travel book of the Middle Ages, dominated academic studies for many years. It was only recently that the focus of study was shifted towards the text itself. The change has been overall positive, but it has caused a diminishing of the importance of the English knight as a literary character. Although attention must be given to the narrative, the information transmitted by the author about himself cannot be ignored when studying his work. It is my opinion that, by analysing the way Mandeville chose to present himself, it is possible to achieve a better understanding of his purpose in creating what is now believed to be a fictional author/narrator. In this study, I will take into consideration the theories about authorship and authority that emerged in the Late Middle Ages while referring to some contemporary texts that question the role of the author as heir of an old literary tradition. It is not my aim to do an exhaustive survey of those theories, but to compare *The Book of John Mandeville* (c. 1357) with other late medieval literary works to arrive at some preliminary conclusions about the narrative and its author.

The late medieval work known as *The Book of John Mandeville*[1] describes the journey to Jerusalem and then to Asia of a traveller who presents himself as John Mandeville, an English knight born and raised in St. Albans, north of London. Mandeville left England in 1322 and travelled for thirty-four years, making contact with the people and traditions of many strange places, full of wonders and monstrous races. When he finally returned *home* "to rest" (Seymour, *The Defective Version* 135, lines 30-1),[2] he decided to write down his adventures, a work he finished in 1366.[3] The first part of the narrative, directly inspired by previous pilgrimage narratives, is about Jerusalem, the holiest city, and the centre of the world,[4] and the various routes to it. Mandeville describes biblical sites, places where miracles took place, and some personal experiences. The sobriety of the depiction of the holy places contrasts with the second part of the book, the account of the East, *"un réservoir onirique de l'Occident médiéval"* (Le Goff and Truong 174), and of the encounters with monsters, but it is possible to find in both of them a fascination for the miraculous and the marvellous that is typical of the period and *The Book of John Mandeville* as a whole.

The Book of John Mandeville appeared first in the French region in about 1375 (*Sir John Mandeville* 8). "One of the most popular medieval books" (Moseley 125), it survives in about three hundred manuscripts and fragments in about ten European languages, including Czech, German, and Irish, produced between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries (Seymour, *Sir John Mandeville* 3; Yeager 160). Unfortunately, there are no known manuscript copies in Portugal or in Portuguese, and

only one survives in Spain (MS. Esc. M-III-7; end of the fourteenth century).[5] The number of manuscripts is very high by medieval standards (Bale, *The Book of Marvels and Travels* xvii). It is higher than the number of known copies of *Il Milione* (between seventy and one hundred), the adventures of the Venetian explorer Marco Polo in Asia, suggesting that, although Polo is now more famous than Mandeville, the work of the English knight enjoyed a wider readership and greater circulation in medieval and early modern Europe.

Mandeville may have been very popular but almost nothing is known about him. The only contemporary information available is the one given by him, and the credibility of his statements is easily put into question after closer analysis as there are many inconsistencies, including his origin. Whereas he assumes to be English and to belong to the most prestigious class of medieval society, knighthood,[6] there is no proof that such a person existed. On the other hand, the earliest dated manuscript (Paris, Bibliothéque Nationale NAF 4515-4516) was made in Paris, in 1371. That is why most scholars believe *The Book of John Mandeville* was created in France and, probably, in the French language, and not in England, and that it was from the French region that it made its way to English territory, where a different version was developed. The popularity of the narrative in England is attested by the number of surviving manuscripts and variations in Middle English.[7]

Given that almost nothing is known about Mandeville and that many of his claims were taken from previous works,[8] from the nineteenth century on, the text was discredited, the author was dismissed as a liar and his book rejected as pure fiction (Letts 36-7). With the start of a new century, the mystery surrounding Mandeville's identity led to the emergence of several theories,[9] which became the main focus of analysis. More recently, the attention was redirected to the work itself and its unique place in the *corpus* of medieval travel writing. Scholars such as Charles Moseley, Iain Macleod Higgins and Rosemary Tzanaky have put aside questions of authorship to focus on the narrative and what it tells about the time it was written and the intentions of its author. Tzanaky's study is particularly interesting because it analyses *The Book* from a new perspective: the reception by medieval audiences. Stressing the different influences and tones of *The Book of John Mandeville*, Tzanaky showed how the readers "treated the work as a mine of information on a variety of issues, seeing it as a pilgrimage guide, geographical study, collection of marvels, historical source of moral treatise depending on their personal tastes" (11). In the author's opinion, Mandeville knew what he was doing: he was trying to break free from conventional models "to express himself in new forms" (7).

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The Book of John Mandeville is full of information about its author. Mandeville tells his readers his name, that he is a knight, where he was born, on which date he left England and crossed the sea to the Holy Land, and when he returned *home*. He suggests he embarked on a pilgrimage because he did something wrong, not only because he wanted to see the Holy Land and what lay beyond. He also describes in full detail encounters with several important people in the East, including what they talked about, and with the Pope, whom he visited when he was travelling from the East. This quantity of detail was not usual at the time. Medieval writers rarely felt the need to publicise themselves or to give any information about their lives. Their texts were often disseminated anonymously, in thematic compilations, anthologies or miscellanies. In her study, Tzanaki showed how *The Book of John Mandeville* was included in different types of compilations depending on how it was perceived by the compilers, one of several groups of people who participated in the creation of a book. As Anthony Bale explained, in manuscript culture, there was always

> a number of authors involved in the production of any one text: sources, scribes, translations and compilers could all play a significant role in the production of narrative and the rewriting of the text.
>
> Responsibility for "meaning" was not invested in any one person.
> ("From Translator to Laureate" 919)

In the Middle Ages, knowledge was based on established written authorities (*auctoritas*) on which subsequent readers conferred a cultural prestige that made them worthy of repetition (Bale, "From Translator to Laureate" 921). These could be shaped by the tastes and preferences of those who worked in the production of manuscripts without marking their interventions (Higgins, *Writing East* 18). The concept has its origins in the prologues and introductions written by late grammarians for the works of Classical and later authors (a genre known as *acessus ad auctores*, "introduction to authors", which included background information about the *auctor* and the text), and in a deep respect for the achievements of the past (Griffiths 123) that the aphorism of dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants,[10] attributed by John of Salisbury (d. 1180)[11] to Bernard of Chartres (d. 1160),[12] summarizes so beautifully: *"Dicebat Bernardus Carnotensis nos esse quasi nanos gigantium humeris insidentes, ut possimus plura eis et remotiora videre, non utique propii visus acumine, aut*

eminentia corporis, sed quia in altum subvehimur et extollimur magnitudine gigantes" (qtd. in Eco 22).[13]

The existance of previous moldes and their variations, aspects of the major phenomena described by Paul Zumthor as *"la 'mouvance' des textes"* ("the sphere of influence of the texts"), an expression that refers to the hierarchical character of the textual production, determined the function and effects of medieval intertextuality (Zumthor 9), one of the main characteristics of the literature of the period, which was reworked by Mandeville in a very distinctive way — by resorting to previous texts to create his own (fictional) travel account, the English knight produced a "multi-text", as suggested by Higgins, "characterised both by its typical medieval intertextuality and by its own distinctive *intra*textual multiplicity" (*Writing East* 19).

As pointed out by Alastair Minnis in *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, in the early Middle Ages, "the notion of the *auctor* as an agent engaged in literary activity was submerged" and the author interested only "as a source of *auctoritas*" (89). The authority did not reside in the person or people that gave a work its textual form but in external factors (Griffiths 123). The author was seen as the recipient of a message that originated with God, "the sole *auctor* of things" (Minnis 90). Jane Griffiths believes the concept of *auctor* was responsible for the suppression or exclusion of the names of many authors from their works. "The readers and copyists of a text were often less interested in who had written it than in the message that it contained or the function that it served", she wrote (125). There were some exceptions, though. Contrary to what was common, some authors did sign their literary works but in a way that did not challenge the traditional ideas according to which "an author was merely a channel for the material that his text contains" (Griffiths 125). Robert Mannyng, the author of a chronicle completed in 1338, explains, by underlining his name at the beginning of his text, that he is going to tell a story "als . . . wryten it fand" (qtd. in Griffiths 125), implying he is retelling something he read somewhere.

By the fourteenth century, things were starting to change. New ideas about authorship began to emerge. In the early thirteenth century, influenced by new methods of thinking and techniques of study, commentators started to follow the so-called 'Aristotelian prologue',[14] based on the four major causes that, for the Greek philosopher, governed all activity and change in the universe[15]. According to this model,

> . . . the auctor would be discussed as the "efficient cause" or motivating agent of the text, his materials would be discussed as the "material cause", his literary style and structure would be considered as twin aspects of the "formal cause", while his

> ultimate end or objective in writing would be considered as the "final cause". (Minnis 71-2)

The use of the "four causes" brought commentators closer to the biblical authors. Their human qualities and authorial role or function began to receive more attention (Minnis 72-3). The new approach influenced the attitudes of major medieval writers "towards the moral and aesthetic value of their creativity, the literary roles and forms they had adopted, and the ultimate functions which they envisage their works as performing" (Minnis 74).

In England, several writers questioned the role of the author and the duality of his relationship with his authorised predecessors. Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1340-1400) was probably the one who paid more attention to the subject. He first addressed the question in *The House of Fame* (1379-80). Described by Kathryn L. Lynch as a "highly intellectual and literary poetic performance" (*Dream Visions and Other Poems* 39), the poem describes a journey through a literary dream world by which the narrator ponders his role in the poetic tradition of the age (Pugh 15). The intention is most evident in Book III, when, after entering Lady Fame's chamber, the narrator finds himself surrounded by Statius, Homer, and Virgil, the great Classical *auctores* whose reputation withstood the test of time. The scene is a commentary on the constant confrontation between the "long shadow" of the author's illustrious ancestors and "his search for new tidings about which to write" (Pugh 21).

The subject is also present in *The Canterbury Tales* (1387-1400). The two tales told by Chaucer the Pilgrim, "Sir Topas" and "Melibee", explore the relationship between the purposes of literature as were understood in the Middle Ages (*solaas*, "entertainment"; and *sentence*, "moralisation") and analyse the duties of the poet as artist and heir of a much older literary tradition (Phillips 172; Benson 66). The reaction of the Host helps sustain this interpretation: Harry Bailly interrupts the telling of "Sir Topas" because it makes his "eres aken of thy drasty speche" (*The Canterbury Tales*, line 923), and praises "Melibee" by wishing his wife "hadde herd" it (line 1894). Also significant is the fact that he seems to know very little about Chaucer the Pilgrim. Bailly does not say anything definitive about him. He does not know his profession or what to call him (the question "What man artow?" is never answered). For Helen Phillips,

> . . . the many puzzling aspects of Chaucer's self-presentation . . . (described by someone else, separated from the other characters, as an inadequate story-teller,

> lacking any creative originality) raise the deepest questions about authorship: Where is the author in the text? Who is the author in the text? (173)

It is right to assume that Sir John Mandeville, a well-read and intelligent writer, was trying to answer the same questions by creating a literary character that, like Chaucer the Pilgrim, was not himself, but a figure he could use to explore what meant to be an author in a time where writing was seen as an act originated with God and directed by Him. The way he addresses the question of authorship implies a profound reflection on the topic (he did not only create a name, but a whole *persona*), which was a few later decades picked up by Chaucer and also by John Gower (c. 1330-1408). Gower distinctly addressed the issue in *Vox Clamantis*, a dream poem inspired by the Peasant's Revolt of 1381. Written in Latin, the text is concerned with the general corruption of society (including the Church), notably in England. Gower, following the tradition that sees the author as the recipient of God's words, "seems to be identifying himself as an instrumental *causa efficiens* working under the primary *causa efficiens*, God" (Minnis 335), and describes himself in terms that enable such identification (339). Mandeville's approach also gives force to the theory, supported by critics such as M. C. Seymour, that the author was most certainly an ecclesiastic, and thus with easy access to a library with books on several different subjects.[16]

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In the fourteenth century, travel literature was moving away from traditional models towards a new one in which the authority of the writer was much more important. By then, churchmen and crusaders, the usual authors of travel narratives, were not the only ones contributing to the development of the knowledge and understanding of the Far East. On the other hand, "geography was turning away from traditional modes towards a new type of interest in ethnography and science" (Tzanaki 11), of which the account of the travels of the Venetian merchant Marco Polo, full of descriptions of places and people little known in Europe, is a good example. Produced in 1298, while Polo was imprisoned by the Genoese[17], the book describes the explorer's adventures in Asia in the late thirteenth century. Originally written in French, with the help of the writer Rustichello of Pisa, the work, known in Italian as *Il Milione*[18] and in English as *Book of Marvels of the World* or simply *The Travels of Marco Polo*, was a success in its time. However, contrary to what happened with *The Book of John Mandeville*, most readers considered it to be a work of fiction rather than a true story.[19] Perhaps anticipating the doubts, Polo declares in the prologue that his book is "a truthful one" (*The Travels of Marco Polo the Venetian* 9 qtd. in Youngs 25).

The appeal of the travel writers' stories lay largely in the novelty and implausibility of the material collected by the authors (Daston and Park 62). That is why travel narratives place a great emphasis on eyewitnesses. This created a conflict between the old cultural patterns and the writer's personal experience, attitude and aim (being those real or imagined) that was not easy to solve. In those cases, it was required, "on the one hand, a process of deconstruction of the already known, and, on the other hand, in parallel the codification of an unprecedented reality with the consequent creation of a new and original knowledge" (Lopes 89). As highlighted by Stephen Greenblatt,

> the problem with eyewitness accounts is that they implicitly call attention to the reader's lack of that very assurance - direct sight - that is their own source of authority. The undermining of credibility is intensified in an account such as Mandeville's, with its tales of exotic wonders beyond what men can normally "conceive with their own kindly wits". (32)

It was then necessary to make sure that the ccredibility of the narrative was unquestionable.

There are several moments in *The Book of John Mandeville* when the author denotes a preoccupation with authenticity. The insertion of his name and the many allusions to what he supposedly saw and experienced firsthand is proof of that.[20] Mandeville felt the need to specify when he was speaking about something he saw or about something he heard someone speak about, as is the case of the legend of Hippocrates' daughter, which he learned from the islanders in Greece (Seymour, *The Defective Version* 15, lines 11-13). To fully convince his readers that his account was true, he says he received papal approval.[21] He describes the meeting with the Pope, which could not have happened in Rome as he says but in Avignon, where the Papacy was based from 1309 to 1376 following the Papal Schism,[22] in the final pages of his work, stating that the Pontiff had "a book vpon Latyn" that contained the same information "and myche more" (Seymour, *The Defective Version* 136, lines 12-13).

> . . . Y made my wey in my comyng hamwarde to Rome to schewe my book to þe holy fader þe pope and telle to hym merueyles whiche Y hadde seye in dyuerse cuntreez, so þat he wiþ his wise counseyl would examyne hit . . . he seide þat he hadde a book vpon Latyn þat conteyned þat and myche more, after whiche boke þe mappa mundi ys ymade, which book he schewid to me. And þerfore þe holy fader þe pope haþ

> ratefyed and confermed my book in alle poyntes. (Seymour, *The Defective Version*, lines 3-15)

The book of Mandeville is approved by the Pope because the leader of the Catholic Church knows of a previous work (*auctoritas*) that attests to what the English wrote. By describing the scene in "Rome", Mandeville is, thus, presenting his readers with two different forms of legitimisation: written *auctoritas*, in the form of the Latin book; and eyewitness, because he saw the manuscript held by the Pope that confirms what he wrote "in alle poyntes" (Seymour, The Defective Version, line 15).

For Ján Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés, the way Mandeville gathered and reworked different types of information to achieve his vision implies a personal preoccupation with the impact of the narrative which constitutes an innovation in the history of travel literature in late medieval Europe, stressing that it was not present in the genre before Polo (39): "Mandeville in this way represents both a conservative attempt to reinstate a past vision in a period of doubt and a concession to the new authority of the traveller as a direct observer" (Elsner and Rubiés 39). This can help explain the decisions the English knight made regarding his literary *persona*. By giving the author a name, Mandeville was not only trying to give credibility to his narrative but also highlighting the role of the *auctor* in the process of creation. In *The Book of Mandeville*, the travel writer is not a vessel for God's words; he is trying to assert himself as a creator. Because of that, I do not agree with Tzanaki when she says that Mandeville asserted his authority solely by relying upon "his traveller-persona" and "not on the written *authoritas*" (7). He found a way of doing both things by playing rather intelligently with the traditional medieval notion of authority.

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[1] In general, medieval works had no title and this one is no exception. *The Book of John Mandeville* is also referred to as *The Travels of John Mandeville* but the first title is more common. Personally, I prefer the first one to avoid it being mistaken for the book of Marco Polo, known in English as *The Travels*.

[2] Mandeville never says where he returned to, so it is impossible to know if he ended his days in England, possibly in his hometown, or if he established himself in another country, maybe France, where the book first appeared. What is clear, though, is that he left the East and travelled back to the West. The sentence in the Defective Version is the following: "And I loon Maundeuyele kniȝt, þat went out of my cuntre and passid þe see þe ȝere of oure lord a m.ccc.xxx. and tweye, and haue ypassid þurȝ many londis, cuntrez, and yles, and now am ycome to rest; I haue compiled þis booke . . ." (135, lines 28-31).

[3] This is the date given in the Defective Version (135, lines 30-1), the oldest English variation of *The Book of John Mandeville* (produced after 1377) and the one I will refer to in this study because of its precedence in England. Different versions give different dates for the conclusion of the book and also for the departure of Mandeville from England. Higgins pointed out that copy errors were usual due to the use of Roman numerals (*The Book of John Mandeville* 5).

[4] In the Middle Ages, it was believed that Jerusalem occupied the centre of the world. The origins of the myth, popularized by pilgrim and travel narratives, are obscured. See Higgins, Iain Macleod. "Defining the Earth's Center in a Medieval 'Multi-Text': Jerusalem in T*he Book of John Mandeville*." *Text and Territory. Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*. Edited by Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998, pp. 29-53. Mandeville was one of the medieval authors who gave more attention to the special geographical localisation of the Holy City. See Chapter 7 of *The Book of John Mandeville*.

[5] See Temperley, María Mercedes Rodríguez, editor. *Juan de Mandeville: Libro de las maravillas del mundo y del Viaje de la Tierra Sancta de Jerusalem (Impresos castellanos del siglo XVI)*. Edición crítica, estudio preliminar y notas de María Mercedes Rodríguez Temperley. IIBICRIT-SECRIT, 2011.

[6] See Seymour, *Sir John Mandeville* 11-15.

[7] The story of the production and dissemination of *The Book of John Mandeville* is a very complex one. Given the aim of this study, it is impossible to do a comprehensive account, which would fill several pages. It is also relevant to note that there is very important work to be done in this area. Since M. C. Seymour's critical studies, no major work has been done about the different versions of *The Book*, be it in France or in England. Because of that, most works ignore the new discoveries regarding manuscripts and are outdated. Given the current state of the art, I do not feel confident in suggesting any reading. In my master's thesis (about *The Book of John Mandeville*), I will give a full and updated account of all the manuscripts of the Defective Version.

[8] See Letts, 29-33; Higgins, *The Book of John Mandeville* 219-21.

[9] See Letts, 13-22; Seymour, *Sir John Mandeville* 25-36.

[10] See Eco 22-6.

[11] One of the foremost philosophers of the so-called Twelfth Century Renaissance. See Sinkler, Georgette. "John of Salisbury." *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, op. Cit., p. 454; "John of Salisbury." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. First published Wed Aug 10, 2016; substantive revision Wed Apr 27, 2022. plato.stanford.edu/entries/john-salisbury/. Accessed 26 August 2023.

[12] Humanist, philosopher, and head of the school of Chartres. See Jordan, Mark D. "Bernard of Chartres." *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*. Second Edition. Edited by Robert Audi. Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 86; Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Bernard de Chartres." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 30 Apr. 2020. britannica.com/biography/Bernard-de-Chartres. Accessed 30 December 2022.

[13] In English (my translation): "Bernard of Chartres used to say that we are like dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants. If we can see further is not because our height is greater and our sight shaper, but because we are standing on their shoulders."

[14] See Minnis 79-81.

[15] From the middle twelfth century onwards, there was a rediscovery of the works of Aristotle as a result of a process of translation of new rediscovered manuscripts in Greek and Arabic in places like Syria, Constantinople, and Spain. Until about 1100, Aristotle's work was only known from fragments and commentaries, most of them composed by Boethius (c. 480-524). Plato was, for the most part of the Middle Ages, considered 'the Philosopher'. See Knowles, David. *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*. Second Edition. Edited by D. E. Luscombe and N. L. Brooke. Longman, pp. 167-74.

[16] See Seymour, *Sir John Mandeville* 10.

[17] See Youngs 25-8; Maraini, Fosco, and Peters, Edward. "Marco Polo." *Encyclopedia Britannica*. britannica.com/biography/Marco-Polo. Accessed 24 January 2023.

[18] The title probably derives from the traveller's nickname *Il Milione*, from the description of the millions of things he saw in the Mongol empire. See Maraini and Peters, *op. cit*.

[19] *Il milione*'s reputation suffered a terrible blow in 1553 when Giovanni Battista Ramusio commented that Polo's family name meant "the liar". See "The World Translated" 156-7. The discussion about the authenticity of the work goes on till today. See, for example, Wood, Frances. *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* Secker and Warburg, 1995.

[20] The preoccupation with authenticity is not exclusive of Sir John Mandeville. It can also be found in other texts of the same period, namely *Piers Plowman* (c. 1377-9). During a conversation with the figure of Anima in the "B-Text", William Langland, the presumed author of the dream poem, says his name "is Long Wille" (ed. Schmidt 1987: XV.152 qtd. in Griffiths 126). Similarly, Mandeville introduces himself at the beginning of his book. Like Langland, he was trying to lend an impression of authenticity to his narrative. For Langland, as for Mandeville, *authoritas* was not enough; they both felt the need to reinforce the credibility of their works by presenting themselves.

[21] According to Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park, the Latin Vulgate Version of *The Book of John Mandeville* (a Latin translation of a French version produced in 1375) circulated together with what was supposed to be a papal certificate declaring the narrative to be true. (62).

[22] See Mollat, G. *The Popes at Avignon*. Translated by Janet Love. Harper & Row, 1963; Logan, F. Donald. *A History of the Church in the Middle Ages*. Routledge, 2005, pp. 297-314.

"By some Dexterous Deference to The Spirit of the Age": Woolf's Staging of *Othello* Beheld Through Early Twentieth Century Racial Anxieties

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Abstract

Orlando, Virginia Woolf's 1928 novel, has been skillfully analysed for a century, with a great focus on its gender representations and fantastical historical narrative. We have chosen to centre our research on a particular moment before the protagonist's self-imposed exile and gender change, in which he and his lover, Sasha, escape the court's trappings and wander into a performance of *Othello*. We argue that the choice of the play is relevant in multiple ways. Firstly, it showcases Woolf's dedication to referencing the literary canon and illustrating the protagonist's immature relationship with literature. Secondly, it is important because it specifically engages with nineteenth century literary criticism, Shakespearean criticism and performance, and its connections with white supremacy. Finally, it is pertinent due to the centrality of public discourse around interracial relationships in the early twentieth century, and how the character of Othello signifies a danger to British decency and the maintenance of heteropatriarchal relationship norms.

Keywords: *Orlando*; *Othello*; Interracial relationships; Literary canon; White supremacy

Resumo

Orlando, o romance de Virginia Woolf de 1928, tem sido analisado a dedo ao longo de um século, com um grande foco nas suas representações de género e na sua narrativa histórica fantástica. Escolhemos centrar a nossa pesquisa num momento particular, antes do exílio autoimposto pelo protagonista e da sua mudança de género, no qual ele e a sua amante, Sasha, escapam dos confinamentos da corte e deparam-se com uma encenação de *Othello*.

Argumentamos que a escolha desta peça é relevante por vários motivos. Primeiramente, demonstra a dedicação de Woolf a referenciar o cânone literário e a ilustrar a relação imatura do protagonista com a literatura. Em segundo lugar, é importante por especificamente interagir com crítica literária do século dezanove, com crítica shakespeariana e com performance teatral e as suas ligações com a supremacia branca. Finalmente, é pertinente dada a centralidade do debate público sobre relações interraciais no início do século vinte, e na medida em que a personagem Othello simboliza um perigo para a decência britânica e para a manutenção de normas de relações heteropatriarcais.

Palavras-chave: *Orlando*; *Othello*; Relações interraciais; Cânone literário; Supremacia branca

Introduction

Woolf's *Orlando* spins discourse that overflows with political richness. The novel combs through nearly four centuries of history, dissecting the patriarchal pillars of British history and critiquing the assumptions of its literary dialectical companion as experienced by the titular character. It "reflects upon women writers' relationship with the canon", as Jane De Gay puts it on her chapter "Rewriting Literary History in *Orlando*" (158), especially via the protagonist's literary ambitions.

We argue that besides this skilful inspection through a feminist and sapphic perspective, Virginia Woolf's ironizing gaze scavenges the literary canon and stages *Othello* in contemplation of the contemporary circumstances of British life, further orchestrating it to comment on the amateurish stage of Orlando's artistic aspirations. The latter's hold on the performance he witnesses is framed by his aristocratic lifestyle and heritage. Furthermore, we analyse the deliberate descriptive choice of Orlando's identifying the actor as a "black man", an otherwise anachronistic remark given the history of Shakespearean performance, which will be briefly documented.

In short, this paper will argue that Virginia Woolf promptly rejects nineteenth century Shakespearean criticism, most importantly through the portrayal of young Orlando's flawed understanding of Shakespeare, which follows this tradition of ideals – one that sees blackness and barbarity as one and the same. First, we take a closer look at the centrality of literary criticism for the crafting of *Orlando*. Then, we focus on the storytelling aspect of *Othello* and on its potential to create real world narratives around black men, which is why it is such a pivotal component of Woolf's novel. To finish, we address the performance history of the play, as well as written judgements about black men in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to argue that Woolf deliberately casts aside the light-skin concepts of the Bronze Age of *Othello* to bridge her contemporary discourse around interracial relationships and Orlando's experience.

Literary Tradition and the Artistic Experience in *Orlando*

As Michael Bell argues in "Tradition and the Individual Talent", his seminal 1919 essay, T.S. Eliot emphasized that tradition "was not what he called an 'orthodoxy,' a rule to be followed, but a largely unconscious inheritance being continually modified within the self" (Bell 16). In *Orlando*, Woolf revitalizes the genre of life writing, in a biography that eludes traditional methods and strategies. The novel focuses on the emotional experience of the protagonist's life, a turn inwards that made her writing singular. Michael Bell explains that, in this period, "historicism was undermined by the questioning of the scientific model, for the word history refers both to the unimaginably vast process of events making up collective human life and to the interpretative discipline through which it is understood" (14).

Similarly, this is the biographer's great endeavour as well: to be subject to the mercy of time and its lost documents, as well as the impenetrability of the human mind. Woolf's deconstruction of this fashion of documentation is the backbone of the novel, reveling on the subjectivity of time and epochs. However, there is more to be said regarding the renewal of literary pillars. As such, Shakespeare's influence comes to light throughout the text. His major indirect appearance coincides with Orlando and Sasha's love affair, and the performance of *Othello* witnessed by them enriches the entire work in its multiple layers of importance.

The entanglement with "Sasha" follows the protagonist's giving up on consorting with pirates and other "low born company" of their liking (Woolf, *Orlando* 19). Over his fascination with the parrots and tavern women, comparable in their strangeness, Orlando "appeared once more at the Court of King James" (21). This vacillation between institutional belonging and self-exile, whilst varying in gravity, is a recurring one in the novel, sometimes even working dialectically, in tandem - such as later, when faced with an "uninhabitable" mansion, he bids King Charles to "send him as Ambassador Extraordinary to Constantinople" (71). This tension is present not only in the course of Orlando's life, but also in the designing of the novel itself, particularly in relation to literary tradition. Whereas Woolf acknowledges Shakespeare's inevitable influence on her work and directly references him, she rejects how her ancestors treated his work.

Naturally, Virginia Woolf's concern with spotlighting storytelling is reflected on her choice of Shakespearean play to stage. *Othello* expands on the art of story crafting, of the ambivalence of points-of-view and the fundamental aspect of subjectivity in one's experience of a narrative (Thompson 2). It is the persuasive

nature of art and theatre, in addition to the gravity of every detail of a story's framing that is in question here. In her introduction to the revised Third Arden Series edition of the play, Ayanna Thompson highlights that "Othello dies worrying about the way his life will be framed" (2). In *Orlando*, his actions are used to inflame the young man's blind and jealous tantrum, shaping a great commentary of how patriarchal violence relies on actors, like the soldiers in Woolf's essay "Thoughts on Peace in an Air Raid", where she explains that disarmament alone won't quench men's thirst for violence, which is fostered by their nurtured love for it, perpetuating the cycle of brutality (218).

To exemplify the importance of personal narratives and perceived similarity to justify violence, the central relationships of the works can be analysed. Sasha is charmed by Orlando's accompanying mockery of the ridiculous British court, which labels him as a kind of outsider as well, just as Desdemona falls in love with Othello based on his unique experiences ("She loved me for the dangers I had passed" (Shakespeare 1.3.168), Othello remarks, remembering the story of their courtship in the context of his retelling his life's tragedies and adventures).

This is, at best, a superficial parallel of their circumstances, that Orlando amateurly latches onto to project himself onto Othello. He is not living a great love, nor will he suffer a great loss – but Shakespeare's words move him, and his imitation of what he witnesses, instead of taking the form of literary inspiration, as Eliot recommends, is personal, and therefore ridiculous. Eliot himself comments that "influence can fecundate, whereas imitation, especially unconscious imitation – can only sterilize" (Eliot 18). Even if we choose to interpret *Othello* not as a racial tragedy, but a military one, in order to highlight a construction of domineering patriarchy, their military experiences are not even close to the same.

Thus, whereas Orlando's impactful emulation of the tragedy does, indeed, sterilize his artistic progress, how does Woolf's clever reference influence the reader? What does it evoke?

Woolf does rescue a primary medieval theatre motif, that of the Vice. In her analysis of the play's genre, Ayanna Thompson relates *Othello* to the medieval morality play, calling attention to the Vice, "frequently depicted as a worldly figure . . . dressing as an Egyptian or a Turk with the aid of . . . makeup" (Thompson 8). Shakespeare was aware of this prototype, most famously with Aaron in *Titus Andronicus*. She further explains that, at the climax, Iago is identified as this figure, and "Othello seems to interpret the events through the lens of a morality play" (Thompson 8).

As Thompson explains, Shakespeare was inspired by the life of Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Wazzan (15) and, theatrically speaking, *The Battle of Alcazar* "set the stage for Shakespeare's depictions of race, rhetoric and intercultural collisions" (18), insomuch as "Iago embodies the devilish improvisational and rhetorical effectiveness of Muly Mahamet and Aaron, the Moor, while Othello embodies the blackness of them" (20). The villainy of these figures would be undoubtedly present in the Elizabethan mind. There is a literary chain that enables these narratives, and, whether one believes Shakespeare to be countering them through the complexity of Iago and Othello's characterisations or not, Woolf explores this web of thought.

As such, Shakespeare's novelty within the genre is enticing the audience to identify the worldly figure – Othello – as vice and then subverting their expectations, given that Iago is the true corruptor. Orlando, however, upon viewing the performance, misses this disruption. His amateurish analysis causes him to effectively suffer, as if he himself were an actor in the play, influenced by Othello, his Vice figure.

This affectation comes to a height, in this chapter, with the violence that he is seemingly infected by upon viewing the performance. At the same time, the violence stirred has racial undertones: a raging irrational black man, "vociferating" (Woolf 35), is a complex stereotype present in Modernity; Sasha and Orlando work almost as foils of Othello and Desdemona, in the sense that Sasha was glimpsed with someone else whilst Desdemona's so-called innocence is a topic of discussion, and in that Orlando visualizes killing Sasha projected onto the action on stage. The "frenzy of the Moor" (Woolf 35) infects his otherwise passive disbelief in her infidelity. Orlando is betrayed, just as by the fox of his childhood, which was decapitated by his father – a curious parallel to the decapitated head of the Moor that opens the novel, alluding to the bloody inheritance of English patriarchy (Daileader 60).

Othello's racial ambiguity and Woolf's repudiation of nineteenth century criticism

Woolf had to "grapple with Victorian ideas and conceptualizations", John Ruskin particularly, which we will now further analyse. As such, the Great Frost as portrayed in the work derides his view of the Renaissance as a blight which ruined medieval morality: whilst the "decadence of the courtiers who celebrate even while countryfolk lose their livelihoods" is criticized, there is an admiration of nature in its sparkling devastation and cyclical renewal, and it commences a period of shy inquiries into personal and political freedoms (De Gay 143). Orlando is awakened to his sexuality

but, we argue, most importantly not divorced of medieval constructions, either literary or prejudicial.

In the line of political and personal freedoms, the actor being perceived as a black man by Orlando is not an innocent anachronism (Daileader 62), as it is believed that Richard Burbage portrayed the moor in blackface and with the aid of prosthetics – just as Aaron, another moor, is presented in a drawing by Henry Peacham, dated 1595, in the Longleat manuscript, where one can tell that there is a figure with dark skin and coily hair meant to be Aaron from *Titus Andronicus*. Prosthetics, therefore, conveyed race in these stagings (Thompson 28). In our point-of-view, it is a necessary element for the aristocratic youth to project an image of inherent violence to a body deemed barbaric.

We argue this because, interestingly, it is not consensual that Othello was meant to be read or seen as a black man, specifically in a sixteenth century context. Ania Loomba explains that scholars have pointed out that "it may be particularly anachronistic to speak of racial difference in that period because whereas today the term 'race' carries overwhelming connotations of skin colour, in early modern Europe the bitterest conflicts between European Christians and others had to do with religion" (Loomba 2). She further argues, however, that there is relevance in "tracing [ideologies of race's] histories", adding that literary texts are fundamental to this study, because they not only "reflect and shape their immediate present, but also encode ideas from the past" (Loomba 2).

Admittedly, coming back to Shakespeare, the concept of Empire was present in the Jacobean court, as a way of cultivating a national identity. In 1607, Edward Topsell's descriptions of human beings resonate with what we now deem racist rhetoric, "laying the basis of a comparison between apes and black people" (Loomba 27). What's more, Thomas Herbert described Africans as "Devilish savages" or "Devils incarnate", which should remind us of much of both *Titus Andronicus* and *Othello*'s texts (Loomba 27) and of medieval theology's influence on the portrayal of blackness.

However, it would be specifically furthered and weaponised against other peoples in the nineteenth century, just as the question around Othello's race became central to literary and performance criticisms. A great example of this narrative is Thomas Carlyle's headstrong belief in the value of his country's Anglo-Saxon heritage. As Farah Karim-Cooper puts it:

> Emerson's lesser-known book *English Traits* helps us understand why Shakespeare was of particular importance in the context of this Anglo-Saxon inheritance. It praises the whiteness and stature of English men, particularly the face and its "fair complexion,

> blue eyes, and open and florid aspect". Emerson aligned these features with a love "of truth . . . fine perception, and poetic construction. The fair Saxon man, with open front, and honest meaning . . . is not the wood out of which cannibal, or inquisitor, or assassin is made, but he is moulded for law, lawful trade, civility, marriage, the nurture of children, for colleges, churches, charities, and colonies". (41)

Indeed, alarm surrounding the claim of an Anglo-Saxon heritage stems precisely from "its elevation as a racial differentiator in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" (Karim-Cooper 40). The author further references Matthew Gabriele and Mary Rambaran-Olm's work, concerning current claims to this heritage that recover the myth of British nativity, thus fueling racist rhetoric (Karim-Cooper 40). The legacy exploitation of the figure of William Shakespeare in this context is vast, and this is where Orlando's heritage comes in.

As such, despite Woolf's original plan to portray an unattractive, lonely, poor woman (De Gay 135), Vita's life is the thread woven through the novel. Orlando's struggle to reclaim his inheritance and home is hers, just as "The Oak Tree" is modelled after "The Land". As such, her material conditions and standing are critical for the character's struggles and prejudices. The legacy of violence represented by the decapitated head in the beginning, at an extreme contrast with Queen Elizabeth's mourning the possibility of Orlando's "tender flesh torn" and "curly head rolled in the dust" (Woolf, *Orlando* 17), is the curse of an ancient lineage – in his introduction to the novel, Michael H. Whitworth reminds us that Herbrand de Sackville had come with William the Conqueror to England in 1066 (xiii), braiding legacy and carnage.

Historically speaking, otherness has been central to English Literature "generated by the Crusades and by the encounters between Jews, Christians and Muslims in Europe" (Loomba 4), which Orlando's familial roots entangle with. The sheer concept of "*sangre azul*" was historically claimed by Spanish aristocracy "who declared they had never been contaminated by Moorish or Jewish blood, and hence had fair skins through which their blue blood could be seen" (Loomba 7).

The Dangers of Promiscuity and White British Ruin

In her essay "Kissing a Negress in the Dark: Englishness as a Masquerade in Woolf's *Orlando*", Jaime Hoovey mentions that English nationality is always framed by a racial claim and underlines the relentless link between heterosexual respectability and gender. Considering the moral panics of the 20s and ultimately the 1928 trial of Radclyffe Hall, Woolf's novel is "a product of public anxieties and historical debates about race and nation" (394), and so is her staging of Othello. Desdemona disobeys

both the Senate and the patriarchal authority of her family, all in favour of her husband. This speaks to early twentieth century anxieties around interracial relationships and their alleged predatorial nature.

Similarly, Loomba comments that both black people "and Muslims were regarded as given to unnatural sexual and domestic practices, as highly emotional and even irrational, and prone to anger and jealousy; above all, both existed outside the Christian fold" (91), and concludes that this is evidence of the intersection of medieval and newer conceptions around these ethnic groups in early Modern England (92). For Woolf's purpose, it is irrelevant whether Othello was meant to be a black man or not, in the original stagings, because she chooses that he be perceived as one, as far as Orlando is able to articulate what he sees, and not necessarily what was staged at that point in time, because it is pertinent to her contemporaries' political climate, mainly in regard to black men's perceived promiscuity and dread around the possible collapse of white heterosexual propriety.

In her essay "Othello's Sister: Racial Hermaphroditism and Appropriation in Virginia Woolf's *Orlando*", Celia R. Daileader concludes that, closing the first chapter, "two Shakespearean, fugitive, interracial couples get superimposed upon Orlando and the Russian princess on the eve of their planned flight" (62): in addition to Othello and Desdemona, Jessica and Lorenzo, from *The Merchant of Venice*, are visible. This further highlights the necessity of a chasm between the lovers, ethnic and cultural, to introduce criticism to societal norms that bind Orlando to colonial patriarchy.

As such, this chasm is glaringly evident in Orlando. After the initial confusion regarding Sasha's sex triggered by her Eastern garment introduces the theme of androgyny and ambiguous sexuality, Orlando is changed "from a sulky stripling . . . to a nobleman", charmed by her sharp remarks on the court bumpkins, aching for "another landscape, and another tongue"; because Sasha is completely unlike the previous women he liked, he struggles to find apt comparisons, landing in a fox, an olive tree (Woolf, *Orlando* 29); beforehand choosing "a melon, a pineapple" (Woolf, *Orlando* 24), multiple consumable foreign elements.

Furthermore, even though a reference to, for instance, *Much Ado About Nothing* would better fit the evocation of jealousy, given that Hero is thought to be caught in the act of infidelity, the choice of staging *Othello* can only be due to the conscious effort to highlight the cultural chasms between the lovers and to trigger her contemporaries' sensibilities around black men.

As a woman living in the early twentieth century, Virginia Woolf inherits a legacy of scholarship that focused on trying to prove the inferiority of other races, including the efforts of Herbert Spencer for instance:

> On turning from these deductions to examine the facts, with a view to induction, we meet difficulties like those which we met in the last chapter. As in size and structure the inferior races differ from one another enough to produce some indefiniteness in our conception of the primitive man—physical; so in their passions and sentiments the inferior races present contrasts sufficiently marked to obscure the essential traits of the primitive man—emotional. . . . Recapitulating the emotional traits . . . we have first to note the impulsiveness which, pervading the conduct of primitive men, so greatly impedes co-operation. That "wavering and inconstant disposition", which commonly makes it "impossible to put any dependence on their promises", negatives that mutual trust required for social progress. Governed as he is by despotic emotions that successively depose one another, instead of by a council of the emotions shared in by all, the primitive man has an explosive, chaotic, incalculable behaviour, which makes combined action very difficult. (Spencer 56-71)

Any educated reader of Woolf's will have been familiar with these theses. Just as in Shakespeare's time, "as English contact with sub-Saharan African increased and the slave trade proliferated, the associations of blackness and depravity became more widespread and intense" (Loomba 36), in Woolf's lifetime there was serious public unrest around this topic as well. Jaime Hovey links British newspaper writings which associate colonial immigrants and sexually emancipated white women in a single suspicion (394).

Indeed, in the 1920s, Britain was rocked by multiple race riots. British men were concerned with white women's fidelity to race, and therefore nation, Hovey explains, a preoccupation "evident in newspaper accounts of the 1919 race riots, which were started by angry mobs of white men who suspected African, West Indian and Arab immigrants of taking their jobs and of consorting with white women" (Hovey 394). This is a concern that dates to the late 19th century where, despite there being very few actors of colour on stage in Great Britain, there are those whose only archival evidence of existence is a criminal record. Furthermore, the deliberate mention of the accused's race serves precisely to feed the narrative of danger:

> In Blackburn in 1895, "Two members of the 'Old Kentucky' company, performing at the theatre, named William Henry Shearwood and John Albert Wilson, both coloured men" were charged with "malicious wounding" after defending themselves from an

> attack by a bystander who had seen them speaking with two (presumably white) girls. More troubling still are the multiple legal cases where actors of color stood accused of kidnapping presumably white, young English women. In 1901, for instance, "Eldridge Adolphus Patterson, a man of colour, described as an actor, was charged with the abduction of two Halifax mill girls." A decade earlier, "James Travis, a coloured man belonging to the Uncle Tom's Cabin Company, at present playing at the Doncaster Theatre, was brought up charged with having abducted Mary Havern, a girl of the age of 15 years, from the custody of her parents, with intent to have carnal knowledge of her." Travis and Havern, the report alleged, "lived together as man and wife" for several days before Travis was arrested. In a similar case in 1893 "Louis Rock, a coloured man" stood accused of "acting illegally towards Jane Ellen Price, 14 years old"; according to the account, and as in the case of Travis and Havern, Price had been passed off as Rock's wife". (Chakravarty 197-8)

Necessary to this conception of black men's depravity is, in contrast, white women's purity and complacency with the British Empire. The length of Orlando's life considered, being politically challenged only when presenting as a woman is a testament to a privilege of standing that Woolf is well aware of, just as she is aware of her prejudices, portrayed in self-satire. One example of that is in *A Room of One's Own* when, attempting to reject the possessive tendencies of colonizing English men, she denies a "negress" her womanhood whilst categorizing her as "fine", which objectifies her simultaneously (Carr 210).

Similarly, a perception of the Other as an object for sexual fantasy and escapism is fundamental to Orientalism, as Said himself puts it when analysing Flaubert's writing:

> Woven through all of Flaubert's Oriental experiences, exciting or disappointing, is an almost uniform association between the Orient and sex. . . . Why the Orient seems still to suggest not only fecundity but sexual promise (and threat), untiring sensuality, unlimited desire, deep generative energies, is something on which one could speculate. (Said 188)

This facet of Woolf's complicity as inherent to her white womanhood is particularly interesting as finishing touch to our point. In her essay dedicated to Joseph Conrad, she praises his writing style and, in relation to the quality of his characters, says "They were in conflict with Nature, but at peace with man. Nature was their antagonist; she it was who drew forth honour, magnanimity, loyalty, the

qualities proper to man; she who in sheltered bays reared to womanhood beautiful girls unfathomable and austere" (*The Common Reader* 209-210).

However, is not nature, specifically in *Heart of Darkness*, the wilderness and the untamable, a metaphor for black people, putting them at the antipodes of civilization? Chinua Achebe explains, in his critique of Conrad, that "the Thames too (...) conquered its darkness, of course, and is now in daylight and at peace. But if it were to visit its primordial relative, the Congo, it would run the terrible risk of hearing grotesque echoes of its own forgotten darkness, and falling victim to an avenging recrudescence of the mindless frenzy of the first beginnings" (Achebe 252).

Not only is this imagery present in *Orlando*, but most prevalently as a threat, much as it was framed in the early twentieth century. Woolf evokes racist concerns around relationships between black men and white women specifically, in order to better fuel the reader's belief in the power of Othello's influence over Orlando, allied with subtle metanarrative comments on literary tradition and her toying with the latter. It is in this framing of Orlando as naive that her critique of nineteenth-century criticism falls: the stubborn denial of Othello's blackness in what is known as the "bronze age" of portrayals of the Moor, when, as Ayanna Thompson points out, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, in 1818, "bluntly states that a good 'Venetian girl' could never love a 'veritable negro'. Despite the fact that Coleridge attempts to cloak his argument in historicist terms, his arguments against Othello's blackness are a clear reflection of his own time, the early nineteenth century when the transatlantic slave trade was fully established and anti-miscegenation laws were enacted" (Thompson 31). This logic gained traction and, in her own way, Woolf rescues Othello from this influence, even if to provoke her readers.

Conclusion

To finish, discourse around the appropriate framing of Shakespeare's tragedies and their enduring themes still spills ink to this day. The actor Adrien Lester reflected on his experience regarding the play:

> The culture of the time we can research, but Shakespeare's intentions are much harder to pin down. So we must draw our own conclusions. . . . I don't particularly like the play. If it is done very well and I have to watch it, I find it deeply upsetting and I come away angry. If on the other hand, it is done really badly then I come away angry for all sorts of different reasons. (224)

From a reception studies perspective, these comments raise curious pleas. Our question is another, however, and one which Woolf perhaps inadvertently raises with her staging of the play in *Orlando*: to whom is *Othello* staged across the ages? Which provocations does current discourse offer to a professor in a seminar, or a reader on his/her sofa? Shakespeare's original audience might recall the symbolic contrast of the black/white binomial, which would be made even more explicit in works such as *The Masque of Blackness*, confronting the audience with blackness as a taint that cannot be washed away. A Victorian audience will, on stage, have its contemporary eugenics discourse in the great stage of British imperialism staring back, and see black animality in our protagonist. Whilst it is paramount to discuss the context of the composition of the play, it is equally preponderant to evaluate the evolution of those constructions, how they influenced and were influenced by history and how they impact our experience of the work. What do we see?

Woolf was aware of the racial discourse of her time, specifically around interracial relationships, and this is visible via her constructions aimed at her particular audience, the readers of the novel *Orlando*. In short, she handpicks the Shakespearean tragedy that will both illustrate Orlando's literary greenness and allow for a lively dialogue with current events, as well as with the criticism her generation inherited.

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Sex and the Sixties: Relendo *How Far Can You Go?* (1980), de David Lodge

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Abstract

Focusing on the theme of sexuality, prevalent in David Lodge's novel *How Far Can You Go?* (1980), this article seeks to highlight how the author's Catholic education and beliefs fictionally coexist with the critical and comic sense of someone whose adolescence and youth took place in the post-war years.

Keywords: David Lodge; *How Far Can You Go?*; British Catholic Authors; Catholicism and Sexuality; Great Britain (1950s-1960s)

Resumo

Concedendo destaque à temática da sexualidade, dominante no romance *How Far Can You Go?* (1980) de David Lodge, o presente artigo procura ilustrar como a formação e as convicções católicas do autor convivem ficcionalmente com o sentido crítico e cómico de alguém cujas adolescência e juventude decorreram nos anos do pós-guerra.

Palavras-chave: David Lodge; *How Far Can You Go?*; Autores Católicos Britânicos; Catolicismo e Sexualidade; Grã-Bretanha (Anos 1950-1960)

Aos JRAAS (Porto e Lisboa)

> "In the fifties, everyone was waiting to get married. . . ." (30)
> "The rediscovery of sex . . . was what the sixties was all about." (100)
>
> - David Lodge, *How Far Can You Go?*

As visões e posições doutrinais da Igreja Católica sobre o corpo e a(s) sua(s) representação(ções), utilização(ões) e funcionalidade(s) têm-se pautado não raro por alguma ambivalência: se, por um lado, ele é tradicionalmente encarado como "templo de Deus" ou "morada do Espírito Santo", espiritualizando-se assim uma sexualidade orientada para a procriação/natalidade[1] e a expressão de um amor humano idealmente iluminado pela centelha do divino, o desconforto da Igreja é já visível quando essa sexualidade se "materializa" numa (im?)pura fruição do desejo, da carnalidade e do prazer não dirigidos específica ou prioritariamente para tais fins. Em *Faithful Fictions: The Catholic Novel in British Literature*, Thomas J. Woodman defende que

> Popular Catholicism is notorious for its over-attention to sexual matters . . . . The mixture of prohibition and prurience, awareness of the fascination and danger of female beauty, the idea of the sexual secrets of the confessional, the horror of sin and yet its easy forgiveness, all combine to make Catholicism the most sexually obsessed and charged form of religion. (188-90)

Ora, como se sabe, o surgimento, a partir da década de 1950, de uma juventude culturalmente bastante diferente da dos tempos de (pré-)guerra, traduzir-se-ia, sobretudo nos anos 60, na reivindicação, defesa e prática do planeamento familiar e de políticas anticoncecionais, da liberdade sexual ou do "amor livre", bem como por debates em torno dos direitos das mulheres, nem sempre incluindo ou tomando em consideração os dos embriões e fetos, no caso de uma gravidez inesperada e indesejada. Na verdade, questões como a datação do início de vida e em que casos poderia legalmente ter lugar a Interrupção voluntária da gravidez ilustram a extrema delicadeza e complexidade pessoais, sociais, morais, deontológicas e jurídicas de todas estas matérias.

O Concílio Vaticano II (1962-1965), largamente inspirado e conduzido pelo Papa João XXIII (1958-1963), assinalou reconhecidamente uma abertura reformista,

modernizadora e, de algum modo, liberalizante em aspetos pragmáticos e ritualístico-cerimoniais da vida da Igreja Católica e das comunidades crentes espalhadas pelo mundo,[2] mas, no que concerne ao amor laico, acreditamos não ser inexato nem injusto dizer que não operou qualquer revisão significativa das posições oficiais da Igreja sobre as temáticas do corpo, da sexualidade e da natalidade. O magno conclave viria a ser encerrado já durante o pontificado de Paulo VI (1963-1978), autor da Carta Encíclica *Humanae Vitae* de 25 de Julho de 1968, praticamente contemporânea do "Verão do Amor" e que, conforme notava Bernard Bergonzi em 1995, ". . . provoked a crisis not only about sexuality but about authority in the Church that is still unresolved" (34). Esta perspetiva é corroborada e expandida por Thomas J. Woodman:

> Much of the controversy of the time focused on birth control, an issue which raised central questions about the relationship between individual conscience and church authority and tradition, and which presented the clearest possible clash between the pressures of a hedonistic and permissive society and a conservative asceticism. Progressive priests . . . had for some time refused to condemn "artificial" birth control, and the hope grew that Rome would officially permit it. When Pope Paul VI reaffirmed the traditional teaching in *Humanae Vitae* . . ., there was considerable disappointment, and since many Catholic couples continued to ignore the teaching, older ideas of authority were further weakened. (62-3)

Em *Anglo-Catholicism. A Study in Religious Ambiguity*, W. S. F. Pickering aborda, por sua vez, algumas questões doutrinárias e pragmáticas ainda em aberto no catolicismo britânico, começando por argumentar que:

> As conventionally defined, a religion spans two orders of reality: one relates to the here-and-now; the other is . . . totally removed from it, for it stands outside it. This other order of reality --- this other world --- is often referred to as the divine, the transcendental, for in it are located God, gods, spirits, mysterious and unknown forces. They are in an order of existence which is seen to stand over against the mundane, the ordinary, the worldly, the everyday. The two orders of reality are extended in dichotomous terms to body/soul, flesh/spirit, earth/heaven, man/God, death/life, profane/sacred, time/timelessness, to give but a few examples. Such dichotomies are found in all religions. No religion is free from them. . . .
>
> The position taken here is that all religions contain elements of ambiguity, either in statements . . . or in actions. . . . From them no religion is free . . . because no religion can be totally rational, totally obvious, totally natural, totally "scientific". (3-4)

Para o que aqui especificamente nos importa, a relação entre sexualidade e catolicismo ficcionalizada por David Lodge em *How Far Can You Go?*[3], Arthur Marwick recorda que: ". . . the pill only began to be . . . widely used in Britain in the late 1960s. And even then, as a 1970 survey reported, only 19 per cent of married couples under forty-five were using the pill, while 29 per cent were using the condom and 37 per cent . . . no contraceptive method at all" (*British Society* 88).[4] Quanto à legalização da prática do aborto na Grã-Bretanha, ela data, como se sabe, de 1967. É certo que, desde o século XVI, a tutela espiritual da Igreja Anglicana (*Church of England*) não é exercida pela Santa Sé, mas pela Coroa britânica, "acolitada" pelo Arcebispado de Canterbury, mas isso não significa que não exista uma significativa comunidade de católicos ingleses/britânicos,[5] que integra justamente o autor que passamos a apresentar.

David Lodge (1935-), Professor no Departamento de Inglês da Universidade de Birmingham, onde lecionou até se aposentar (1960-1987), dedicou-se, a partir daí, em pleno à "escrítica", tomando de empréstimo este feliz termo de Miguel Esteves Cardoso. Católico e um dos cultores e expoentes do romance académico britânico (embora *How Far Can You Go?*, apesar de alguns episódios e passagens relativos à vida universitária, não constitua verdadeiramente um exemplo deste subgénero, razão pela qual não o abordaremos a essa luz),[6] Lodge era uma presença regular na celebração da missa dominical na Capelania da Universidade, conforme foi possível testemunhar ao longo de três anos enquanto Leitor de Português na referida universidade (1986-87 a 1988-89 inclusive). No final de uma dessas celebrações, o Pe. Nicholas Latham, ao fazer um pedido de angariação de fundos, declarou, entusiasmado: "We need a **hell** of money!" (negrito nosso). Perante a estupefação inicial da assembleia, seguida de risos, o sacerdote corou até à raiz da sotaina e corrigiu, sorrindo: "I mean, we need a **heaven** of money!" (idem).

O objetivo do presente artigo será, pois, o de, concedendo destaque à temática da sexualidade, dominante neste romance, tentar ilustrar como a formação e as convicções católicas de David Lodge, comum a outros insignes romancistas, ensaístas e críticos literários de expressão inglesa, como G. K. Chesterton (1874-1936), T. S. Eliot (1888-1965), Evelyn Waugh (1903-1966), Graham Greene (1904-1991)[7] e Muriel Spark (1918-2006), convivem ficcionalmente com o sentido crítico e cómico[8] de alguém cujas adolescência e juventude ocorreram/decorreram precisamente nos anos do pós-guerra.

No prefácio ao seu primeiro volume de memórias, intitulado *Quite a Good Time to Be Born. A Memoir: 1935-1975*, Lodge recorda que:

> I was brought up in the Roman Catholic faith, which had not significantly altered in its beliefs and devotional practice since the Counter-Reformation and had successfully resisted the intellectual and moral challenges of modernity, but which from the 1960s onwards underwent a series of momentous changes and internal conflicts. Catholicism has stimulated my imagination as a novelist both before and since that upheaval. (2)

Embora o período de tempo contemplado neste volume termine cinco anos antes da data de publicação do romance em apreço, David Lodge anuncia-o e contextualiza-o nos seguintes termos:

> My next one [novel] would contain some comedy, and even farce, but in a darker and more ironic vein . . ., as it followed the fluctuating fortunes and attitudes of more than a dozen Catholic men and women, from their youth in the early 1950s to the late '70s, coping stressfully with courtship and marriage, faith and doubt, in an era of sexual revolution and an increasingly conflicted, pluralistic Church. The aim was to represent . . . the great changes that had taken place . . . in Catholic belief and practice, including my own. In the process of researching and writing *How Far Can You Go?* my faith had been demythologised, and I had to recognize that I no longer believed literally in the affirmations of the Creed which I recited at mass every Sunday, though they did not lose all meaning and value for me. (*Quite a Good Time* 478)

A evocação deste progressivo distanciamento crítico é retomada, com surpreendente sinceridade, no segundo volume de memórias, intitulado *Writer's Luck*:

> . . . like many others I found them [the Creed and the Catechism] increasingly difficult to accept in a literal sense. I decided that the language of religion is essentially metaphorical or symbolic and therefore comparable to literary language, which creates a virtual reality always open to variable interpretation. On this basis I continued to immerse myself once a week in that discourse by attending Sunday mass, saying the responses, reciting the Creed, singing the hymns, listening to the scriptural readings and the homilies, but with increasing awareness of the cognitive dissonance between what was said or what I said in response, and what I actually believed or did not believe. . . . So it was not until a few years ago that I stopped going to mass regularly and publicly declared, when asked, that I was no longer a "practising Catholic". (*Writer's Luck* 11)

Galardoado com o Prémio Whitbread como Livro do Ano, *How Far Can You Go?* foi já apresentado como ". . . the most central, amusing and compassionate account of the changes in Catholicism throughout this period" (Woodman 65; veja-se também 200). O próprio título desenha desde logo uma clara fronteira comportamental (e, especificamente, sexual) entre, por um lado, a permissão e tolerância, e, por outro, a inibição, proibição ou restrição, encenando e testando ficcionalmente os respetivos limites doutrinário-religiosos, morais e psicológicos. A potencial vertente transgressora acha-se, aliás, representada na capa da nossa edição através das imagens de homens, mulheres, maçãs e serpentes, remetendo para a tentação de Adão e o pecado original, narrados no livro do Génesis, além da reprodução do ícone pontifício.

Explorando, de algum modo, a convenção e tradição literárias da formação, do crescimento e dos ritos de passagem característicos do *Bildungsroman*, *How far Can You Go?* cobre a transição da juventude para a idade adulta de nove jovens universitários católicos (Angela, Dennis, Michael, Adrian, Polly, Miles, Ruth, Edward e Violet) desde 1952 até 1975. Esta linha do tempo da narração é pontuada pela evocação de factos e acontecimentos marcantes da história britânica, europeia e mundial, como o falecimento de George VI em 1952 (22); a coroação isabelina em 1953 (31); o fim das senhas de racionamento em 1954 (31); a crise do Canal do Suez, a invasão da Hungria pela União Soviética, a primeira marcha organizada pela *Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament* (CND) e a publicação de *Look Back in Anger*, de John Osborne, todos eles de 1956 (48); a morte de Pio XII em 1958 (68); o julgamento decorrente da publicação, em 1960, de *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, de D. H. Lawrence (76); o caso Profumo, em 1963 (76); a vitória da Inglaterra no Campeonato do Mundo de 1966 e a afirmação de John Lennon sobre a popularidade dos Beatles face à de Cristo (102);[9] a invasão da Checoslováquia, as manifestações no Ulster e o assassinato de Robert Kennedy em 1968 (113-4), as campanhas pelos direitos cívicos e contra a guerra no Vietname (139-40), o Movimento Carismático (174), etc.

O início do romance apresenta estes nove universitários como frequentadores da igreja de Nossa Senhora e S. Judas,[10] membros de um grupo de reflexão sobre o Novo Testamento, coordenado pelo Padre Austin Brierley, e todos eles ainda virgens, à semelhança, aliás, de David Lodge e Mary Jacob, antes do seu casamento (realizado em maio de 1959).[11] Dando particular atenção a relacionamentos e vivências amorosas destes jovens, em permanente cruzamento com a sua formação e consciência de raiz católica, a narrativa acompanha lances e etapas das suas vidas pessoais, sentimentais, profissionais e sociais.

A orientação religiosa, assim como a carreira académica, de David Lodge convida, naturalmente, à tentativa de deteção de eventuais marcas ou projeções autobiográficas, pese embora o carácter sempre tentativo e falível dessas interpretações e leituras. Para dar outro exemplo, além do da virgindade pré-matrimonial, o facto de Lodge ter sido Professor no Departamento de Inglês legitima que se encare a personagem Michael, apresentada como "Head of the English Department" (196), como uma figuração ou encarnação do autor empírico?[12] Já o passo seguinte merece credibilidade enquanto representação realista, mas necessariamente ficcional(izada),[13] de uma certa atmosfera ou ambiência cultural e mental da população universitária dos anos 60:

> At the College . . . sexual morality was in a fascinating state of flux. Many of the students who had come up as good, obedient Catholics had, in the course of their studies, either lost their religious faith altogether or espoused a radical and highly permissive version of it; and it was well-known to the students and some staff that many couples . . . were having fully consummated relationships under the very roof of the College. The residential accommodation was segregated only by floor, and supervision was not strict. Little ingenuity was needed to smuggle a girl or boy . . . into one's room for the night. The teaching staff found the idea of this nocturnal traffic almost as exciting as did the students who were . . . conducting it. They debated anxiously with each other their ethical responsibility in the matter. To put a stop to it seemed impossible without invoking the full weight of authority, informing the Principal and the Governors; and once the clergy, especially the Bishop, got any wind of it there was no knowing what would happen – the whole place might be closed down, or a highly puritanical regime imposed which would frighten away all the liveliest and cleverest students. Besides, these members of staff were not at all sure in their own minds whether premarital intercourse was necessarily wrong any more. (*How far Can You Go?* 196-7)[14]

Um dos principais motivos de interesse de *How How Far Can You Go?* tem justamente a ver com a forma como os dogmas, mistérios, preceitos, mandamentos e sacramentos da fé católica, assim como a historicidade da Bíblia e a cientificidade dos factos nela relatados, são racionalizados, interpretados e questionados (88-90), em variáveis graus de (des)crença, por jovens adultos à descoberta do amor, da sexualidade e do corpo (próprio e alheio), num período marcado, como se disse, por uma maior liberdade e permissividade juvenis,[15] bem como por um pendor reivindicativo e contestatário acrescido face às décadas precedentes. A estes traços epocais e culturais haverá que acrescentar a curiosidade e a opção por filosofias e

estilos de vida alternativos no plano espiritual. O último capítulo, que se apresenta como a transcrição de um documentário transmitido em 1975, dá, aliás, voz às dúvidas, às convicções e aos pontos de vista religiosos das personagens, entretanto amadurecidas e com famílias próprias constituídas, no quadro de um movimento renovador e reformista intitulado "Catholics for an Open Church", sugestivamente abreviável para COC. No final do romance, é-nos revelado que o próprio Pe. Austin Brierley virá a abandonar o sacerdócio e a casar com Lynn, ex-secretária e ex-amante de Dennis, obtendo ainda uma bolsa de investigação para realizar um Doutoramento em Sociologia das Religiões (242).

Uma apresentação sinóptica de alguns dos principais esteios da cosmovisão católica, veiculada, porventura com excessiva ligeireza, pelo narrador, ocorre logo no início de *How Far Can You Go?*. Dada a sua extensão (6-8), não poderemos reproduzi-la na íntegra, mas sempre transcreveremos um passo representativo da abordagem e do recorte humorísticos que irão (pre)dominar (ao longo de) todo o romance:

> Before we go any further it would probably be a good idea to explain the metaphysic or world-picture these young people had acquired from their Catholic upbringing and education. Up there was Heaven; down there was Hell. The name of the game was Salvation, the object to get to Heaven and avoid Hell. It was like Snakes and Ladders: sin sent you plummetting down towards the Pit; the sacraments, good deeds, acts of self-mortification, enabled you to climb back towards the light. Everything you did or thought was subject to spiritual accounting. It was either good, bad or indifferent. . .. On the whole, a safe rule of thumb was that anything you positively disliked doing was probably Good, and anything you liked doing enormously was probably Bad, or potentially bad – an "occasion of sin". (6-7)

Como nota Bernard Bergonzi, "The sense of being in the Church and at the same time something of an outsider can be traced in Lodge's novels, which combine detailed knowledge of the institution with cool observation" (30). Considerando as épocas em apreço, não será de estranhar que alguns dos factos e das temáticas ficcionalizados em *How Far Can You Go?* sejam o Concílio Vaticano II (80-2), os católicos progressistas (79), a teologia da libertação (82), a já citada Encíclica *Humanae Vitae*, discutida com grande independência e sentido crítico pelo narrador (114),[16] para além de questões ainda em aberto na Igreja Católica, como as do celibato dos padres e do sacerdócio feminino (120-1). Optaremos, porém, por destacar aqui a evocação das práticas e políticas de planeamento familiar sancionadas pela

Igreja, com destaque para o método dos gráficos e das temperaturas (73-4), de fiabilidade e eficácia discutíveis.[17] No dizer do narrador:

> They [the characters] had been indoctrinated since adolescence with the idea, underlined by several Papal pronouncements, that contraception was a great sin . . . that occupied a unique place in the spiritual game of Snakes and Ladders. For unlike other sins of the flesh, it had to be committed continuously and with premeditation if it was to have any point at all. It was not, therefore, something that could be confessed and absolved again and again in good faith . . . . It excluded you from the sacraments . . . ; and according to Catholic teaching . . . , if you failed to make your Easter Duty . . . you effectively excommunicated yourself. So, either you struggled on as best you could without reliable contraception, or you got out of the Church; these seemed to be the only logical alternatives. Some people, of course, had left precisely because they could no longer believe in the authority of a Church that taught such mischievous nonsense. More often, those who lapsed over this issue retained a residual belief in the rest of Catholic doctrine and thus lived uncomfortably in a state of suppressed guilt and spiritual deprivation. (79)

Como se sabe, o idiossincrático humor britânico extravasa não raro dos limites do decoro e do política ou socialmente correto e o mesmo se verifica, no tocante à religião e à sexualidade, em *How Far Can You Go?*. Os exemplos poderiam multiplicar-se, mas a sensibilidade de alguns leitores, católicos ou não, achará porventura excessiva, ou mesmo desnecessária, a suscitação do eventual carácter pecaminoso da masturbação (6, 9, 10-1); a referência ao conhecimento, ainda que meramente teórico, de práticas sexuais por parte do Pe. Brierley, ". . . for it is necessary that a priest should know of every sin that he might have to absolve" (12); à ambivalência semântica do termo *ejaculations* (29) ou à descrição da inexperiente convencionalidade do ato praticado por recém-casados (63).[18]

Como afirma Woodman: "A Catholic novel can be of interest historically, sociologically, and sometimes theologically" (5). Assim, em jeito de conclusão e tendo em mente a inegável relevância "documental" e "social" de *How Far Can You Go?*, este romance, na linha do proposto e exemplificado por Raymond Williams em "The Analysis of Culture" (1961), prestar-se-ia, a nosso ver, particularmente bem a leituras e aplicações específicas dos conceitos de "pattern of culture" (63-4), "social character" (63), "structure of feeling" (64) e "selective tradition" (66ss), uma vez que, mitificados ou não, os anos cinquenta e sobretudo sessenta do século XX deixaram, sem dúvida, poderosíssimas marcas, influências e imagens nos imaginários contemporâneos, pessoais e sociais, individuais e coletivos.

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[1] Trata-se, no fundo, do princípio "Crescei e multiplicai-Vos", questionado por Thomas Malthus (1766-1834) em *An Essay upon the Principle of Population* (1798).

[2] Como declara Peter Hennessey, "John XXIII had a great impact on my generation of UK Catholics and Vatican II continues to be the template against which many of us test our thinking. It also left an enduring change in not just vernacular language replacing Latin at Mass but the involvement of the laity in the church" (*Winds of Change* 465).

[3] Publicado nos Estados Unidos em 1982 com o título de *Souls and Bodies*. No verbete n.º 1471, dedicado a esta obra, Albert J. Menendez descreve-a como: "A social comedy about middle-class, university-educated British Catholics whose marital and sexual lives have changed dramatically since the 1950s. Many of their hopes for renewal and renovation in the church have been dashed" (183-4).

[4] Marwick relata alguns casos juvenis curiosos pela franqueza e espontaneidade: "On the one hand there was the twenty-one-year-old daughter of a railway worker who said: 'I have been brought up to believe that you should wait until you are married; and . . . if you love someone enough you can be prepared to wait until marriage.' On the other hand was the nineteen-year-old lorry driver, . . . sexually active from the age of fifteen . . . who remarked: 'If it comes along you don't turn it down'; and the eighteen-year-old daughter of a skilled worker, hoping to go to university, who had been sexually active at sixteen and replied: 'Twice a week if I like the boy. It depends on exams!" (*British Society* 138-9); embora não limitada ao universo cultural britânico, cf. também, do mesmo autor, *The Sixties*, especialmente 74-7, 94-5, 388-9 e, já na transição para a década de 1970, 700-16.

Finalmente, para uma visão panorâmica e bem documentada da realidade britânica, recomendamos a leitura de um capítulo de Sandbrook, intitulado "Love without Fear" (477-500); a pílula anticoncecional surge referida em 489-90.

[5] Segundo uma estimativa já antiga, "Os números apontam que a população total da Grã-Bretanha é de 59.381.000 pessoas, destas 5.264.000 (8,87%) se denominam católicas" (https://noticias.cancaonova.com/especiais/pontificado/bento-xvi/viagens-bentoxvi/reino-unido/vaticano-divulga-numeros-da-igreja-catolica-na-gra-bretanha/, acedido a 15 de fevereiro de 2023).

[6] Contrariamente a *Changing Places* (1975), *Small World* (1984) e *Nice Work* (1988), já publicadas em conjunto sob o título *The Campus Trilogy* (2011).

[7] Tanto Waugh quanto sobretudo Greene são abundantemente invocados no romance (25, 38, 41, 49, 59, 82, 102…) e Bernard Bergonzi estabelece a seguinte comparação: "Graham Greene . . . described himself, after he had moved on from the tormented orthodoxy of his Catholic novels, as a 'Catholic agnostic'; Lodge prefers to reverse the term and call himself an 'agnostic Catholic'. He remains a practising member of the Church, though he is agnostic about the ultimate reality behind the symbolic and metaphorical languages of liturgy and scripture. . . . Lodge acknowledges that by traditional standards, including those that he professed as a young man, he is probably a heretic; but he believes that many theologians, including Catholic ones, would now hold similar views" (43).

[8] "In *How Far Can You Go?* Lodge comments: 'This book is not a comic novel, exactly, but I have tried to make it smile as much as possible'. Lodge's . . . novels have the unarguable merit of making his readers smile; they also have the inestimable virtue of making thoughtful readers think." (Walsh 290)
[9] São ainda evocados *Eleanor Rigby* (111), o duplo LP *The Beatles*, de 1968, normalmente conhecido e designado como o Álbum Branco (122), e *All You Need is Love* (133).
[10] A esta nomeação improvável acrescente-se a apresentação de Judas como patrono das causas perdidas (1). Paralela e ironicamente, a ação inicia-se no Dia de S. Valentim (14 de fevereiro), conhecido e designado por Dia dos Namorados.
[11] "It is . . . difficult to measure changes in behaviour in areas where the law does not apply and . . . no statistics are kept. Nevertheless, it seemed that an increasing number of men and women were living together without going through . . . a wedding ceremony and that the younger generation had less inhibitions than their parents about pre- and extra-marital sexual relations. A survey of Britain's 15- to 24-year-olds carried out in 1979 . . . showed that not only did 53 per cent approve of 'sleeping with someone you are not married to', but also that no less than 36 per cent disapproved of marrying someone with whom they had not already slept." (Thomson 352)
[12] Veja-se, sobre este ponto, Lodge, *Quite A Good Time* 177.
[13] "As a monogamous married Catholic of liberal principles, suspicious of ideological extremes and over the age of thirty . . . I was not likely to get personally involved, but I observed what was going on with a novelist's interest." (Lodge, *Quite A Good Time* 421)
[14] Lodge, *Quite A Good Time* 422-4.
[15] Na sua Introdução, intitulada "The Permissive Society and its Enemies", escreve Marcus Collins: "Permissiveness was neither a catastrophe nor a canard, but a significant if contested liberalisation of behaviours and beliefs that began well before the 1960s and continues to this day." (Collins, ed., 2). Consultem-se ainda Donnelly 122-3 e Hennessey, *Having It So Good*, 128-30.
[16] Tome-se como exemplo os seguintes passos: "In the democratic atmosphere recently created by Vatican II, Catholics convinced of the morality of contraception were no longer disposed to swallow meekly a rehash of discredited doctrine just because the Pope was wielding the spoon" (114); e ". . . contraception was the issue on which many lay Catholics first attained moral autonomy, rid themselves of superstition, and ceased to regard their religion as, in the moral sphere, an encyclopaedic rule-book on which a clear answer was to be found to every possible question of conduct" (118). Cf. também as evocações e os testemunhos constantes de *Quite a Good Time* 270-1, 358-60 e 429-30.
[17] Nas palavras do narrador, ". . . obedient to their Church's teaching, they [the characters] relied upon periodic abstinence as a way of planning their families, a system known as Rhythm or the Safe Method, which was in practice neither rhythmical nor safe" (73) e ". . . just when they began to get the hang of sex – to learn the arts of foreplay, to lose their inhibitions about nakedness, to match each other's orgasmic rhythms – pregnancy or the fear of pregnancy intervened, and their spontaneity was destroyed by the tedious regime of calendar and temperature chart" (75).
[18] "None of our young brides even touched their husbands' genitals until weeks, months, sometimes years after marriage. All accepted the first nuptial embrace lying on their backs with their arms locked round their spouses' necks like drowning swimmers being rescued; while these spouses, supporting themselves on tensed arms, tried to steer their way blind into a channel the contours of which they had never previously explored by touch or sight. No wonder most of them found the act both difficult and disappointing." (63)

Why Does Nobody Hear About the Women of the Beat Generation?

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Abstract

When we think of the Beat Generation most of the names that come to mind are from male writers in the movement. However, women Beat writers were as productive as their male counterparts but are not so often heard of, published, or accounted for their contributions to the literary scene of the times. This essay aims at analyzing the contribution of women to the Beat Generation and evaluate possible reasons for their absence in the literary canon.

Keywords: Borders; Belonging; Marginalization; Feminist studies; Conformism

Resumo

Quando pensamos na Geração Beat a maior parte dos nomes que nos vêm em mente são dos escritores homens do movimento. Porém, as mulheres escritoras Beat foram tão producentes quanto seus pares homens, mas não tão famosas, publicadas ou reconhecidas pelas suas contribuições para o movimento literário da época. Esse artigo tem como objetivo analisar a contribuição das mulheres para a Geração Beat e avaliar possíveis razões para sua ausência no cânone literário.

Palavras-chave: Fronteiras; Pertencimento; Marginalização; Estudos feministas; Conformismo

When I first started my research, it was not easy to find reliable bibliography about the topic "Women of the Beat Generation", or at least it was not easy to find answers that I believed satisfied my main research question: Why does nobody hear about the women of the Beat Generation?

Having said so, most of the references I found were fairly recent, but also vital for an intended expansion of the Beat studies and scholarship. My main sources were *Girls Who Wore Black: Women Writing the Beat Generation* (2002), edited by Ronna C. Johnson and Nancy M. Grace, which is a collection of essays, *Women of the Beat Generation: The Writers, Artists, and Muses at the Heart of a Revolution* (1996), by Brenda Knight, and *A Different Beat: Writings by Women of the Beat Generation* (1997), edited by Richard Peabody, which are anthologies, mostly commenting on each authors' lives and influences and compiling some of their work together with the names of other women that either influenced or were linked with the movement of the Beat (Appendix I). The canon of women Beat writers is yet to be established, "with debate about the constitution of the group manifesting itself in editorial choices conveyed through the publishing industry" (Johnson and Grace 11). Although the Knight and Peabody works bring several names, they also raise "unanswered questions of standards of Beat inclusion and exclusion" (*ibid*), which is still transitory and subjective in the case of women writers, as both volumes included names that do not overlap.

Most of the answers I found to my questioning revolved around reasons for which their Beat male peers were first condemned (and later praised): the rejection of conventional narrative, the rejection of consumer culture, the nonconformism, the exploitation of self-expression, the existential questioning and questing, and the sexual liberation. But the fact that they were women writing added a different layer, that is, being a woman writing in such style and about such topics was the utmost offense for that historical period, as they had to juggle with the roles assigned to women at the time (being a housewife and a mother), and the freedom of (sexual) expression, drug use and experimentation. Thus, my purpose is to analyze the contribution of women to the Beat Generation and evaluate possible reasons for their removal of the literary canon.

Women in the fifties were supposed to conform, to agree with being a housewife and mother. For the women who were involved with the movement, being Beat was a more attractive alternative, as many of them developed "a natural predilection for art and poetry" having received liberal arts educations (Knight 3). Living creatively and leaving behind the safety of a conformative prospect of existence, the women of the Beat generation were as "fearless, angry, high risk, too smart, restless, highly irregular" (*ibid*) as their male counterparts. They were "muses who birth the poetry so raw and new and full of power that it changed the world

writers whose words have spells whose story is behind whose vision blinds artists for whom curing the disease of art kills (*ibid* 4).

Nevertheless, "Beat" is usually equated with their most famous male figures – Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg and William S. Burroughs – and what they represent: "iconoclastic, freewheeling, masculinity community and dissent from both literary convention and 'lifestyle'" (Johnson and Grace 1). This "dissent from literary convention and lifestyle" (*ibid*) came from a generation of postwar America in the 1950s and 1960s centered around the bohemian artist communities of New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles, as mentioned by Hardt (10):

> The propinquity of the war years, as well as the escalating cold war had a tremendous impact on the self-conception of not only Beat-poets but many other artists like Bebop- and Jazz-musicians, painters and modern dancers. Tendencies of spontaneous, improvised artistry can be discovered in their work throughout the second half of the 1950s and early 1960s. Therefore, it stands to reason that the extremes of the postwar years fueled a mentality of individual exploration in terms of escape from traditional standards and behavioral norms.

As Johnson and Grace explain (4), the concept of a "generation" or "confraternity" of Beats, a group of individuals with common beliefs and interests, seems more and more reasonable (*ibid*). However, this camaraderie did not include women, who were mostly seen as characters in a supporting role only. They were the girlfriends, wives, lovers, muses, breadwinners and supporters, but hardly ever the artistic peers or equals.

For instance, Ginsberg saw the Beat literary movement as a gathering of "friends who had worked together on poetry, prose, and cultural conscience from the mid-forties until the term became popular nationally in the late fifties" (Waldman xiv); he also assumed that there were just one or two women writers who deserved merit, as he counted (and also many other sources counted, such as *The Poetry Foundation* site) Diane Di Prima and Joanne Kyger amongst the working friends: "where there was a strong writer who could hold her own, like Diane Di Prima, we would certainly work with her and recognize her" (Peabody 1).

For Kerouac, who coined terms such as "cool" and "hot" Beats, and claimed that "the 'new *more*' (emphasis in the original) was personified only by a singular few", women were also to be kept on the sidetracks only:

> Two distinct styles of hipster is: the "cool" . . . your bearded laconic sage . . . before a hardly touched beer in a beatnik dive, whose speech is low and unfriendly, whose girls say nothing and wear black (my emphasis): the "hot" . . . the crazy talkative shining eyed (often innocent and open hearted) nut who runs from bar to bar, pad to pad looking for everybody, shouting, restless, lushy, trying to "make it" with the subterranean beatniks who ignore him. (*apud* Johnson and Grace 6)

Therefore, "girls who say nothing and wear black" (*ibid*) is the archetype of hipster women, kept as passive accessories in auxiliary functions, as the "cool" Beat. The role of the "hot" Beat belonged to the male figures, and it seemed it did not matter if these women had something to say and were not willing to be unseen or unheard. Although Lenore Kandel and Anne Waldman affirmed that they had never experienced condescension, were "better friends with men" and felt that "they took [their] poetry seriously" (Knight 280), I do not believe they represented the majority of women Beat.

These women were always around: living together with other writers (both as lovers or just as roommates), in gatherings, poetry readings, and involved in the publication of magazines such as *City Magazine* (in which Anne Waldman published her work upon arriving in New York), *Angel Hair Magazine*, *The World*, and *Yugen* (founded by the former LeRoi Jones and wife Hettie Jones, in which many poets and writers of the new literary scene published). Anne Waldman was friends with Allen Ginsberg, whose farm in Cherry Valley was also her home in the seventies, and was invited along with Ginsberg to found the *Jack Kerouac School of Disembodied Poetics* at the Naropa Institute in Boulder, Colorado; she also befriended Joanne Kyger, Lew Welch, Brenda Frazer, and others, and was involved with the New York School of Poets and met Frank O'Hara before he died (*ibid* 288-9). Despite the aforementioned feeling of receiving no condescension from her male peers, Waldman comments:

> I pushed myself hard and fought for having a life and career as a writer in a field that was blatantly (at first) dominated by men. You make sacrifices. Relationships suffer because men were or are not used to strong women with purpose and discipline. There's a subtle psychological discrimination that goes on. It is an added pressure for women because they are often not taken seriously and have to push against a certain bias. (*ibid* 289)

The production of the women in the Beat Movement is, in my opinion, much more substantial than the men's. For instance, a lot was heard about Neal Cassidy

and Peter Orlovski in comparison to Elise Cowen (even regarding their relationship with Allen Ginsberg) and these men are considered main characters of the Beat Generation. Although it was partly destroyed, Elise Cowen's written production is more relevant and voluminous than her male counterparts'.

According to Peabody (2), not all critics would agree on the choices of names to include in an anthology or compilation of the women Beat writers, and "arguments could also be made for the inclusion of poets and writers" as varied as Denise Levertov (who navigated in between San Francisco and New York, and is considered as a representative of the Black Mountain school of poets much more than a Beat representative), Diane Wakoski, Barbara Guest, and other names. For the purposes of this essay, I decided to adopt Johnson and Grace's organization of the Women Beat writers and comment briefly on one work from each "generation".

The Women Beat Writers can be organized into two generations that are concurrent with the first and second well-known male Beat writers' generations and "extend beyond them to a third generation" (Johnson and Grace 12).

The first generation is contemporaneous with the first male Beat writers and like them born in the 1910s and 1920s and some are not necessarily associated with the birth of the Beat movement *per se*. Such women writers are Madeline Gleason, Helen Adam, Sheri Martinelli, ruth weiss, Denise Levertov, Jane Bowles and Carol Berge. Levertov, for instance, is considered by many to belong to the Black Mountain school of poets as aforementioned, although she herself considered a "school" to be "any group of poets who talk and write letters to each other" (Knight 208).

Writing at the same time as the most famous triumvirate of Beat male writers, Kerouac-Ginsberg-Burroughs, this first generation of women Beat writers approached work "free of academic or traditional literary models, or innovate new ones for their post-bomb, cold-war era experience" (Johnson and Grace 12). As the male writers, they could be found in connection with "diverse literary enclaves", such as The Maidens in San Francisco, and helped clarify "the way that Beat emerged contemporaneously with several other avant-garde literary communities" (*ibid*).

Within this first generation I decided to comment on one of the works of Sheri Martinelli, who was not necessarily considered Beat by some critics, but was always around the Beat, also navigating through their activities much like Denise Levertov and known as their "mother hen". As other women Beat writers, she also published Beat works as well as her own writings on her magazine *Anagogic & Paideumic Review,* which was sold at Ferlinghetti's City Lights bookstore (Moore). Her 1959 text *Duties of a Lady Female*, which she wrote for Ezra Pound and was published in her

magazine, is both fun and poignant. In it, Martinelli mocks feminine manuals of behavior and "gives tips on how to please a man and defend him from other women" (*ibid*). She plays with the "rules", while also introducing some more feminist tropes, such as sexuality and abortion, and registering the need to avoid specific forms of oppression related to "race, age, sex, class or religions" (Peabody 154-8). As she (ironically) describes models of the conduct that was expected from a woman in the late 50s, Martinelli also provides "tips" to encourage women to pursue freer sexual expression: the so-called Lady Female would care for and love her man "as if his ancestors were watching" but she also should not "scorn any way to make love. This is not the century for prejudice at any degree of life"; a woman should disdain "a renegade female that puts her vanity before the honor of the race of females" (*ibid*). Part of the text goes as follows:

> Feed him. Dont use rich meats or gravies. They clog his bowels. A man with a clog bowl will take to drink. . . .
> Dont cry for yourself except by yourself. It acts on his nerves like a rockdrill. . . .
> Dont scorn any way to make love. This is not the century for prejudice at any degree of life. Love him as if his ancestors were watching. . . .
> Practice honor. Fraternize with other females. Build a code of behavior. . . .
> If another female even EYE BALLS your male do this:
> Raise your voice. Warn her LOUD, CLEAR, FIRM, PLAIN, SPECIFIC. . . .
> When you first meet a renegade female that puts her vanity before the honor of the race of females tell her she has such a tiny waistline she should wear a tiny or a very tiny corset like the French women do. . . .
> Have or adopt children. . . .
> Teach them:
> To laugh, sing, dance or exclaim in public without shame.
> To SEE beyond local things like race, age, sex, class or religions. . . . (*ibid*)

The second generation comprises women writers born in the 1930s and who shared the community and cultural environment with an already established male Beat Generation. Second-generation women Beat writers include Joanna McClure, Bobbie Louise Hawkins, Lenore Kandel, Elise Cowen, Joanne Kyger, Diane Di Prima, Hettie Jones, Joyce Johnson, Brenda Frazer, Brigid Murnaghan, Margaret Randall, Rochelle Owens, Diane Wakowski and Barbara Moraff. There is no consistent approach to gender among the themes of the second generation of Beat women

writers, but some in the group recognized the importance of asserting their gender in the alternative environment where they dwelled (Johnson and Grace 13).

For the second generation I wanted to comment on Elise Cowen, for all that she represents for this essay in which the silencing of a woman-author is central. Not only was she silenced by her family (they burnt her manuscripts for their sexual themes and allusions to bissexualism and drug use), but she was also silenced by those within the Beat movement and by the critical reception of her work: most of the scholarship regarding her oeuvre which focus on "Cowen's relationship to Ginsberg creates the conditions for Ginsberg to eclipse her" (Trigilio 137). In a cry for help, her alleged last poem ever claims that she had enough: "No love / No compassion / No intelligence / No beauty / Twenty-seven years is enough" (Knight 165). In this goodbye-like letter, her allusions to the first names of people in her life and the known context in which it was written, make us understand who she is addressing (Allen Ginsberg, Peter Orlovsky, Joyce Johnson among other friends from the movement and relatives):

> Mother – too late – years of meanness – I'm sorry
> Daddy – What happened?
> Allen – I'm sorry
> Peter – Holy Rose Youth
> Betty – Such womanly bravery
> Keith – Thank you
> Joyce – So girl beautiful
> Howard – Baby take care
> Leo – Open the windows and Shalom
> Carol – Let it happen
> Let me out please–
> –Please let me in (*ibid*)

Moreover, she also employs an economy of words in which to send her message across that would be part of a Beat aesthetics. It's haunting what she can accomplish with just a few lines, and in her message to Leo Skir, an old-time friend who saved more than eighty poems from her family's grasp: "Leo – Open the windows and Shalom", brings both her idea of suicide and a reference to religion (a trope so present in her oeuvre).

The third generation brings women writers born in the 1940s, such as Janine Pommy Vega and Anne Waldman, who were the vanguard of the sixties women's

movements and profited from the "empowerment of the sixties counterculture, and second-wave feminist demands for women's civil and economic rights and sexual self-determination" (Johnson and Grace 14). Moreover, their writings were influenced by the surge of the Vietnam War, the continuity of the sexual revolution and the drug counterculture (*ibid*).

Janine Pommy Vega will be my choice for comments on the third generation of Beat women writers. Not only because she might be less acknowledged than Anne Waldman, but also due to the fact that most of her work is out of print, like most of other Beat women's texts. Brenda Knight comments that Vega uses "her work to reflect on the past and look toward the future" (223). Her poem *The Drum Song* (Appendix II) brings the aforementioned feminist and sexual revolution tropes, as well as the anxieties regarding the wars; it follows no rhyme scheme and is written mainly in free verse as most of the Beats did.

Johnson and Grace define Beat as a "spontaneous composition, direct expression of mind, no censorious revision, jazz-based improvisation; or factualism, cut-up, surrealism; or first-thought-best-thought, cataloguing piled-up images, following breath line, prophetic utterance" (Johnson and Grace 2). Both men and women writers of the period were influenced by this "new ease of flow", and "the openness of a jazz improvisation was echoed in the open verse uttered within a breath" (Rogalle 8).

In regard to literary and aesthetic influence, the three generations of Beat women writers brought a variousness to the already hybrid literary heritage of the whole Beat generation, if not even more varied. British and American male modernists (Wolfe, Williams, Joyce, Faulkner) and male romantics (Shelley, Keats, Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman) seem to have influenced the male Beat writers.

However, not only male, but also female predecessors are very influential for women Beat writers, specially from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some examples cited are the Brontës, Virginia Woolf, Jane Austen, Gertrude Stein, Anais Nin, and Emily Dickinson. They also claimed having been influenced both by their male and female Beat peers and other artists, such as the film director François Truffaut (in the case of ruth weiss):

> The juxtaposition of the disparate and eclectic influences cited by women Beat writers with the male modernists and romantics cited by the male Beats provocatively complicates conceptions of a Beat aesthetic, which is evidently not monolithic and consistent, but multiple and divergent and more experimental than

> has been thought. . . . Beat is an avant-garde whose sources are as diffuse, unpredictable, and innovative as its practitioners. (Johnson and Grace 15)

Another difference between men and women Beat writers is their approach to literary production, most notably in relation to the revision of their work. Most women Beat writers were careful enough to revise their text, while male Beat writers considered revision an act "against the purity of the unmodified literary utterance" and "spontaneity" (*ibid* 16).

For women writers of the Beat Generation, writing poetry, novels, biographies or memoirs demanded a degree of courage, sacrifice, nonconformity and separation from the mainstream values, beliefs and practices of their eras that differentiated them from their male peers as they faced a double exclusion: they were the wrong gender in an already marginalized group whose members defied conventions.

Hence, their work both expands their male peers' by showing an even more oppressed and hidden side of the Beat Generation and broadens an already eclectic literature by adding issues of motherhood, abortion, sexual exploitation, etc. As Peabody mentions (3), although not all of them were invisible or silent (ruth weiss was frequently on stage in the same clubs as the men), many were silenced either by their families (in the case of Elise Cowen, who had her works destroyed by her family to "preserve her reputation"), or by their partners, or by their own choice. The following succeeded in an account of the Naropa Institute tribute to Ginsberg in July 1994, when a woman from the audience inquired about the absence of female names in the program:

> "Why are there so few women on this panel? Why are there so few women in this whole week's program? Why were there so few women among the Beat writers?" And [Gregory] Corso, suddenly utterly serious, leans forward and says: "There were women, they were there, I knew them, their families put them in institutions. In the '50s if you were male you could be a rebel, but if you were female your families had you locked up." (Knight 141)

Another shocking story is Joan Burroughs' manslaughter. On September 6, 1951, Joan Burroughs was killed by her own husband, William Burroughs, when he decided it was time for a William Tell act during a party. Joan put a water glass on her head and turned her face. Bill, who was said to be a crack shot, took aim from about six feet away. She died instantly (Knight 53). William Burroughs' was out of trouble with the help of a good lawyer and had always said that her death motivated

him to write (*ibid* 53). However, in *Minor Characters*, Joyce Johnson mocks his declaration by asking: "ever hear the one about the man who played William Tell and missed?" (5), being completely aware of the downplay of Burroughs' crime.

Hence, it is easy to agree with the assertion that "the exclusion of the female Beat writers diminishes understanding of the Beat literacy and cultural movement, creates insufficient representations of the field of Beat literature, and distorts views of the era during and after the Second World War when Beat emerged" (Johnson and Grace 2).

So, why does nobody hear about the women writers of the Beat Generation? In a nutshell, misogyny would be the first bet. It does not seem appropriate to comment on the sexual orientation of the male writers as a reason for "dismissing" the women's work, as I believe the reasons are more nuanced than that and a lot might fall on speculation. Anne Waldman gives her testimony:

> The '50s were a conservative time and it was difficult for artistic "bohemian" women to live outside the norm. Often they were incarcerated by their families, or were driven to suicide. Many talented women perished. But male writers of this literary generation were not entirely to blame, it was the ignorance of a whole culture. (Knight 289)

To a certain extent, they were in the borders in nearly all aspects of their lives, balancing the expectations towards their sexuality, housework, financial work and poetry. They supported their male peers at the same time in which they received, in their majority, limited encouragement to develop their own works. Works that many times were destroyed or criticized as not being Beat enough or "on a par with their male counterparts" (Peabody 3). In such a hybrid movement, the definition of what would be Beat or not was also quite unclear and (the borders) were blurred, so many women were left out of the canon.

Although they faced institutionalization, prejudice, misogynistic partners and peers, they were brave enough to challenge the behavior of the times and bring concerns of women's lives and existence to their writings – which shocked audiences enough to encourage those offended to try and silence them. Writing from the borders, the ostracized women writers of the Beat Generation refused to remain silenced.

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Appendix I: Women of the Beat Generation (Johnson and Grace 12-4; Knight vii-viii; Peabody 2)

Writers:
Anne Waldman
Diane Di Prima
Mary Fabilli
Elise Cowen
Joyce Johnson
Hettie Jones
Joanne Kyger
Denise Levertov
Joanna McClure
Janine Pommy Vega
ruth weiss
Mary Norbert Körte
Brenda Frazer
Lenore Kandel
Jan Kerouac
Bridget Murnaghan
Barbara Moraff
Sheri Martinelli
Margaret Randall
Bobbie Louise Hawkins
Diane Wakowski
Rochelle Owens

Precursors:
Helen Adam
Jane Bowles
Madeline Gleason
Josephine Miles
Carol Berge

"Muses":
Joan Vollmer Adams Burroughs
Carolyn Cassady
Edie Parker Kerouac
Joan Haverty Kerouac
Eileen Kaufman

Artists:
Jay DeFeo
Joan Brown

“Lesser-known writers, artists, coffeehouse scenesters” (Peabody 2)

Grace Paley
Daisy Aldan
Jean Garrigue
Patsy Southgate
Gloria Oden
Carolyn Sotoloff
Kaye McDonough
Hazel Ford
Lenore Jaffa
Elia Kokkinen
Marion Zazeela
Marianne Raphael
Ruth Fainlight
Rosemary Santini
Mimi Margeaux
Penny Carol
Marcia Lord
Ann Giudici
Mary E. Mayo
Betty E. Taub
Ruth Krauss
Elizabeth Sutherland
Mary Caroline Richards
Anne Wilson
DeeDee Doyle (Sharon Morill)
Jan Balas
Jeanne Phillips
Edith Kutash
Fran Sheridan
Sheila Platt
Sally Stern
Madeline Davis
Anne Frost
Anabel Kirby
Alice Pankovits
Francine Marshall
Gloria Tropp
Susan Sherman
Joan Block
L. S. M. Kelly
Susan Gorbea
Marietta Greer

Appendix II

The Drum Song

Red and white candy striped
Exit sign:
enter a hole in the wall
to a hidden world of juju beads
and maps the size of Atlantis
and little boys stalking the deer
of imagination

Red and white
Peruvian flag, the Polish flag,
and other breastplates
and gee-gaws of domination
since there ever was war
since there was the idea
of conquering your neighbor

Red and white
the woman in her childbearing
years, and then herself, soft haired
watching the fire, talking to her
the grandchildren who want her stories
red and white, the passionate
female, the passionate male

Orgasm and abstinence
hosannas coming up from the belly
to the top of the head
red/white
the blood and bone, the skeleton
in its scarlet flag

the two-step zigzag dance
across the tightrope, the red and white
agenda, wavering like a flock
of geese, like a ribbon
across the sky.

February 1994, New York City. (Knight, 237-8)

The Loba's Howl: A Comparative Reading of Allen Ginsberg's *Howl* and Diane di Prima's "The Loba Recovers the Memory of a Mare"

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Abstract

Considering both Diane di Prima's "The Loba Recovers the Memory of a Mare" and Allen Ginsberg's "Howl", the present essay addresses the ways in which the poets share similarities within their "beat methods of writing" and poetic tradition whilst also accentuating the disparities between the two, showcasing the need for more focus on female centred narratives. The paper begins by emphasizing Diane di Prima's life and work as well as her relationship with Allen Ginsberg, arguing for their status as poetic counterparts within the Beat Generation. Ginsberg's intention of singing the best minds of his generation seems incomplete as "Howl" not only fails to consider female poets but also fails to consider women as more than sexual objects. Through a feminist studies scope, the essay highlights Di Prima's invaluable contribution as a Beat poet, discussing the ways in which the author problematizes the role of women in society, how they're oppressed and the ways in which they fight against it. Additionally, through Di Prima's titular character of her quasi-epic poetry collection "Loba", the paper aims to explore the concept of "feminine rage" in connection to the second wave of the feminist movement in the United States of America during the 60's and 70's and the rise of radical feminism which aimed to weaponize women's anger against the patriarchy and status quo. Echoing Ginsberg, Diane di Prima takes on "Howl" and feminizes it, revisiting and recovering women's place in society.

Keywords: Diane di Prima; Allen Ginsberg; Female centred narratives; Feminist studies; Feminine rage

Resumo

Tendo em conta o poema "The Loba Recovers the Memory of a Mare" de Diane di Prima e "Howl" de Allen Ginsberg, este ensaio aborda não só a forma como os autores apresentam

semelhanças ao nível dos seus métodos de escrita "beat" e tradição poética, mas também acentua as disparidades entre os dois, revelando a necessidade de maior visibilidade das narrativas de teor feminista. Este ensaio começa não só por enfatizar a vida e obra de Diane di Prima como também a sua relação com Allen Ginsberg, tomando os dois como contrapartes poéticos no contexto da Geração Beat. A intenção de Ginsberg de cantar sobre as melhores mentes da sua geração parece incompleta, porque em "Howl" falha quer na referência a poetas femininas quer na visão da mulher, reduzida a objeto sexual. Através de uma lente de estudos feminista, este ensaio acentua o contributo incontornável de Diane di Prima para a Geração Beat, discutindo a forma como a poeta problematiza o papel da mulher em sociedade, como é oprimida, e as formas que encontra para lutar contra isso. A partir da personagem-título da sua coletânea poética de caráter épico, "Loba", este ensaio pretende explorar o conceito de "feminine rage" ligado à segunda vaga de feminismo nos Estados Unidos da América nas décadas de 60 e 70 e a ascensão de movimentos de feminismo radical que pretendiam fazer uso da frustração e raiva da mulher contra o patriarcado e o status quo. Ao ecoar Allen Ginsberg, Di Prima apropria-se de "Howl" e feminiza o poema, revisitando e recuperando o lugar da mulher na sociedade.

Palavras-chave: Diane di Prima; Allen Ginsberg; Estudos feministas; Narrativas de teor feminista; "Feminine rage"

> "It followed that if there was one Allen [Ginsberg], there must be more . . . all these would now step forward and say their piece . . . . I was about to meet my brothers and sisters"[1]
>
> - Di Prima, *Memoirs of a Beatnik*, 180

I was first introduced to the Beat Generation during my undergraduate Contemporary Northern American Literature Seminar, where we delved into the figure of Allen Ginsberg, one of the main percussors of the movement, and some of his most irreverent poems such as "America", a personal favourite, "Supermarket in California", and the infamous "Howl". And while I do enjoy the mainstream beat poets, particularly Ginsberg and Burroughs's poetry, I was happy to find that a great number of women were also "beat" and wrote a great deal, even though they are not read, spoken about, or studied half as much as the men.

In fact, during our Seminar on Northern American Literature II, we were told that Diane di Prima, arguably the most popular of the female beat poets, wrote, not only in a similar way to Allen Ginsberg, but actually wrote a poem reminiscent of "Howl": a feminist version if you will. I was immediately swayed to look into it and much to my surprise, and excitement, I found Diane di Prima's *Loba*, a three hundred pages long poetry collection in which, amongst a myriad of incredibly intricate poems,

we find another "Howl" in "The Loba Recovers the Memory of a Mare". In it, Diane di Prima mimics Howl's formal composition and links her female subaltern protagonists to similar arduous experiences of those of Allen Ginsberg's "characters".

Di Prima: "a wolf woman"[2]

Diane di Prima emerged as the best-known female poet of the Beat Generation despite it being popularly designated as a "boys club", which speaks to her relentlessness, unconventionality and incredible will to fit in, regardless of whether or not she was accepted by the norm.

Di Prima was born in Brooklyn, New York in 1934, attended the same school as fellow activist, poet and friend, Audre Lorde, with whom she exchanged poems by the ages of fifteen and later supported throughout her entire career; and by 1957 she moved to Greenwich Village, the heart of the artistic scene in New York, where a few years later she met fellow beat poets Jack Kerouac, Ginsberg, William St. Burroughs, Anne Waldman and Amiri Baraka, amongst others. Not only did she become close with the mainstream poets of the Beat Generation, almost dubbed as celebrities at the time, but she became closely, and I'd argue invaluably close, with the "beat" way of writing and culture, claiming for herself a place in a male dominated space, right from the start, right there in Greenwich Village.

The Beats find their roots in the likes of Ginsberg, Kerouac, and Burroughs but the movement quickly evolved to include many other voices, many of which go unheard. The movement was a form of deviance from the norm, imposed by a society that thought everything from drugs to sex was taboo and that created obscenity laws left and right. Out of this "claustrophobic" society the Beat Generation rose and with it a youth culture that pushed society's limits through movements like the hippie movement, in which both Ginsberg and Di Prima took part, often going on excursions across the country during the 60's and 70's. In 1969, Di Prima was heavily involved in anarchic political movements such as the San Francisco Diggers[3] and is known to have had a renewed focus on Zen studies (Calonne 22).

A prolific writer all throughout her life, Di Prima wrote more than 70 anthologies and over 300 periodicals (Knight 345) as well as numerous poetry collections from *This Kind of Bird Flies Backwards* (1958), *Dinners and Nightmares* (1961), *Revolutionary Letters*, her "epic" *Loba* (1978), *Pieces of a Song* (1990). Di Prima was also the co-founder of numerous artistic outlets like the New York Poets Theatre in 1968, which produced about four seasons of one-acts, including some by di Prima herself (Friedman 230), a newsletter called *The Floating Bear*, and the Poets

Press, responsible for publishing many works such as Audre Lorde's first poetry volume, *The First Cities* in 1968 (Carden 46).

Di Prima was also an active member of the community around her not only as an artist but as an activist and teacher, implementing new courses and teaching at the Poetic Programme at The New College of San Francisco as well as co-founding the San Francisco Institute of Magical and Healing Arts.[4] Named the city's poet Laureate in 2009 (Carden 50), Di Prima wrote poetry for great part of her life until the very end, and when looking up any videos of Di Prima in public readings and lectures I could find, I stumbled on a video-piece entitled "Keep the Beat: The Greatest Minds of a Generation" released by the *Washington Post* in which Diane di Prima, Lawrence Ferlinghetti and Herb Gold speak about San Francisco as one of the backdrops of the Beat Movement and Generation. This piece, released in 2017, came out when Di Prima was 82 years old and still working on yet another book, this one on her own take on Sappho. Rummaging through her notebook, covered in poetry sketches and post its, magnifying glass in hand, she reads a poem:

> It's not a generation
> Dig it
> It's a state of mind
> A way of thinking, a way of living
> Gone on for generations, for centuries.
> (Di Prima, "Keep the Beat")

Diane di Prima died in San Francisco in 2020 but her "beat" goes on, inspiring new generations of writers and activists through her work:

> I'd like my daily bread however
> You arrange it, and I'd also like
> To be bread, or sustenance for
> Some others even after I've left.
> A song they can walk a trail with
> (Di Prima, *The Poetry Deal* 19)

Ginsberg and Di Prima: Poetic Counterparts?

As beat contemporaries, both Allen Ginsberg and Diane di Prima often fought against the system, but every once in a while, the system actually tried to fight them back. Lawrence Ferlinghetti, the owner of *City Lights Bookstore*, responsible for publishing *Howl and other poems*, was accused of selling obscenity although the court later

decided in his favour in an infamous public trial. Similarly, Diane di Prima's literary magazine, which she co-founded and co-edited with Amiri Baraka, *The Floating Bear,* series nine, was also accused of obscenity and led to Prima's arrest by the FBI on October 18th, 1961, although the charges were overturned not long after.[5] Before both poets met, Diane di Prima recollects, in her book *Memoirs of a Beatnik*, how she first came in contact with Ginsberg's poem "Howl":

> Then one evening—it was an evening like many others . . . the priestly ex-book-thief arrived and thrust a small black and white book into my hand, saying, "I think this might interest you." I took it and flipped it open idly, still intent on dishing out beef stew, and found myself in the middle of Howl by Allen Ginsberg. (179)

The poem had such a visceral impact on Di Prima that the poet actually got up and left the party to read that little booklet out by the Hudson River, contemplating on the fact that if such an irreverent poem could get published so could hers, writing in her *Memoir*: "I knew that this Allen Ginsberg, whoever he was, had broken ground for all of us—all few hundreds of us—simply by getting this published" (180).

Not long after, both poets would become close friends, going from meeting for the very first time in New York after only exchanging some correspondence and holding an orgy along with Jack Kerouac, to hosting small gatherings at Ginsberg's house discussing Tibetan Buddhism, to doing public readings together in Colorado along with Anne Waldman; to Ginsberg taking Di Prima's photograph, wanting to document the lives of his fellow "beats"[6]; to Diane di Prima writing a poem dedicated to Ginsberg shortly after his death:

> Allen's face stares up at me from a dozen newspapers.
> Never to give his stiff and upright form another hug!
> . . .
> No more that warm, deep, beautiful voice coming between us poets and our Troubles--real or mind-created!
> (Di Prima, "A Moment of Grieving")

They lived many shared experiences, literary or otherwise, which is made abundantly clear through a comparative reading of "Howl" and "The Loba recovers the memory of a Mare", even though the first was published in 1956 and the latter in 1973, in the release of part one of Di Prima's *Loba*.

In the poem I propose to analyse against Howl's backdrop, "The Loba recovers the memory of a Mare", the women represented have taken on some of the same challenges that Ginsberg's protagonists were faced with and their trials and tribulations are recovered. This beautiful idea of a powerful entity like the Loba, which I will discuss further, recovering not only her own life but also other women's experiences, strikes me as fundamentally similar to what Adrienne Rich, in her poem "Diving into the wreck", calls for. To recover the memory of a mare is to dive into women's history and write down ours and others' names into the "book of myths": to remember and recover those whose contributions to society have been forgotten and drowned out.

Why Loba? "The Resurrection of the Wild Woman"

One of the things that struck me as really interesting was the choice for the titular protagonist of the collection, the Loba, and why exactly did Diane di Prima choose this particular entity. Before doing any research on it, I knew that, somehow, there was a connection between the figure of the woman and the wolf but it wasn't until I found Clarissa Pinkola's novel *Women Who Ran with Wolves* published in 1992, that I realized I had heard that expression before. In her book, the American poet problematizes the trope of the wild woman: the embodiment of women's most primal urges, through old myths and folklore stories suggesting that "wolves and women are relational by nature" (Pinkola 1).

In fact, it was uncanny to find that the first chapter of the book is precisely entitled *"The Howl: The Resurrection of the Wild Woman, La Loba, The Wolf Woman"* where the author describes the Loba, this goddess like entity, as a bone gatherer, whose sole purpose is to collect and preserve "that which is in danger of being lost to the world" (Pinkola 11), which is precisely what Di Prima is trying to emulate when gathering and recreating, in this poetry collection, women's experiences and voices: "By whatever name, the force personified by La Loba records the personal past and the ancient past for she has survived generation after generation, and is old beyond time. She is an archivist of feminine intention. She preserves female tradition" (Pinkola 12).

Two Howls: A comparative reading

Even though "Howl" and "The Loba recovers the memory of a Mare" were written and published in two very different decades, we find much of the same concerns as both function as protests and cries of anguish for anything the authors understand to be

oppressive. For instance, Ginsberg was very much concerned with the stunting of society's mind in the fifties, following the Second World War, the rampant rise of the Cold War, the nuclear bomb threat, and conservative tendencies to put people in "little boxes" which often led to depression, excessive drug use and suicidal tendencies as he denounces in "Howl", remembering those "who chained themselves to subways for the endless ride from Battery to holy Bronx on benzedrine . . . shuddering mouth-wracked/ and battered bleak of brain all drained of brilliance in the drear light of Zoo." (lines 10-14). Similarly, Di Prima focused on the same effects of society's disillusionment, excessive drug use for one, still ever present in the seventies, with the rise of protests over the Vietnam War and women's rights movement, coinciding with the second wave of feminism and the pinnacle of the hippie movement as she pays homage to those "who walked across America behind gaunt violent yogis/& died o-d'ing in methadone jail/ scarfing the evidence" (lines 11-13).

Nonetheless, even though the poems are similar in both form and content, there is a key difference: who is it that the poets are singing about? If Ginsberg is proposing to sing about the best minds of his generation, as he proclaims in the opening lines of his poem, how come none of them are women? While we understand the poet to be speaking about his own and his counterparts' experiences, the lack of female representation within this ode to the Beat Generation seems to only leave space for the objectification of women. In "Howl", in the only few times women are mentioned they are referred to, not as individuals, but as sexual objects, reduced to "snatches" and "innumerable lays" in "empty lots & diner backyards" among other equally dubious places.

However, in Diane di Prima's poem, not only do women take the forefront of the narrative but they are also seen as much more than just mere sexual objects. The poet makes a point to question women's roles in society by exposing how their experiences are deeply associated with domestic, manual jobs like "working dye into cotton" and taking care of children. Di Prima does not fail either to refer to the underprivileged women sitting at "Sagamore cafeteria", or the ones in Route one, either on the road with their children or prostituting themselves in order to make a living: "& who now remembers her hands /slant of her green eyes / Sagamore cafeteria / who has tears for girls now on Route One, the babies / wrapped in a scarf / the green / always further north / further than you can walk" (lines 48-54). In fact, women's hardships in the poem are only enhanced by the contrasting examples of the problematic, abusive and stagnant behaviour of the men around them, who, while the

women sustained them with “oatmeal and grits”, sat “naked in bed / read Bible / jerked off” (lines 38-39). In order to escape these harsh conditions, women often ran right into other problems to be able to provide for their family and survive under poverty, going as far as doing criminal’s biddings by “scarfing the evidence” and even entrusting their children to gangsters whilst working for them:

> who left tapestries, evidence, baby bottle behind in Vancouver
> & hitched to Seattle for the mushroom season
> trailing welfare checks & stolen money orders
> Chicago gangster in earrings who minded the baby.
> (lines 28-31)

The women in the poem are “unrooted”, going from Vancouver to Chicago, deported and sent back to Fiji, “wiring home for comfort”, forever looking for a safe place for themselves in society, but finding that wherever they go, they are turned down and chased away finding no place in which they are not oppressed.

This recurring imagery of being unrooted suggests a strong sense of vulnerability and right from the start, the way the *Loba* remembers the mare, ergo women, is extremely visual with the depiction of their fragile unsteady ankles and anxious eyes, clearly portraying their fear and unease, in that they are lost with nowhere to go. Ginsberg also reflects on this unsteadiness within his counterparts, recalling and referencing multiple episodes of the ones who “wandered around and around at midnight in the railroad yard wondering where to go, and went, leaving no broken hearts” (lines 41- 42) or the ones who “who vanished into nowhere Zen New Jersey leaving a trail of ambiguous picture postcards of Atlantic City Hall” (lines 37-38): none of them ever rooted nor satisfied.

Unsurprisingly, much like Ginsberg, Diane di Prima also discusses, in her poem, the role of religious institutions in society, because both Ginsberg and Di Prima were Buddhists, and often spoke about a “mystic” approach to religion. In “The Loba recovers the memory of a Mare”, Di Prima exposes just how much her counterparts feel isolated, struggling with their faith and questioning the higher power they used to pray to: “who did we pray/ who did we pray to then” (lines 16-17).The absence of a connection to a higher power led to a deeply isolating feeling which often triggers episodes of drug overdoses and lonely deaths, “laid out flowerless in abandoned basement/ blue stiff & salt injection” (lines 18-19). Not only were the speaker’s protagonists isolated throughout their lives, they are also alone in death, with no one to mourn them, and yet still, they still find it in themselves to warn off others to stray

onto their path: “just out of reach/ wrote lipstick “save yourself” on tin rail of furnished/ room bed” (lines 20-22).This imagery of the warning being written in lipstick is so vivid, because one immediately imagines it as being red lipstick, known to be a popularized symbol of power and strength within the women’s liberation and feminist movements to this day.

Ginsberg also calls out these “hopeless” institutions, as he believed that one is able to communicate directly to a higher power and tap into one’s intuition if in a state of ecstasy (of which, yet again, drugs were very much responsible for). So, we find Ginsberg’s protagonists fallen on their knees in “hopeless cathedrals praying for each other's salvation and light and / breasts, until the soul illuminated its hair for a second,” (lines 67-69), breaking their backs “lifting Moloch to Heaven! Pavements, trees, radios, tons! lifting the city to/ Heaven which exists and is everywhere about us!” (lines 89-90).

Moreover, the women in Di Prima’s poem are all victims to an incredibly violent patriarchal society in which not only is their labour undervalued but their bodies are overworked and overexploited, as the poem seems to question the patriarchy directly: “who was the whore of Babylon in the/ kerosene lamp of your childhood?” (lines 40-41).The symbolic figure of the whore of Babylon serves to enhance how women have been consistently perceived in the past, as the Loba both acknowledges this abused past and the still ever-present oppressive reality, trying to create a space for liberation.

The Loba’s Howl: The rise of feminine rage

While both poems “eulogize” a life lived in the margins, I would argue that when it comes to “Howl”, the poem expresses more of a feeling of melancholy about the state of society whereas in “The Loba recovers the memory of a Mare”, there seems to be a latent anger about the condition of women. One of the ways in which the latter portrays that latent anger that pervades the entirety of the text, is precisely through the Loba herself: the personification of the she-wolf who refuses to be caged in and allows for women to embrace their rage against the patriarchy. That we need to record women’s pasts and make sure they resurface comes from a place of anger, and what better way to convey this inherent “feminine rage” with none other than the figure of the she-wolf, untamed and wild?

The concept of feminine or female rage was very much in vogue during the second wave of feminism in United States of America, working as a powerful response to the injustices committed against women, finding its place in activism through

protests, literature, with resurgence lately in television and cinema. That anger and frustration, the same one can feel when reading this poem, was one of the key instruments that propelled many feminist activists and thinkers to demand change in society and to fight for their rights. Feminism, particularly radical feminism, appropriated this idea of anger as a driving force, seen in radical books like *SCUM Manifesto: Society for Cutting Up Men*, written by Valerie Solanas published in 1967, dedicated to the women who were beginning "to raise their voices in heat and anger" (Gornick 22) which was considered as a satirical work of fiction based on valid ideological concerns, in which men are seen to be the source of all that is wrong with the world and women must be the ones to fix it by completely annihilating men. Considering the work as satirical, as a fantasy, is current with the depictions of female rage that almost always happen in the context of cinema, particularly in horror movies, in which we assume that none of it would actually happen because female rage is only accepted and entertaining when it's made known that it's not real, but ironic and fictional.

There are, however, ardent feminists that didn't go that far and still advocated for women to embrace their anger. In fact, Audre Lorde, a great African-American feminist writer and activist speaks of rage as an appropriate response to a deeply patriarchal and racist society in her essay "The Uses of Anger", which she presented at the *National Women's Studies Association Conference* in Connecticut in 1981. Interestingly enough though, the depictions of female rage are overwhelmingly white, which is made abundantly clear on screen nowadays, but there has always been a sense that some women's anger is more acceptable than others, which Lorde explores in her text: "To turn aside from the anger of Black women with excuses or the pretexts of intimidation, is to award no one power-it is merely another way of preserving racial blindness, . . . " (Lorde 9). It is precisely because of their intersectional identities, that an African American woman's anger is unfortunately seen as more compromising and intimidating because it denounces sexism and racism, patriarchy and white supremacy.

According to Audre Lorde "every woman has a well-stocked arsenal of anger potentially useful against those oppressions, personal and institutional, which brought that anger into being. Focused with precision it can become a powerful source of energy serving progress and change" (Lorde 8). Interestingly enough, Lorde also makes use of the imagery of the she-wolf as a source of strength and motivation in order to fight the system:"I have suckled the wolf's lip of anger and I have used it for illumination, laughter, protection, fire in places where there was no light, no food, no

sisters, no quarter" (Lorde 10).That anger isn't coming from nowhere, and when it's paired with the right discourse, it can seriously make a change, channelling it through political action, organizations, action-oriented art such as poetry, the vehicle through which Di Prima's Loba moves.

The Loba's Howl: a critique?

Although "Loba" as a whole has been described as a form of "feminist revisionist mythmaking" (Grace and Trigilio 229) and "The Loba recovers the memory of a Mare" does, in a way, take on a revisionist approach and "feminizes" Ginsberg's "Howl", it does not necessarily just rewrite it from a feminist perspective: instead, it seamlessly incorporates women's writings and tradition in the predominantly male dominant Beat Generation, encompassing women's experiences and standing on its own merit, functioning, I'd argue, not as a critique but as a perfect response and addition, flowing as part of the original poem, making Ginsberg's intention to sing the best minds of his generation all the more complete.

The Loba begins to take on her journey into "the wreck" calling all women, her "moon sisters", in Loba's first poem, "Ave", in which the Loba becomes one with all other women, recovering their memories, experiences and identities as she, much like Di Prima, seeks to "create and contribute to a tradition of women's literature that only includes the stories of women for themselves and of themselves" (Mathes 54). This "invocation" is made entirely up of the women Di Prima envisions and speaks to, ending with an enchanting mantra which turned "this moment in the book into a ritual that celebrates the community of the lost moon sisters to which the speaker has just been led to by the Loba" (Mackay 82). By the end of "The Loba Recovers the Memory of a Mare", the Loba is still "unrooted" (line 55) as she keeps walking "into the wind", walking into the wind of change, relentlessly challenging the norm, and forever voicing the inequalities and injustices women face on a daily basis, howling loud enough for everybody to hear:

> O lost moon sisters
> . . .
> shrieking I hear you
> singing I hear you
> cursing I hear you
> praying I hear you
> . . .
> I am you

and I must become you
I have been you
and I must become you
I am always you
I must become you

ay-a
ay-a ah
ay-a
ay-a ah ah
maya ma maya ma
om star mother ma om
maya ma ah.
(Di Prima, lines 1; 42-45; 103-115)

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[1] It should be noted that more often than not, this quotation from Di Prima's *Memoir* is cut short in books and academic papers, reading only "I was about to meet my brothers", for instance in (Cook 66), thus excluding both the great number of female writers that were part of the Beat Generation as well as female writers altogether (Goggans 6).

[2] "A wolf woman" is in reference to the preliminary quote, taken from a Tlingit song from Jerome Rothenberg's anthology *Shaking the Pumpkin,* on *Loba'*s Book I which reads: "It would be very pleasant to die with a wolf woman/ It would be very pleasant" (Di Prima, Loba 7).

[3] A social movement that rose in the sixties, where a group of visionary street artists who called themselves: The Diggers essentially gave up personal property, creating a module for what a free society at large would look like, rejecting the current American way as oppressive. The original San Francisco Diggers members came from the San Francisco Mime troupe, founded by R.G Davis, performing for free exploring overtly political themes meant to confront societal hypocrisies (Steele 1-19).

[4] Diane di Prima taught creative writing at the New College of California, California College of Arts and Crafts, San Francisco Art Institute, California Institute of Integral Studies, and co-founded the Naropa University's Jack Kerouac School of Disembodied Politics where she taught along other names such as Allen Ginsberg, Anne Waldman, and William St. Burroughs among others (Carden 50).

[5] According to Goggans, Series 9 was sent to the poet Harold Carrington who was incarcerated in New Jersey's Prison. The censor did not allow for the magazine to go through and pressed charges, allegedly, because of excerpts from Le Roy Jones's *The System of Dante's Hell* and William S. Burroughs's poem *Routine* (14).

[6] All the photographs have been recently released in the book *Beat Memories: The Photographs of Allen Ginsberg* by Sarah Greenough published in 2010.

The Collapse of an American Sustained Cultural Identity: The American Civil Religion and the Spectre of Trumpism

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Abstract

This text stresses the diabolic spectre of Trumpism, a set of mechanisms for autocracy and authoritarianism, to redefine the United States while Trump's supporters perceive America as a nation and an idea that have forgotten and betrayed them. Consequently, they deny the "religious" and mythical founding principles of the nation defending a "new religion". Trump, the high priest of this "new religion", and Trumpism represent a crisis of faith around the so-called American civil religion and announce the possible final collapse of an imagined American sustained cultural identity.

Keywords: Civil Religion in America; Religion; "New religion"; Trump; Trumpism

Resumo

Este texto sublinha o espetro diabólico do Trumpismo, um conjunto de mecanismos de autocracia e autoritarismo, para redefinir os Estados Unidos, enquanto por outro lado os apoiantes de Trump veem a América como uma nação e uma ideia que os esqueceram e traíram. Assim, e consequentemente, esses apoiantes negam os princípios, "religiosos" e míticos, fundadores da nação. Trump, o sumo sacerdote da sua "nova religião", e o Trumpismo representam uma crise de fé em torno da chamada religião civil americana e anunciam o possível colapso de uma identidade cultural americana sustentada e imaginada.

Palavras-chave: Religião civil americana; Religião; "Nova religião"; Trump; Trumpismo

The arrival in 1620 of the first group of Calvinist Puritans on the East Coast, north of the colony of Virginia, marked the beginning of a great migration. They brought with them the charisma that would become the spirit of their colony, and which, in turn, would be extended and reformulated soon after the American Revolution. The nature of the colony, a society jointly led by religious ministers and political leaders, brought closer together by the convergence of the sacred and the profane, fostered the image it had of itself. Combining the sacred and the profane, the Puritan settlers who colonized America in the 17th century created their "Promised Land", an imagined "America" fully vested with God-given rights and power over the world, to be erected over the course of time.

Possessing an undeniably utopian mindset, as stated by Lyman Sargent (cf. 2002) among others, Calvin's followers on the New World inculcated the myth of "America" and its progress through political speeches inserted into religious sermons, shaped by the proximity between religion and politics.

The appropriation of a series of symbols and rites within American political discourse began as early as 1776, a process discussed by sociologist Robert Bellah in his essay from the late 1960s "Civil Religion in America", which spurred accusations by many for seemingly supporting an idolatrous worship of the American nation. On the other hand, and as many other Americanists have already discussed, the historian and literary critic Sacvan Bercovitch argued that the Puritan typology, undoubtedly ingrained in an imagery sustained by a utopian impulse, sowed the seeds of the equally utopian project of unlimited American progress. In doing so, this typology opened the door to a cultural and ideological harmony which, by informing the men of the revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods and by being appropriated by them, became politicized and converted into a coercive ideology of state and power that would endure (Cf. Bercovitch, 1976).

America's self-image of "exceptionalism" was assured by the rhetorical strategy born in Puritan New England under the leadership of John Winthrop. This image galvanized the people around an eschatological myth, alongside the utopian vision of America, "timeless" and idealized, whose essence lies in its myths and symbols. Consequently, a dominant ideological consensus was built up and configured as a way of expressing faith in a particular vision that, by the time of the American Revolution, had definitively become the national ideology. In addition, this ideology also made

"America" the symbol of a faith in the possibility of building a perfect society associated with a continually flourishing middle class, as capitalism through the lens of the Puritan ethic was understood as a "social dogma" that would lead to the growth and progress of the nation.

In fact, the Puritan Patriarchs tied the sacred and the profane to an eschatological myth because it was informed by a theology and a teleology. As it evolved towards the total galvanization of the people, this myth would ultimately prove chauvinistic since it would come, over time, to lay claim to the very affirmation of national exceptionalism.

It was undoubtedly this formative and informative role of an apocalyptic religious vision that largely contributed to America imbuing itself with both a mythical meaning and the faith in an exceptional "manifest destiny" and place in history. And although many other nations have also taken on a redemptive role for themselves, in truth the United States alone has tried to maintain the vibrant vitality of a particular vision that has sustained the longevity of the initial structure of that religious project, taken by Europeans in 1630.

As Horst Mewes points out in the 2010 essay "Reflections on Religion and Politics in American Democracy", there is also an undeniable historical thread between the experience of the New England Puritan "religious exile" and the concern with the defence of religious freedom in the US Constitution. Madison and Jefferson were great defenders of the inclusion of both religious freedom and the separation of church and state in the Constitution, which they justified with religious as well as political arguments. However, in practice this has not prevented religion (or a sense of religiosity) from being present in American political life from the very beginning, as Horst Mewes rightly points out. George Washington, for instance, even argued that republican virtues should be rooted in religion, stating in his Farewell Address: "religion and morality are indispensable supports . . . , national morality cannot prevail in exclusion of religious principle" (Mewes 164). Nevertheless, and as Horst Mewes also stresses, while this idea is probably as old as the Constitution, the first instance of its clear formulation as "civil religion" can be traced back to President Lincoln's description of the American reverence for the law as "the political religion of the nation". Mewes further points out that

> a civil or civic religion [in America] is based on the faith that not American governments, but the American founding principles of individual rights and constitutionally enshrined popular self-government are indeed divinely inspired and

> sacred. These essentially political principles therefore ought to be regarded with the same awe and respect as are the object of religious worship. America as a whole therefore is engaged in a divine mission to realize those principles in its everyday practices, and its failures and successes can be measured accordingly. (163-4)

But in my view, and moving on to the central theme of this text, much more meaningful in this context is the understanding that if a fundamental part of the American experience has been the quest to consolidate the idea that the founding principles of individual rights and the sovereignty of the people are sacred or of sacred inspiration, on the other hand, the problem faced by American democracy today is not related to the loss of its religious foundations. Above all, the perils brought by thoughtful and structured attempts targeting the intensification of a dangerous privatized individualism masked by many religious practices, whether by fundamentalist Evangelicals or more "mainstream" Christians, constitute, indeed, the threat faced by American democracy. A private individualism, supported by the media to promote questions and answers to achieve one's own interests and passions, witnessing, in turn, the decline of the traditional American civil religion; an individualism that contrasts with the principles of Emerson, himself also a founder, who celebrated individualism in a spiritual context and, readjusting the myth, encouraged people to listen to their individual intuition to cultivate the spiritual power within themselves. Emerson looked to nature as a source of inspiration and as an expression of the correspondence between human beings, God, and the material world. His transcendental ideas about self-reliance, about the unity of nature, the individual soul and God influenced generations of American writers and thinkers. An "oracular voice", he was the founding prophet of hope and boundless optimism in search of social reforms that could establish a more inclusive and egalitarian society in nineteenth-century America.

The state of mind that was encouraged from its outset by a sense of universal mission sought its institutional consolidation, thereby engendering and instilling a definitive American cultural model that has persisted through numerous new beginnings. This model has endured several episodes informed by the anxiety instated by the conflict between believing in the possibility of a place of happiness and ultimate perfection, and the imposition, evidenced by the facts of everyday life and history, of the impossibility of its accomplishment. In other words, it concerns the experience of various processes of destruction/restructuring, dystopias and eutopias

whose anthropocentric perspective of the utopia built on the becoming seems to legitimize everything as long as it is under the condition of being American.

In fact, what at first meant believing that the world - the New World on the New Continent - could be changed and that happiness was possible was not exhausted in Puritan New England. And it has yet to be exhausted precisely because in America the Puritan legacy, its typological memory, has favoured an ideological expansion that has subsequently, in the refraction of the images the nation has of itself, strived to ideologically feed the sense of maximizing what can be achieved in each circumstance or at each moment. A process dedicated to realizing a project that is constantly blossoming, which is constantly returning to its original intention, seeking to survive in the face of new circumstances, be they political, social, or even conflictual or emotional.

I note that the particularity of the relationship between religion and politics in the USA, as well as the feeling of the nation itself as something sacred by covenant, has been at the heart not exactly of any Christian Religion in America but of a secularized religious cement that has connected individuals as disparate and distant in time as John Winthrop, Martin Luther King, and Barack Obama, for instance. Undoubtedly it is this common thread that lies at the heart of a unique "America" that laid the foundations for a sustained cultural identity.

If the need to give meaning to the American experience in general preceded US independence with the mythology of the New Jerusalem established by John Winthrop on the one hand, on the other this need did not fade with independence. History shows that America defies static definitions through the construction (and constant renewal) of a complex of myths and symbols whose consideration is crucial to the understanding of both America and the legitimacy of its political actions and anxieties such as those in Martin Luther King's speech "I have a dream".

Articulating a vision of basic civic equality, Martin Luther King stressed that unalienable rights were included in the Declaration of Independence, and that they were based on divine natural law. Barack Obama in his Farewell Address declared:

> It was on these streets where I witnessed the power of faith, and the quiet dignity of working people in the face of struggle and loss. This is where I learned that change only happens when ordinary people get involved, get engaged, and come together to demand it. After eight years as your president, I still believe that. And it's not just my belief. It's the beating heart of our American idea – our bold experiment in self-government.

> It's the conviction that we are all created equal, endowed by our creator with certain unalienable rights, among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.
>
> It's the insistence that these rights, while self-evident, have never been self-executing; that we, the people, through the instrument of our democracy, can form a more perfect union.
>
> This is the great gift our Founders gave us. The freedom to chase our individual dreams through our sweat, toil, and imagination – and the imperative to strive together as well, to achieve a greater good. (Obama)

And he ends: "God bless you. And may God continue to bless the United States of America" (Obama).

Although, as Tocqueville emphasized in the 19th century in *Democracy in America*, "the charm of anticipated success" (147) has indeed framed many American collective discourses, the relevance of a complex of myths and symbols in American culture, and their permanent revisiting and renewal, allows us in part to question whether they are not the result of the fragility of the idea of America. In fact, by transposing the image of American exceptionalism, which is still widely used to justify a particular vision of national foreign policy, we can realize that the idea of America and its infinite possibilities has not only remained under constant construction and revision but has been above all evoked to justify both its projections of self-esteem and its occasional crises, insecurities, and paranoia.

As a concept, the ideological consensus that emerged in seventeenth-century New England, problematized by Bercovitch and affirmed, in different terms, by Bellah as the American civil religion, often proved to be useful internally because it disciplined moments of crisis and social tensions. The absorption of the prophecy of divine election and the consequent growing glory that it heralded often transformed those same tensions into rites of consent, of which the rhetoric that participated in the process of "Americanization", "socialization", stands out (cf. Bercovitch, 1993).

As a matter of fact, all political ideologies are religious (Cf. Gray), and so it is with the United States, which was undeniably founded as a "religious" nation. Nonetheless, if we consider the religion on which America was founded as not exactly Christianism, but rather the arrogant idea of the nation itself as the world's best hope for redemption, and if we take this "religion" as having worked to maintain American demagoguery, it is also undeniable that, however pernicious the American cult of uniqueness may be, historically it has prevented the kind of national cult of a personality that we see today in the indisputable threat posed by Trumpism.

As David Rosen points out in a Chris Jenning's *Paradise Now: The Story of American Utopianism's* book review, published in 2016, "amidst all the 2016 electoral clamour and Donald Trump's call to 'Make America Great Again', the concept of 'utopia' [and with it that of an American civil religion] has essentially disappeared from the American vocabulary" (1103). and has been replaced by what I call a personalized "new religion" in unbridled pursuit of affirming its institutionalization in 2024. A "new religion", which is as worrying as Donald Trump himself. Indeed, Trump's strident (and meaningless) call to "Make America Great Again" reveals both his understanding that the United States has "become too weak and ineffective" and his contempt for any weakness, accompanied by his defence of action for action's sake. All this to the point of abandoning American values of law and justice, free speech, and the constitutional rule of law itself. In Trump's defence of economic policies that are traditionally read as more liberal, we also witness the threat of a selective populism of a candidate who believes that his theatricalized generous and benign action should only be shared by certain segments of the population, dominantly an economic elite, and white nationalist movements.

While the diabolic spectre of Trumpism, a set of mechanisms for autocracy and authoritarianism, aims to redefine the United States, Trump's supporters perceive America as a nation and an idea that have forgotten and betrayed them and, consequently, they deny the founding principles of the nation. In fact, Trumpism both represents a crisis of faith around the so-called American civil religion and announces the possible final collapse of an imagined American strongly sustained cultural identity. But Trump himself, the high priest of Trumpism, his "new religion", the right-wing populist as defined by Carter A. Wilson in his interesting book *Trumpism: Race, Class, Populism and Public Policy,* published in 2021, is also a symptom of a dangerous turn in America, and even if he, as a candidate, is defeated in 2024, what remains a grave threat is the possibility of a bigger crisis reverberating, given the international context.

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O Icebergue

Zelda Sayre

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Nota Introdutória

"The Iceberg", conto da autoria de Zelda Sayre, foi publicado em 1918 na revista literária da escola que frequentava, tendo sido premiado. Zelda Sayre tinha então dezoito anos. Dois anos mais tarde, casava com F. Scott Fitzgerald, passando a ser conhecida como Zelda Fitzgerald. O conto foi recentemente descoberto.

Carla Morais Pires
Fonte: **The New Yorker**

Cornelia olhou fixamente pela janela e suspirou, não porque estivesse particularmente infeliz, mas porque mortificara os pais e dececionara os amigos. As suas duas irmãs, mais novas do que ela, estavam casadas e desde há muito arrumadas; no entanto, ela continuava ali, aos trinta anos, qual maçã serôdia ou centáurea desbotada, esquecida ou sem que valesse a pena ser colhida. O pai não a censurava. Sugeria amavelmente que talvez Neilie fizesse mais por si própria se o resto da família a deixasse em paz. O irmão dizia, "A Cornie é uma rapariga encantadora, e até é bonita, mas não tem magnetismo. É o mesmo que alguém tentar lidar com um icebergue." Apesar disso, o gato da família achava-a bastante recetiva, e o pequeno *fox terrier*, em boa verdade, adorava-a, já para não falar de um gaio-azul que teimava numa amigável disputa sempre que ela se esgueirava para o seu refúgio no antiquado jardim meridional. A mãe dizia, "A Cornelia não é simpática. Ela olha para um homem com o pensamento a quilómetros de distância, e não há vaidade masculina que tolere uma coisa dessas. De que valem roupas bonitas e talentos musicais se a bondade é posta de parte? Não! Não! A Cornelia jamais casará, a Cornelia é o meu desespero."

Por vezes, Cornelia cansava-se da desaprovação e ressentia-a. "Mãe", perguntava então, "será o casamento a finalidade e o objetivo da vida? Não haverá mais nada em que uma mulher possa despender a sua energia? A minha irmã Nettie

está amarrada a um mangas de alpaca e, entre tratar do bebé e cuidar de pagar as contas, parece mais velha do que eu. A minha irmã Blanche encontra tão pouco consolo num marido apagado que se dedicou a missões no estrangeiro e ao sufrágio para se distrair. Já que sou um problema económico, volto-me para o ramo comercial.

Como tal, sem mais demoras, iniciou em segredo um curso na escola comercial e ensinou os dedos, que haviam dedilhado Chopin e Chaminade, a serem igualmente destros na máquina de escrever. Os olhos pareciam tornar-se maiores e mais luminosos à medida que decifrava os hieróglifos da estenografia.

— Esta menina Holton é uma maravilha — observou o diretor da escola.

— Sim, é um fracasso social, mas promete vir a ser um sucesso comercial — concordou um jovem que em tempos estivera entregue à sua indiferença.

Foi então que o telefone tocou.

— Homessa, é para já! Aguarde um momento, vou verificar. — Dirigindo-se gentilmente para a secretária de Cornelia, disse: — Menina Holton, considero-a bastante eficiente como aluna. Importa-se de atender a um pedido urgente? A firma Gimbel, Brown e Cia. pretende uma estenógrafa de imediato. O que acha de ficar com o lugar?

— O que acho? Ora essa, vem mesmo a calhar. Deixe-me ir buscar o chapéu e vou já para lá.

— Bem — respondeu o diretor —, gosto de uma rapariga que sabe o que quer.

Se ao menos a mãe tivesse ouvido aquilo! Afinal, talvez Cornelia tivesse sabido desde sempre o que queria — sem o conseguir encontrar. Afinal, talvez uma equação social que envolvesse calças não tivesse sido exatamente aquilo por que ansiava. Afinal, talvez andasse à procura da sua própria expressão. De qualquer modo, não perdeu tempo a encontrar a firma e não ficou minimamente amedrontada que fosse o poderoso multimilionário Gimbel a precisar dos seus serviços.

— É a menina Holton? Cornelia Holton, a filha do meu velho amigo Dan Holton? Meu Deus, por favor sente-se! É tão inesperado! Por favor, diga-me, quando é que entrou para a arena comercial?

Cornelia não estava envergonhada. Com a sua habitual franqueza, respondeu:

— Sim, sou Cornelia Holton, e estou neste ofício para ficar. Se a arena estiver cheia de touros e ursos, aqui estou eu para lutar. Em que lhe posso ser útil, senhor Gimble?

Com um brilho no olhar e um sorrisinho enigmático, o senhor Gimble empurrou a pilha de papel branco como a neve na direção de Cornelia e começou a ditar. As mensagens voavam de norte, sul, este, oeste, e os dedos de Cornelia voavam com

elas. Brancos, esguios, e bem proporcionados, ornavam a máquina de escrever como haviam feito no piano e, quando a hora de almoço chegou, tinha o rosto afogueado e os pequenos caracóis castanhos pendiam-lhe sobre a testa com uma ligeira transpiração pelo esforço feito. Cornelia estava linda na sua primeira conquista da máquina de escrever!

Ao levantar-se para sair, corou e balbuciou:

— Senhor Gimble, agradeço-lhe que não conte nada aos meus pais. Eles não têm conhecimento desta minha iniciativa e ficariam bastante horrorizados. Sabe, nada é tão bem-sucedido como o sucesso. Fui um fracasso tempo suficiente. E sorriu ao sair, a velha graciosidade do detestável salão de baile a colar-se a ela apesar da sua firme determinação.

— Caramba! — exclamou o senhor Gimble. — Caramba! — reiterou, — quem haveria de pensar que uma Holton seguisse a carreira comercial! Ora, a mãe dessa rapariga foi a maior beldade que esta cidade algum dia gerou. Bem, talvez Cornelia não tivesse conseguido casar. — Assim, também ele seguiu o seu caminho a pensar na delicada esposa que lhe morrera há uns anos, e no enorme vazio que tomou o seu lugar e que ele tentara preencher com dinheiro.

Passaram-se alguns meses. Os Holton haviam ficado chocados quando Cornelia anunciou a sua carreira de sucesso, mas acabaram por seguir o curso normal da vida. O gato disse, "Eu bem vos disse! Eu sabia que ela tinha em si o fator sucesso!" O pequeno cão ladrou, "Diabos a levem! Sempre soube que não abanava a cauda em vão." O gaio-azul bradou ruidosamente, "Vá, vamos lá e acabemos com a nossa discussão. Se eu posso construir um ninho, tu também, e se tentares podes criar uma família também. Vá, vamos lá!" Mas isso não foi nada comparado com o que a sociedade disse quando Cornelia Holton e James G. Gimble entraram discretamente no gabinete do Sagrado Reverendo e se tornaram um só, até mesmo nos milhões e na célebre propriedade, um palácio de arte e de requinte estético.

A senhora Holton desmaiou para cima da chávena de café quando abriu o matutino e olhou para a manchete, lado a lado e praticamente do mesmo tamanho das notícias sobre a guerra. O senhor Holton soltou uma risadinha, enquanto entornava a garrafa de água sobre o *négligé* mais caro da esposa.

— Eu sempre disse que Cornelia tinha um trunfo na manga — comentou ele.

— Bem, a velha mana lá acabou por aquecer — acrescentou o irmão.

A porta da frente abriu-se e as irmãs desgrenhadas entraram, a gritar, "Mamã, mamã, Cornelia, a solteirona, levou-nos a melhor no casamento!"

Normas de Referência Bibliográfica

MLA Style Manual (2016)

I. Aspeto Gráfico

1. Papel A4, a um espaço e meio (1,5); corpo de letra 11, Trebuchet MS.

2. Notas - todas no final do texto, numeradas com algarismos, antes do item "Obras Citadas". No corpo do texto, o algarismo que remete para a nota deverá ser colocado depois do sinal de pontuação, exceto no caso de se tratar de travessões.

3. Referências bibliográficas - no corpo do texto, identificando, entre parênteses curvos, o nome do autor e o(s) número(s) da(s) página(s) em causa.

Ex: "Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the World" (Shelley 794).

(ver secção II. REFERÊNCIAS BIBLIOGRÁFICAS para mais ocorrências)

4. Citações

4.1. com menos de quatro linhas: integradas no corpo do texto, entre aspas (" ' ' "); a indicação da fonte (autor, página) deve ser colocada preferencialmente no final da frase, *antes* do sinal de pontuação.

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: . . .

Ex: "Medical thinking . . . stressed air as the communicator of the disease".

Se a omissão se verificar no final da frase, usar quatro pontos, isto é, três pontos seguidos de ponto final: . . . .

Ex: "Presidential control reached its zenith under Andrew Jackson . . . . For a time, there were fifty-seven journalists on the government payroll".

7. "Obras Citadas" - sob este título, no final de cada texto e antes das notas, deverão ser identificadas todas as obras citadas ao longo do texto, de acordo com as normas do MLA, abaixo descritas.

II. Normas De Referência Bibliográfica

1. Citação parentética, no corpo do texto - identificando, entre parênteses curvos, o nome do autor e o(s) número(s) da(s) página(s) em causa.

1.1. Um só autor (sobrenome + página):

Ex: "Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the World" (Shelley 794).

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)

1.3. Dois ou três autores (todos os sobrenomes + página): (Demetz, Lyman, and Harris 30)

1.3.1. Mais de três autores

(sobrenome do primeiro autor + *et al.* + pág.)

ou (todos os sobrenomes + pág.)

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

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

(sobrenome + título do livro + página)

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)

Se a inicial for a mesma, usar o primeiro nome por extenso.

1.6. Citação indireta (qtd. in [quoted in] + sobrenome + pág.) (qtd. in Boswell 57)

1.7. Mais do que uma obra na mesma citação parentética

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

1.8. Obra com mais de um volume (sobrenome + número do volume + pág.) (Boswell 2: 450)

2. "Obras Citadas" - lista completa das obras referidas ao longo do texto, por ordem alfabética de apelido dos autores, de acordo com os seguintes modelos:

2.1. Livros

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

2.1.1. Dois ou mais livros do mesmo autor

Usar três hífens seguidos de ponto (---.) para substituir o nome do autor.

Usar três hífens seguidos de vírgula (---,) no caso de o autor desempenhar funções de editor, tradutor ou organizador: (---, editor.), (---, translator.)

Os títulos do autor devem aparecer organizados por ordem alfabética.

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

---. "Sound Symbolism as Drama in the Poetry of Robert Frost." *PMLA*, vol. 107, no.1, 1992, pp. 131-44.

---, editor. *Wallace Stevens: A Collection of Critical Essays*. Prentice, 1963.

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

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

Scholes, Robert, and Robert Kellog. *The Nature of Narrative*. Oxford, 1966.

2.1.2. Livro de vários autores

Booth, Wayne C., Gregory G. Colomb, and Joseph M. Williams. *The Craft of Research*. 2nd ed., U of Chicago P, 2003.

Durant, Will, and Ariel Durant. *The Age of Voltaire*. Simon, 1965.

Saraiva, António José, e Óscar Lopes. *História da Literatura Portuguesa*. 14ª ed., Porto Editora, 1987.

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.

2.2. Antologias ou colectâneas

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.

Kepner, Susan Fulop, editor and translator. *The Lioness in Bloom: Modern Thai Fiction about Women*. U of Berkeley P, 1996.

2.3. Edições críticas

Crane, Stephen. *The Red Badge of Courage: An Episode of the American Civil War*. Edited by Fredson Bowers, UP of Virginia, 1975.

3. Artigos em revistas

Chauí, Marilena. "Política cultural, cultura política." *Brasil*, no. 13, 1995, pp. 9-24.

Piper, Andrew. "Rethinking the Print Object: Goethe and the Book of Everything." *PMLA*, vol. 121, no.1, 2006, pp. 124-38.

3.1. Artigos em jornais

Coutinho, Isabel, "Os Pioneiros da Literatura 'Queer' em Portugal." *Público*, 24 Agosto 2007, p. 9.

Mckay, Peter A. "Stocks Feel the Dollar's Weight." *Wall Street Journal*, 4 December 2006, p. C1.

3.2. Artigos em coletâneas ou antologias

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