Table of Contents

Editor's Preface

Mustafa Kırca
Editor-in-Chief
Çankaya University, Turkey

We have been striving to cope with the stress and the frustration from the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic (2019-nCoV) and to "restore" the old order amidst the turmoil and the global loss of many lives caused by Covid-19. The hit was unexpected in our super (post)digital age, and as Slavoj Žižek marks by the title of his book (*Pandemic! Covid-19 Shakes the World*), it shakes the world with the shock and panic it caused more than the spread itself. The pandemic we have been through helped us reach the level of awareness that what should be doubted is the idea/act of "restoring the old order". In the "new" world of pandemic lockdowns, quarantined spaces, social distancing, and so on, we have come to realize that, as Žižek says, "if one group is affected, the other will inevitably also suffer".

Çankaya University Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences, as of June 2020, presents its 14th volume, and in this issue of the volume, we are giving place to possibly one of the first attempts to work on the topic of pandemic within a linguistic framework, "The British Press' Coverage of Coronavirus Threat". Pursuing a comparative linguistic analysis of headlines from serious and sensationalist journalism in the UK, the authors of the article show that "information is one of the most powerful tools, not only to just inform but also to alarm people and create panic". Following the premise that information is a power to be channeled in the direction of benefit more than hindrance, we maintained our efforts in adhering to and reaching goals of academic discussion in these difficult times. As in our earlier issues, in this issue of the volume too, we continue to cover interdisciplinary studies at the intersection of different areas of the human sciences that fall within the scope of the Journal. Sharing and expanding the new perspectives in humanities and social sciences is of primary focus for the Journal, which aims to reach wider audience through its fully open-access policy.

We, as the editorial board, would like to wholeheartedly thank all the authors for their scholarly contributions and the team of referees for their reviews. We owe special thanks to Dr. Anna Maria Karczewska from University of Białystok, Poland for her tremendous work as the guest editor for this issue. We also like to thank the Board of Trustees and the Presidency of Çankaya University, and the Dean's Office of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences for their continuous support.

Acknowledgments

The British Press' Coverage of Coronavirus Threat:
A Comparative Analysis Based on Corpus Linguistics
İngiliz Basınında Coronavirus: Karşılaştırmalı Derlem Analiz

Encarnación Almazán-Ruiz
Aroa Orrequia-Barea
Universidad de Jaén, Spain

Abstract

The world is living one of the most difficult times at the moment since a pandemic has been declared by the *World Health Organisation* (WHO, henceforth). In this scenario, information is one of the most powerful tools, not only to just inform, but also to alarm people and create panic. The aim of this paper is to make a comparative linguistic analysis of headlines from serious and sensationalist journalism in the UK. The corpus consists of a compilation of headlines published over the period of one month (from 20th January to 20th February), which have been extracted from four broadsheets: *The Guardian, The Independent, The Financial Times* and *The Telegraph;* and four tabloids: *The Sun, The Mirror, The Express* and *The Daily Mail*. The corpus management tool *Sketch Engine* and the programming language *R* have been used since they allow the user to carry out both an automatic analysis of the text and basic statistics from Corpus Linguistics.

Keywords: Coronavirus, pandemic, British press, headlines, corpus linguistics, discourse analysis.

Öz

Dünya şu anda en zor zamanlardan birini yaşıyor, çünkü Dünya Sağlık Örgütü (WHO) tarafından bir pandemi ilan edildi. Bu senaryoda, bilgi sadece bilgilendirmek için değil, aynı zamanda insanları uyarmak ve panik yaratmak için de en güçlü araçlardan biridir. Bu çalışmanın amacı, İngiltere'de ciddi ve sansasyonel gazetecilikten manşetlerin karşılaştırmalı bir dilbilimsel analizini yapmaktır. Çalışmanın derlemi (korpus), bir ay boyunca (20 Ocak'tan 20 Şubat'a kadar) yayımlanan ve dört geniş sayfadan çıkarılan başlıkların bir derlemesinden oluşur: *The Guardian, The Independent, The Financial Times* ve *The Telegraph*; ve dört tabloid: *The Sun*, *The Mirror*, *The Express* ve *The Daily Mail*. Korpus yönetim aracı *Sketch Engine* ve programlama dili *R* kullanılmıştır, çünkü bunlar kullanıcının hem metnin otomatik analizini hem de derlem dilbilimin temel istatistiklerine izin vermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Koronavirüs, pandemi, İngiliz basını, manşetler, derlem (korpus) dilbilim, söylem analizi.

Introduction

In the early days of 2020, the world became aware of a strange new disease, the origin of which was unknown at the time. Although the first cases appeared much earlier, it was not until 31st December 2019, when China reported a

number of cases of an unidentified pneumonia detected in Hubei, province of China, that the world became aware of the virus. Shortly afterwards, a previously unknown coronavirus was declared to be behind a lot of cases of the pneumonia in Wuhan. It took until 21st January for the Chinese authorities to confirm that there was human-to-human transmission[1]. Since then, it has been spreading worldwide and in the last few months the whole world has been experiencing something which had not happened for a long time, a pandemic[2]. Despite the rapid proliferation beyond the Chinese borders, the WHO does not name the new disease until 11th February 2020, when the new coronavirus is named *SARS-CoV-2* (*Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome* caused by a virus called coronavirus[3]) and so the illness is known as *COVID-19*, from the English phrase "coronavirus disease of 2019" (BBC.com).

As the coronavirus disease spreads, so does the media coverage of the risk of this global warning, which has become a trending topic. Reports on this virus in the press have contributed to creating a public health concern by means of the depiction of this potential threat. However, this is not the first time it has happened. Not long ago, in only 2003, a similar disease, SARS, was also treated as a risk in the media. On that occasion, the reporting of the illness was clearly divided into two phases. Firstly, presenting the outbreak as a fear-provoking threat, and, secondly, highlighting the fact that this threat is "happening in a geographically and/or culturally distant population" like China. The obvious consequence was that the media contributed to the stigmatization and discrimination against Asian communities (Smith 3117-18). Similarly, the psychological influence of the disease can be related to two different aspects of information about SARS. On the one hand, the extremely rapid broadcast of information, which made it clear that it was more important to inform in real time than to discriminate confusing information. On the other, much of the news information "was based on opinion, guesswork and preliminary results" revealing the lack of accurate and professional information on the disease (Smith 3117). In fact, in a sense, SARS's economic consequences were even worse than the real spread of the disease.

As a matter of fact, the information at this stage of the pandemic is one of the essential elements in people's lives, since many countries have had to confine themselves to avoid the contagion and the uncontrolled spread of the disease. Thus, the population cannot do anything but stay at home and either watch or read news to be informed.

The question is whether the media in general and newspapers in particular fulfil their basic purpose of reporting information and news objectively or whether they help create panic and start social alarm. The present paper is aimed at making a corpus-based discourse analysis of broadsheet and tabloid headlines in order to study the linguistic differences between them when recounting

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[1] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/13/first-covid-19-case-happened-in-november-china-government-records-show-report

[2] https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019

[3] https://www.who.int/csr/sars/en/

coronavirus news items. As Montgomery states, searching the news discourse involves admitting the potential power of discourse as the bridge between the audience and the depiction of reality (21). In fact, in news discourse analysis, the linguistic and the social are closely interrelated (23).

The paper is organised as follows: after painting a picture of the situation, the theoretical framework is presented to explain the most important pillars on which the analysis focuses. Afterwards, the corpus and its compilation process are provided as well as the methodology and main tools used to analyse the texts. Then, the analysis is detailed at the same time that the results are discussed. Finally, some conclusions are drawn.

The British Press: Broadsheets vs Tabloids

Traditionally, British newspapers have been divided into two different categories: *broadsheets* and *tabloids*. Factually, this classification is related to the page size of the newspaper and its origin is in the 18th century when the British government imposed a newspaper tax on the number of pages (Rogers). As a result, printing a newspaper with many pages resulted truly expensive. Broadsheet newspapers emerged because it turned out to be cheaper to print a newspaper using a bigger page size and reducing the number of pages

According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, broadsheets have large pages ("broadsheet"), whereas tabloids have a smaller page size ("tabloid"). Apart from the size distinction, broadsheet newspapers are generally associated with serious and intellectual subjects. However, tabloids usually contain less serious news items and they regularly focus on celebrity coverage and more popular interest stories. Nevertheless, we can assume this size distinction between both types of papers is no longer true because newspapers such as *The Independent* and *The Times* have adopted tabloid size and currently the terms "quality" versus "popular" can be considered more accurate to denote this distinction (Alba-Juez 82). Despite this fact, the traditional distinction between them will be used on these pages because of its general acceptance. Furthermore, the differences between both types of newspapers have been highlighted by some authors, such as Fowler and Conboy. The latter states that the tabloid press in Britain "retains a certain continuity in format, content and language with older forms of popular printed entertainment such as chapbook, ballad, almanac and broadside" (Conboy 45).

When talking about the news media, the way of presenting the information is essential to catching the readers' attention. Molek-Kozakowska states that journalists are conscious that not all stories or news items share the same degree of relevance or importance; however, the way of presenting them can attract more or fewer readers. According to her, sensationalism is a discursive device used by the news media professionals in order to present a news item as more interesting and relevant than it truly is (177). Conventionally,

sensationalism is closely connected with tabloid journalism and vice versa, because tabloids are usually described as the popular press, which presents the news items using textual strategies to increase their readership number (174). Nonetheless, the scholar distinguishes two important aspects related to sensationalism, which should not be confused. Firstly, the choice of the topic to be covered, which can be related to a sensationalist one such as "scandal, crime, sex". On the other hand, it is the "sensationalising way of packaging information", which can make the topic "appear more relevant or interesting" (174). Definitely, this second issue is the most relevant one for this paper since we are interested in analysing the linguistic features of headlines. Moreover, all the compiled headlines deal with the same topic, to wit, the coronavirus; therefore, it is not the goal of these pages to determine whether the topic itself can be considered as sensationalist or not.

It is undeniable that language in combination with textual and other linguistic devices plays a crucial role when presenting a news item to readers. As Montgomery states, the journalistic discourse can be considered as an effective tool to describe reality and its communicative potential is noteworthy to capture readers' attention (21). In fact, headlines play a fundamental role in achieving it, because they can be considered a hook to attract the audience's attention (Molek-Kozakowska 180).

Theoretical Framework

Newspaper headlines are, on the whole, the first thing that catch the eye on a news item and depending on how attractive or interesting it is, the reader will continue reading the story or not. For that reason, the language choice in the headline can be an important factor presenting the facts, since the group of words used in a headline not only recounts the content of the article but also gives the reader a clear idea of what the article is about (Kuiken et al. 1300). Likewise, Dor explains that newspapers headlines can be considered "relevance optimizers" because they help readers create the best context to interpret the issue. Thus, headlines "are designed to optimize the relevance of their stories for their readers" (695).

Bednarek and Caple argue that headlines present some linguistic features which distinguish them from other styles of news discourse. Among these characteristics, the authors highlight "the use of non-tensed phrases instead of clauses", the preference for the present tense to present events as timeless facts, the frequent "use of marked/emotional/evaluative words", and the presence of "pseudo-direct quotes or allusions" as intertextual markers (qtd. in Molek-Kozakowska 180-81). Apart from the linguistic characteristics that distinguish headlines, some scholars (Dor; Kuiken et. al.) have established the different properties which make a headline appropriate. Among them, Dor states that "the most appropriate headline for a news item is the one which optimizes the relevance of the story for the readers of the newspaper" (707). The author also specifies the different properties that a headline should include to be considered an appropriate one (708-15); however, they will not be detailed in this paper for

two reasons, mainly because this article is not aimed at determining the appropriateness of headlines and also due to space restriction.

It is undeniable that the appearance of the Internet has changed not only the way people read the press but also the role of news headlines. Therefore, competitiveness increases because many sources take part in getting readers' attention on the web. Moreover, the need for a good headline that provokes readers' curiosity grows in order to make them open the article and read the whole story (Kuiken et al. 1300). As a result, news professionals have changed "the way they write headlines for their articles", basically, "by using words, phrases, and stylistic techniques" that provoke the previously mentioned effect on readers; the goal is to get as many readers interested in clicking as possible. (Kuiken et al. 1303) Under the umbrella term of *clickbait*, many different techniques can be used in a headline to achieve the mentioned goal, such as the use of questions, numbers, sentimental words, quotes and negativity, among others (1312). Stated differently, the headline goal may be explained as the art of providing the reader with the ideal proportion of context and a balanced processing effort (Dor 716). Accordingly, it might be expected that readers use the headline as a selection criterion, which leads them to decide whether or not to devote effort to reading the whole article. Dor concludes that headlines can be considered "relevance-optimizers," which act as an intermediary between readers and stories (720). In the same way, since readers' emotional and contextual resources are activated when interpreting a news headline, it can be stated that some pragma-linguistic and semantic devices are involved in processing it (Molek-Kozakowska 174).

As mentioned above, several factors have contributed to creating a distinction between broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. Apart from the original page size, some divergences have been noticed between the way that broadsheet and tabloid newspapers choose a news item, narrate it and present it to the reader by means of a headline. Consequently, it can be assumed that broadsheet and tabloid headlines will also differ in the way of writing their news headlines. According to Dor, broadsheet readers are supposed to be "more proficient, cognitively-energetic and curious" than readers who usually prefer tabloids. These qualities would explain the fact that broadsheet headlines are usually "longer, more complex and more difficult to read" than headlines in tabloid newspapers (719). However, this difference was remarked regarding printed headlines. On the Internet, on the other hand, headlines become longer, including more quotes and questions (Kuiken et al. 1312).

In general terms, tabloid newspapers deal with less serious news items and are related to sensationalism and celebrity gossip. Sensationalism can be interpreted as a discourse strategy used by tabloids so that news items are presented as more interesting and extraordinary and, indeed, more appealing to readers (Molek-Kozakowska 173). As a matter of fact, many scholars argue that sensationalism in news can be considered from a dual perspective: concerning

either the content of the news item or the formal features present in the news message (Alba-Juez 5). According to this, one of the motivations for the present paper is to elucidate whether or not there are noteworthy differences between both types of newspapers when dealing with the same issue.

Although sensationalism is a widely used term, it is not an easy task to determine which aspects or features can be described as sensationalist marks or signs. With regards to discourse analysis, there have been diverse attempts to formulate concrete frameworks to study digital communication; however, there are numerous factors related to digitally mediated discourse that make it difficult to achieve it (Jones et al. 1). Regarding sensationalism in tabloid headlines, Molek-Kozakowska makes a good attempt to establish a pragma-linguistic framework and determines among others the following features: (i) sensationalist illocutions; (ii) semantic macrostructures/themes; (iii) narrative formulas; (iv) evaluation parameters; (v) interpersonal and textual devices (182-93).

As far as illocutions are concerned, the author determines those categorised as sensationalist: "exposing, speculating, generalising, warning, and extolling," among others (Molek-Kozakowska 184). In the succeeding analysis of the corpus it will be stated that the main illocution in the analysed headlines is that of "warning" since all of them concern the same health issue, that is to say, the coronavirus disease. Within the semantic features, the scholar presents the most frequent themes considered as sensational and clarifies why the semantic macrostructures must be integrated into her framework. According to her, the lexical choices and the syntactic patterning in headlines are involved in "how subsequent text is to be comprehended and evaluated" (185). As a result, we will also study the lexical choice in our research, focusing not only on the most frequent words but also on the most frequent bigrams in both types of newspapers. On the other side, Molek-Kozakowska explains that narrative structures can be easily identified within the syntactic structure of headlines and concludes claiming that it is rather distinctive to find the climax before the complication (187). In our analysis, this aspect will also be studied, focusing on the use of the word *after* to differentiate both events of the story told in the headline. Likewise, the evaluation parameters refer to some discursive devices which depict newsworthiness such as the use of interrogative questions, negative terms and capital letters, among others (187-191). Therefore, some of these devices will be studied in the analysis of the corpus. Finally, among the interpersonal and textual devices, it is worth mentioning the use of direct vs indirect speech, as well as the presence of illocutionary verbs for the reporting (192). As could be expected, this aspect will also be considered in our study, presenting concrete examples in which the use of direct or reported speech can make a difference.

Needless to say, among all the serious issues that may concern the population, health is likely to be one of the most relevant and thoughtful, and, certainly, the scale of a health issue can be rapidly spread by means of the media. Starting from the premise that news is the information about new or recently happened

events, it might be assumed that what is published in newspapers is relevant to readers and is intended to arouse some degree of interest. Moreover, in some way, society influences the news and the covered stories in the media are motivated by a complex process of selection. In other words, if society creates news items, the way of telling them is a representation of the world and language is the tool used to do it. In addition, since language is defined as a semiotic code, it is undeniable that social traits are always present in news discourse, and in that sense, news is not a totally objective reflection of events (Fowler 2-4). Accordingly, it might be accepted the assumption that there are different ways of expressing or telling the same fact, and, as Fowler states, these differences convey social and ideological principles (4). Basically, these principles can establish a clear dissimilarity when presenting a news item in a newspaper headline. Besides, they can help determine the traditional distinction between broadsheet or quality newspapers and tabloid or popular ones.

Corpus

The corpus consists of 4,698 headlines extracted from the online version of eight different newspapers, four broadsheets: *The Guardian, The Financial Times, The Independent* and *The Telegraph*[4]; and four tabloids: *The Sun, The Mirror, The Express* and *The Daily Mail*[5]. The corpus has 71,529 tokens and 6,778 types, distributed as table 1 shows:

Newspapers	Tokens	Types
Broadsheets	15,217	2,829
Tabloids	56,312	6,096

Table 1. Distribution of the corpora

The selected headlines correspond to the period from 20th January to 20th February, coinciding with the increase of coronavirus cases in China and the beginning of the pandemic in the rest of the world. This period is interesting, since, as happened with SARS, at the beginning coronavirus was presented by the media as a potential threat, which would only affect Chinese people and not the rest of the world (Smith 3118). The choice of these newspapers was motivated by (i) the ideology, in order to have a representation ranging from the most conservative to the most left-wing newspapers; (ii) the quality, from the quality press, as *The Guardian* is considered, to down-market tabloids, such as *The Sun*, including mid-market tabloids, like *The Daily Mail* (Molek-Kozakowska. 181–182); and (iii) the websites, since they provide the possibility of gathering

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[4] https://www.theguardian.com/international, https://www.ft.com/;
https://www.independent.co.uk/, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/
[5] https://www.thesun.co.uk/; https://www.mirror.co.uk/; https://www.express.co.uk/;
https://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/index.html

previous headlines. The headlines have been manually extracted from each website, using the search box to look up the keyword 'coronavirus'. This action is twofold: on the one hand, this search works as a filter, easing the manual extraction, since this is a very tiresome and time-consuming activity; on the other, it guarantees the appearance of this word in each headline. The total number of compiled headlines corresponding to each newspaper as well as the total of each category can be seen in table 2:

Newspapers		Number of headlines
Broadsheets	*The Guardian*	425
	The Financial Times	246
	The Independent	295
	The Telegraph	*295*
	TOTAL	*1,261*
Tabloids	*The Express*	*513*
	The Mirror	*75*
	The Sun	*241*
	The Daily Mail	*2,608*
	TOTAL	*3,437*

Table 2. Number of headlines for each newspaper

As far as the number of headlines is concerned, it could be said that it is balanced in both newspaper types if not for *The Daily Mail*. Surprisingly, this one tabloid published more headlines than the four broadsheets together in the same period of time. Some characteristics of this newspaper are worth mentioning in order to understand this fact. First of all, *The Daily Mail* does not follow an overtly political ideology, but a more moderate editorial line and mainly it pays attention to both social and celebrity issues (Molek-Kozakowska 181-182). The fact that it does not only cover the coronavirus topic but also celebrities' problems with this disease may account for such a huge difference in number. In fact, gossiping is its key to success. According to BBC, the online version of *The Daily Mail* is the world's most visited newspaper. Experts highlight that how the celebrity gossip is presented, using plenty of images, and the fact that it does not have links to external websites are among the reasons why this tabloid has

become so popular in the last few years[6]. Apart from that, the coronavirus topic responds to one of the characteristics of sensationalism, that is, "that news items are selected for reporting to engage audiences emotionally" (Molek-Kozakowska 178). Definitely, treating health issues can be a controversial topic and when it becomes a global problem, the matter gets worse. The illness *COVID-19* is likely to be one of the most covered news items in recent years. From the very beginning, this new disease has been presented as a risk in the media, and, needless to say, living in a globalised world has contributed not only to the fast spread of this infectious disease but also to the creation of a social and health concern. The news flow over this period of time can be seen graphically in figure 1.
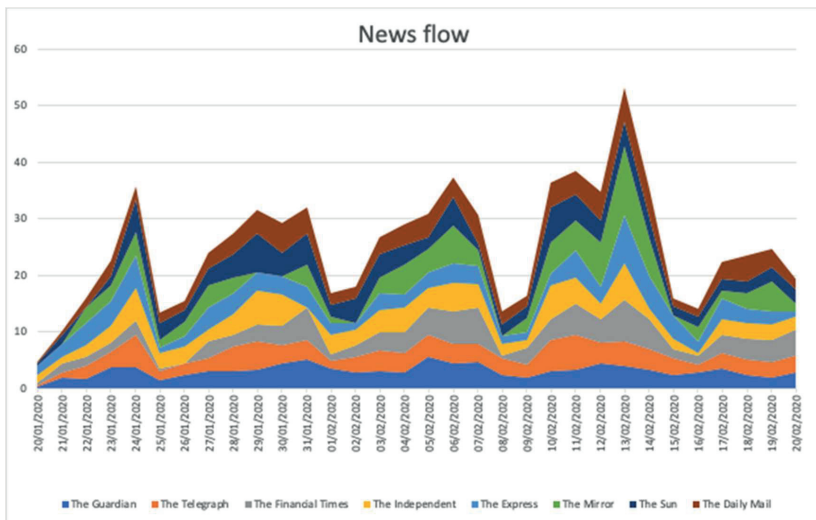
Fig. 1. Percentage of news flow from the 20th January to 20th February

There are two important aspects which can be inferred at first glance from figure 1: on the one hand, the four tabloids produce far more news per day than the broadsheets; on the other, it is evident that the number of news items has been increasing over time, though there are some peaks coinciding with important events regarding the coronavirus crisis. The first peak, 22nd and 23rd January, corresponds to the moment when the lockdown in Wuhan was decreed, the first place in the world where coronavirus was detected and also the first to take measures. The second peak, 30th and 31st January, coincides with the declaration of coronavirus as a Public Health Emergency of International Concern (PHEIC)[7] by the WHO. Regarding the third peak, 5th and 6th February, there is no single

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[6] https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-16746785
[7] As can be seen in the timeline created by WHO to inform people:
https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/27-04-2020-who-timeline---covid-19

event which provokes such a huge amount of news, but different ones. Although some of them have to do with the development of the crisis in China, the vast majority of them are related to the spread of coronavirus beyond China's borders. It is then when the coronavirus disease becomes a real threat, with the appearance of some cases in different countries, such as Australia, the US and the UK. On the one hand and related to China, news reported events as the possible case of an infected newborn, the fact that many people from different countries were in Wuhan at that moment and needed to be evacuated; and the death of the doctor who warned of the danger this disease may imply. On the other, regarding the rest of the world, important news items were: the cruise in which travellers had to be quarantined; the appearance of the third case in the UK and, consequently, the preparation of isolation rooms for future cases; the increase of cases in Australia and the possible impact this virus could have on the global economy. Another important aspect that needs to be mentioned is that in these days, organisations started to think about the cancellation of some important events (The Mobile World Congress or Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games). The graph reaches the highest peak in the period from 11th to 13th February when the WHO names both the coronavirus disease and the virus officially. Similarly, the increase of cases in the UK and starting to take measures wreaked havoc among citizens and the press.

Methodology

Corpus Linguistics

Although some authors claim that there is a "scarcity of corpus-based discourse studies" (Bhatia et al. 86) and that "the two things [discourse studies and corpus linguistics] are relatively poorly co-ordinated" (qtd. in Bhatia et al. 87), Corpus Linguistics has been chosen to do this analysis for two basic reasons: it deals with the study of language in use in a set of examples, that is, a linguistic analysis; and the dataset, which is a collection of text, is a corpus. In line with Lee's conception of Corpus Linguistics, it can certainly be applied to discourse studies. In fact, this author claims the existence of a type of analysis called "corpus-based discourse analysis (CBDA)" (Bhatia et al. 86).

Although there is some controversy between the experts who claim that Corpus Linguistics is a discipline and those who conceive it as a methodology, in this work, it is applied as a methodology. According to Lee, it can be conceived as a methodological innovation, that is, "a new way of accomplishing old goals", incorporating an approach, which means "a set of theoretical positions and beliefs about the nature of languages and how we can study it" (Bhatia et al. 87). Thus, Corpus Linguistics studies the language through a set of texts which are determinant to draw conclusions, and, consequently, corpus linguists study the language as the rest of linguists do. The difference lies in the use of some tools and techniques which help researchers deal with such a great number of texts (Bhatia et al. 87), such as *Sketch Engine* and the programming language *R* used in this research.

Most corpus-based research is both qualitative and quantitative, however, the difference stems from "how much the researcher actually lets the data determine the results" (Bhatia et al. 88). According to the nature of our analysis, this research can be classified as *corpus-supported*, specifically *corpus-supported critical discourse analysis* (Bhatia et al. 90). It is certainly worth mentioning the scholar Hardt-Mautner, who was a pioneer in doing a study of this type since he analysed a corpus of editorials from British newspapers reporting on the European political and economic integration. In the author's terms, this type of research is described as "concordancing effectively heralds a breaking down of the quantitative/qualitative distinction, providing as it does the basis for quantitative analysis without 'deverbalising' the data, that is, without transferring it, through human intervention, to the numerical mode" (qtd. in Bhatia et al. 90).

Tools: Sketch Engine and R

As previously mentioned, Corpus Linguistics basically deals with the management of certain tools which allow the linguists to explore texts saving time and effort, as a huge amount of information is able to be processed in most cases. As a result, two main tools have been used to do this analysis: Sketch Engine and the programming language R.

Sketch Engine[8] is a free software for corpus management and text analysis. According to Kilgariff et al., discourse analysis is one of the uses of Sketch Engine as it consists of the analysis "of a particular kind of language for what it tells us about the attitudes, power relations and perspectives of the participants" (15). Sketch Engine consists of two different things: the software and the web service. The web service includes both the corpus software and a large set of corpora in different languages. The software has many functions where the user can compile and store their own corpora as well as get some basic statistics related to the corpus analysis (Kilgarriff et al. 8). In this research, we use the two most important functions of Sketch Engine, namely word sketch, which gives this software its name (Kilgarriff et al. 9), and the concordance tool. The word sketch provides a detailed analysis of the words and their surroundings, that is, collocations or recurring patterns that show how words are used in language. This function is somehow connected with the concordance tool. When exploring the patterns displayed in the word sketch, the user may want to know more information about the context in which the words are used in language, hence the concordance. Since there are different types of queries, the context can also be explored using some filters to limit the search (Kilgarriff et al. 11). The list of keywords from each corpus has also been compared so as to see to what extent the lexical choice makes a difference.

Apart from Sketch Engine, we decided to make use of the programming language R, since it provides the user with a wide range of possibilities, not only to enrich

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[8] To use this program: https://www.sketchengine.eu/

the aforementioned text analysis but also in terms of visualization. R⁹ is a high-level programming language and a free software environment. Basically, it is a program for statistical computing, but it can be used for Linguistics (Desagulier). There are two main advantages of using R: on the one hand, it analyses texts in an automatic and computational way to look for patterns, this is known as *text mining*; on the other, it is free and open access, so there is a huge community of users who are constantly developing packages and libraries to carry out different types of analysis (Fradejas Rueda).

Analysis and Result Discussion

In this section, the study of the corpus is detailed at the same time that the results are discussed. This analysis is mainly based on the aforementioned framework, which Molek-Kozakowska develops to research the language used in news items classified as sensationalist. As mentioned before, the scholar states that there are two ways of indicating sensationalism in news: the selection of topics and the way in which the information is reported (174). Accordingly, we will assume that the coronavirus issue depicted in the compiled headlines is inherently sensationalist. Likewise, how the information is presented is the reason why we have decided to apply this framework not only to tabloids, which are assumed to be sensationalists by nature but also to broadsheets since they might be dealing with the coronavirus crisis in a sensationalizing way. Nevertheless, this theoretical framework will be enriched by some other resources appearing in related works (Fowler 171-80; Fuertes-Olivera et al. 1299–302 and Kuiken et al. 1302–03) and some devices observed during the manual extraction process. Therefore, the subsequent analysis will be divided into two domains: firstly, as we are interested in the way the information is presented to readers, we will focus on the lexico-pragmatic devices used in the different headlines. Secondly, we will study the different syntactic and textual devices used in the headlines when depicting the coronavirus issue. All these devices come to show to what extent sensationalism is present in the two types of newspapers regarding the coronavirus topic.

Lexico-pragmatic Devices

As mentioned above, the way of reporting news items is a representation of the world and, certainly, society is involved in this process. According to Fowler, the functional model developed by Halliday is essential to examining the relationship between the linguistic structure and society (68) since a language evolves in relation to social changes (Bakuuro 213). In a nutshell, speakers use language to represent and express their reality and, in this sense, headlines can be examined within Halliday's model. Needless to say that this model studies the nature of language and how it works to achieve an effective message for the reader. As stated in the theoretical framework section, according to Molek-Kozakowska (184), different illocutions can be identified in headlines: exposing, speculating, generalizing, warning, extolling, among others. As far as our corpus

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⁹ To download R: https://www.r-project.org/

is concerned, the main illocution found in the analysed headlines is that of warning, since it is about "generating anxiety about an issue, and optionally, offering suggestions as to how to reduce the possibility of falling victim" (Molek-Kozakowska 184). As a matter of fact, all the compiled headlines deal with the same issue, the coronavirus disease, and, as previously mentioned, the period of selection corresponds with the first stage of the illness, when the major problem was in China, a country far from Europe. The information collected in this first period records the plausible dangers and serious consequences that this virus can bring if the Europeans, in general, and the British, in particular, finally become infected. One clear example is how tabloids reported the alleged contagion of a man because he was next to a woman who was infected, as can be seen in examples (1)-(3):

> (1) Coronavirus warning as man catches virus after spending 15 SECONDS with infected woman (*The Express*)
> (2) SWIFT AND DEADLY Chinese man, 56, catches coronavirus in just 15 SECONDS after standing next to infected woman at market (*The Sun*)
> (3) Chinese man, 56, catchers the killer coronavirus 'within 15 SECONDS' of standing next to an infected woman at a market (*The Daily Mail*)

All of them highlight the fact that *in just 15 seconds* the contagion occured, which is an evident exaggeration and can be considered a clear trait of sensationalism. Although there are no instances of headlines reporting this event in the broadsheet category, there are others which might be also considered as sensationalist:

> (4) A man lies dead in the street: the image that captures the Wuhan coronavirus crisis (*The Guardian*)
> (5) Inside Wuhan: Dead man lies on empty streets at coronavirus ground zero (*The Telegraph*)
> (6) Coronavirus: Hospital workers 'wearing adult diapers because they do not have time to go to the bathroom' (*The Independent*)

This is clearly what Molek-Kozakowska refers to as a sensationalist topic (174), news items that intend to "engage audiences emotionally" (178). Certainly, there are more instances of news items reporting sensationalist events in tabloids than in broadsheets. However, as previously mentioned, sensationalism is not just about the nature of the topic but also about how the information is packaged in the headline. This latter feature is present in both newspaper types regarding this topic. As can be seen in the forthcoming examples, news items can be presented in a neutral way as in (7) in which the newspaper is just reporting a fact. Conversely, in headlines (8) and (9), the fact that the woman was Chinese is emphasised, suggesting that her nationality was the reason why they were not allowed to take that flight.

> (7) UK families face being split up in coronavirus evacuation plans (*The Telegraph*)

(8) Coronavirus: British family split up as Chinese wife not allowed on evacuation plane from Wuhan (*The Independent*)

(9) British family allowed to board evacuation flight with Chinese wife (*The Guardian*)

Although the examples report different stories, all of them revolve around the same topic, health, in general, and coronavirus, in particular. Thus, it could be assumed that all of them share the same function, that of warning people against the dangers of this disease; the purpose is to alert the readers about this issue, presenting the risks that falling victim will imply.

As stated above, news discourse is influenced by society, and because of it, this type of discourse cannot be considered a clear instance of objectivity (Fowler 2-4). It is undeniable that the way of presenting and structuring a message is essential to achieve our communicative goal and journalistic professionals are aware of this fact. Therefore, the lexical choice can be considered a powerful device to influence the audience. As a matter of fact, when dealing with health issues, the use of some particular words can be described as alarming or worrying. Some previous examples of this evidence are provided by Wilson, Thomson, and Mansoor in a study about the reporting of SARS by a specific newspaper. The scholars highlight the high frequency of words likely to be considered alarming, such as "deadly" (qtd. in Smith 3117-18).

As might be expected, the word choice is highly significant in the corpus. To begin with, an automatic extraction of the most frequent single words was done in the analysed headlines. It shows that words with unpleasant or alarming connotations, such as *deadly, outbreak, fear,* and *death* are frequently used in both types of newspapers (see fig. 2).
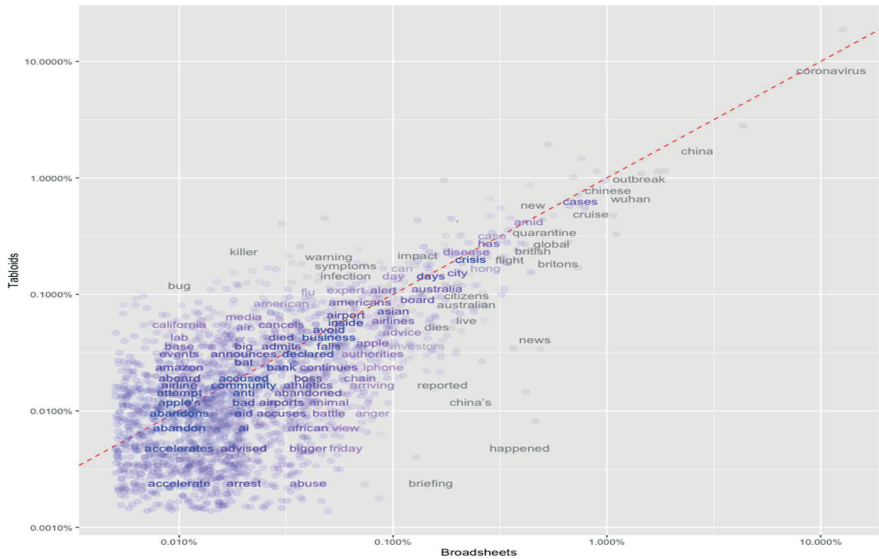
Fig. 2. Lexical comparison of most frequent words

The detailed frequency of the aforementioned words in the corpus is as follows. Firstly, the words *outbreak* and *death* are more frequent in broadsheets than in tabloids, although in the latter case the difference is not rather significant. The frequency of the word *outbreak* is 141 (92.65[10]) in broadsheets and 408 (72.45) in tabloids. Regarding the word *death*, it appears 46 times (30.22) in broadsheets, while it has 166 occurrences (29.47) in tabloids. Secondly, the lexical items *deadly* and *fear* have a higher number of concordances in tabloids. More specifically, the word *deadly* appears 55 (36.14) in broadsheets meanwhile it occurs 263 (46.70) in tabloids. The search of the lemma *fear* shows that it appears 83 (54.54) in broadsheets and 337 (59.85) in tabloids. As the percentages demonstrate, this lexical item with obvious negative connotations is part of the lexical choice of both types of newspapers.

Apart from these words which are common to both corpora, there are some others which are more specific to each corpus, although they are not among the most frequent ones. According to Fowler, "there are different ways of saying the same thing" (4), consequently, the expression of a news item depends on the ideology the newspaper holds. Thus, word and syntactic choice may reflect this ideological stance. The most significant example of this is the use of the word *bug* in tabloids to refer to the coronavirus. There are 51 concordances (9.05) of this word. This may not be meaningful looking at it in isolation, but it makes much more sense when compared with the broadsheet corpus. In the latter, the word *bug* only has 1 remarkable concordance. According to the Merriam Webster dictionary, *bug* refers not only to the common meaning of insect but also to "an often unspecified or nonspecific sickness presumed to be caused by such a microorganism". In tabloids, *bug* is used as a synonym of the word virus, so it may have a double sense ("bug"). The virus which causes this illness was unknown at the beginning, and for this reason, it is suitable to refer to it as a bug, referencing a general and vague word. However, as the meaning of insect is the most widespread among the population, it could be used to present the virus to the readers as something more concrete, which might frighten them. The same thing happens when looking at other words, such as *kill*, which occurs 48 times (8.52) in tabloids, whereas it only appears 2 times in broadsheets; and *panic*, which has 85 occurrences (15.09) in tabloids, while 19 (12.03) in broadsheets.

Likewise, there are other interesting words whose significance is not so considerable, but which also reflect the high sensationalism in tabloids. For example, the lemma *infect* is more frequent in tabloids (95 occurrences, 16.87) than in broadsheets (16, 10.13). As for the disease itself, it also receives different treatment by both newspaper types. Tabloids usually make use of a big variety of words to refer to the illness, again some of them showing sensationalism, such as *pandemic* (37 times versus 9 times in broadsheets), *plague* (44 times versus 3 times in broadsheets); and *epidemic* (44 times versus 10 times in

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[10] As the size of the corpora is not balanced, the normalised frequency is used. In this case, as the corpus is small, the frequency is calculated per 10,000 words.

broadsheets). As can be seen, all of them are far more frequent in tabloids than in broadsheets and all of them with a dramatic meaning.

In Corpus Linguistics, however, not only single words are significant when comparing lexicon, but it is also interesting to look at combinations of words, that is, multi-word expressions (or MWEs). In this study, we are going to pay attention to MWEs of two tokens, which are called bigrams. As can be seen in figures 3 and 4, the bigrams containing *coronavirus* are the most frequent ones in both corpora, standing out *coronavirus outbreak* that makes it clear that the spread of the illness was still at the first stage. Another significant bigram is *coronavirus fears*, showing the relation of this topic with risk and danger, because fear, either as a noun or as a verb, can be understood as the unpleasant feeling or thought of a plausible danger. The headlines not only warn of the health danger but also of the financial one. Likewise, the bigram *coronavirus death* occurs in both corpora. It might be interpreted two-fold: firstly, death is presented as a real risk since the onset of the disease; and secondly, it could be assumed that the frequency of this combination is a sensationalist trait because the number of dead people was not so high at the initial stage of the outbreak. Moreover, *death toll* is the subsequent more frequent noun phrase in the headlines. Unfortunately, it is undeniable that finally, death has become a regrettable fact.
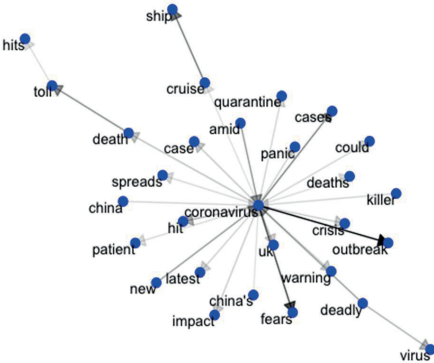
Fig. 3. Most frequent bigrams in tabloids   **Fig. 4.** Most frequent bigrams in broadsheets
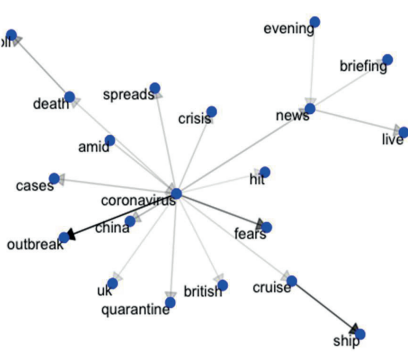
It might be asserted, however, that the word *coronavirus* plays a fundamental role in the headline compilation. Not only was *coronavirus* a selection criterion for the corpus, but this word is also used in the headline message as a linguistic device to influence readers, causing them worry, alarm, and even panic. In many of the selected examples (324 times in broadsheets versus 206 in tabloids), this word appears at the very beginning of the headline and before a colon. Following the aforementioned model by Halliday, two parts can be distinguished in the distribution of the message: *theme* and *rheme*. The *theme* is the given information, usually in front position, which acts as a starting point. Likewise, it is noteworthy that this initial position is aimed at causing a greater impact on

the audience. This fact can be clearly observed in the following examples (10-17):

> (10) Coronavirus: keep calm, carry on (*Financial Times*)
>
> (11) Coronavirus: health officials announce first known US case (*The Guardian*)
>
> (12) Coronavirus: How will the outbreak affect the global economy? (*The Independent*)
>
> (13) Coronavirus: British Airways suspends all flights to mainland China as outbreak spreads (*The Telegraph*)
>
> (14) Coronavirus: Recently returned travellers told to `self-isolate´ (*The Daily Mail*)
>
> (15) Coronavirus: UK tourist stranded on cruise ship only eaten cornflakes for two days (*The Express*)
>
> (16) Coronavirus: Brit couple trapped on Diamond Princess cruise ship test positive (*The Mirror*)
>
> (17) LOCKDOWN BRITAIN Coronavirus: Millions of sick Brits to be told 'stay off work for TWO WEEKS if deadly virus spreads in UK'(*The Sun*)

Undoubtedly, this lexical selection can be interpreted as an expression of sensationalism, present and used by both types of newspapers. As previously happened with SARS, the coronavirus disease is treated in headlines as a potential risk causing alarm in the population since the very beginning. The current coronavirus is presented as a killer virus, which can cause terrible consequences if the population is infected.

Syntactic and Textual Devices

From a syntactic point of view, the information in headlines needs to be packaged, so as to be informative in only a few words. Consequently, fully grammatical sentences are scarce. One of the resources to achieve this is to compress the structure of the headlines, which implies omitting or deleting mainly functional words, such as definite or indefinite articles (*a, the*) or some verbs (*is*, *are*), mainly auxiliaries (Montgomery 80-81). Since this resource is very characteristic of headlines in general, it is present in both tabloids and broadsheets, since it is related to space reduction.

> (18) Wall St steady as investors assess China virus impact (*The Financial Times*)
>
> (19) Coronavirus: UK tourist stranded on cruise ship only eaten cornflakes for two days (*The Express*)

As far as temporality is concerned, adverbs are usually deleted from headlines because of space restriction. This peculiarity, together with the use of non-finite clauses, may cause a loss in causal relations (Montgomery 82). To avoid this, the conjunction *as* is employed to join two subordinate clauses in which each event is "treated as somehow continuous with another and with the moment of the

utterance" (Montgomery 82). The following examples (20) and (21) are just an illustration of it.

> (20) European shares dip as Chinese coronavirus concerns deepen (*The Guardian*)
>
> (21) British tourist fighting for life in Thailand is feared to be first western victim of new Chinese coronavirus as third patient DIES and outbreak spreads to South Korea (*The Daily Mail*)

However, this is not always the case and sometimes newspapers make use of syntactic structures to indicate the temporality that is needed in reporting certain events. It can be considered, then, that there is a short narrative of a series of events in each headline. As mentioned above, in order to achieve sensationalism, the "climax precedes the complication" and the use of the word *after* in headlines can be interpreted as a clear sign of this narrative order (Molek-Kozakowska 186-7). As can be seen in the following examples (22-29), there is always an event at the beginning of the sentence which refers to the consequence or *climax*, in Molek-Kozakowska's terms (186-87), followed by the cause or *complication* which provokes that consequence. The consequence is presented as the first element in the headline with a clear aim, to catch readers' attention and to achieve sensationalism. Definitely, the examples show that this linguistic device is found in every newspaper

> (22) Coronavirus subject sparks panic after wandering through CANCER unit and staff offices (*The Express*)
>
> (23) Precautions stepped up after fourth death in China blamed on coronavirus (*The Daily Mail*)
>
> (24) Coronavirus: Brit tourist's first stop is McDonald's after being 'cured' of bug (*The Mirror*)
>
> (25) VIRUS PANIC Three police officers quarantined over coronavirus fears in Stoke-on-Trent after 'Chinese' prisoner falls ill in custody (*The Sun*)
>
> (26) Stocks recover after deep coronavirus sell-off (*The Financial Times*)
>
> (27) Australian man tested for coronavirus after returning from China with respiratory illness (*The Guardian*)
>
> (28) Coronavirus outbreak: Bristol police stations closed after Chinese detainee falls ill (*The Independent*)
>
> (29) Wuhan Mayor offers to resign after admitting slow response to coronavirus outbreak (*The Telegraph*)

As mentioned before, the change in the way people consume news has provoked a change in the devices used to attract readers' attention. Nowadays what the media looks for is an increase in the clicks. Questions are closely related to the *clickbait* phenomenon, since they "initiate cognitive processes" and "generate attention, interest, and curiosity in a particular communication, to establish agreement or concessions with this communication, and, in turn, induce certain types of behaviors" (Lai and Fabrot 290). This technique is not only used in newspaper but also in other fields, such as politics and marketing. Question headlines are usually combined with elements of self-referencing, as personal

pronouns in the 1st or 2nd plural person (*you, we, us*), to involve the reader and make them identify with their beliefs (Lai and Fabrot 291). In our corpora, questions are found in both types of newspapers with a slight difference in the frequency. Whereas in the broadsheets the frequency is 30.39, it is higher in tabloids (40.84). The use of this device comes to show once again that both types of papers take advantage of the same techniques to achieve the same goal.

> (30) Coronavirus: do airport screenings and face masks work? (*The Telegraph*)
>
> (31) Coronavirus UK: What are the symptoms and what is the NHS advice? (*The Mirror*)

In order to catch readers' attention, headlines usually take advantage of a typographical device to signal emphasis such as the use of capital letters is. Although capitalisation is not used in each newspaper, there is a more frequent occurrence of headlines with capital letters in tabloids than in broadsheets. As the following examples show (32-35), this device is used in just one word, two, three, or even the whole headline, focusing the emphasis on only one part of the message or on the whole, and, as a result, trying to provoke a response in the reader.

> (32) Coronavirus LIVE: Two die after contracting DEADLY virus on board Japanese cruise Ship (*The Express*)
>
> (33) PLAGUE PANIC China 'rounds up and executes dogs to stop coronavirus' even though no evidence of it spreading to pets (*The Sun*)
>
> (34) US STOCKS SNAPSHOT-Wall St slips from record levels at open on fears over new coronavirus case count (*The Daily Mail*)
>
> (35) CORONAVIRUS: HEATHROW AIRPORT CREATES SEPARATE ARRIVAL AREA FOR PASSENGERS ARRIVING FROM WUHAN (*The Independent*)

Interestingly, examples with every word in capital letters are found in broadsheet headlines, what might be interpreted as a clear sign of sensationalism. In broadsheets, all 42 occurrences are found in just one newspaper, *The Independent*, whereas in tabloids, headlines with words in capital letters appear in three out of the four newspapers (*The Mirror* is the only one which does not use them). In *The Sun*, the most sensationalist newspaper, every headline (241) contains one or two words in capital letters at the beginning, working as keywords of the rest of the headline. Regarding *The Express*, there are 118 headlines with capital letters, in which there are one or two words with this format to emphasise some aspects, such as time or places. With regards to *The Daily Mirror*, it combines both, headlines which are totally written in capital letters (9) and headlines containing only one or two words (442), again in order to highlight some important information about the news.

Additionally, another device found in headlines, which is sometimes related to the use of capital letters is *forward referencing*. This resource refers to the use of signal words in a cataphoric way, such as demonstrative (*this, these*) or interrogative pronouns (*why, who*) to make reference to some information which is included in the article, encouraging the reader to look at the whole article (Kuiken et al. 1303). These words usually appear in capital letters to catch readers' attention, and it is a very useful technique to achieve the clickbait phenomenon. As the example (36) shows, if the reader wants to know what *THIS* refers to, they should continue reading the whole article.

> (36) UK coronavirus symptoms: Study finds new way coronavirus spreads - avoid infection by THIS (*The Express*)

The use of direct or indirect speech in headlines might be an interesting aspect to involve the reader in the headline and consequently, to make them read the whole story. As Molek-kozakowska states, the interpretation of the quote might be misunderstood due to a lack of appropriate or enough context (192). However, from our point of view, including somebody else's exact words contribute to making the story more realistic. The focus is rather on the precise words than on the person who says them. Certainly, there are many remarkable examples of this premise in the analysed corpus, such as the following:

> (37) 'I walked through the Wuhan fish market every day and have not been tested for the coronavirus', says British teacher (*The Telegraph*)
> (38) 'I could be spreading the disease everywhere': British teacher who lived next to seafood market at centre of coronavirus outbreak was 'wrongly' told he didn't need testing after returning to the UK (*The Daily Mail*)

Despite the fact that both examples make reference to the same event, it is treated differently. It is worth mentioning that the exact words appear in front position, demanding readers' attention. In both cases, the agent (*a British teacher*) is introduced in the headline story though it is presented as an anonymous person. The crucial fact is what was said and not by whom. In the example (37), the presence of the introductory verb (*says*) makes the reported words more dramatic. This feature is very frequent in headlines to achieve this effect. The change in the reporting verb heightens the dramatic force of the headline message as shown in the forthcoming examples (39-41).

> (39) UK warns coronavirus outbreak will 'get worse before it gets better' (*The Financial Times*)
> (40) 'We could have two viruses spreading at once': Deadly coronavirus could cause CHAOS in winter when the winter flu season hits, leading doctor warns (*The Daily Mail*)
> (41) Coronavirus alert: Virus could be 'catastrophic' as expert warns nCoV reaches 'PANDEMIC' (*The Express*)

As the example (41) shows, sometimes a general source (*experts, doctors*) is introduced in the headline by means of a subordinate clause using the conjunction *as* and a reporting verb to achieve a more realistic perspective.

Conclusions

There is no doubt that a wide variety of linguistic devices can be used when reporting a news item in order to achieve the main goal of journalism, to wit, to get as many readers as possible. These linguistic resources, typical in journalistic language, are used in the analysed headlines in order to show different ways of dealing with the coronavirus disease. Although both types of newspapers deal with the same topic, it is noteworthy that both present it as a real danger and as a serious threat. Surprisingly, the research demonstrates that both types of newspapers show some sensationalist features, aimed at catching readers' interest. Nonetheless, tabloids, as could be expected, always include more instances of every device that, according to the theoretical framework, is considered to be sensationalist.

Significantly, this way of reporting news seems to be an increasingly more frequent practice, since nowadays readers usually consume more information on the Internet. The different devices analysed in the research indicate that sensationalism is present in both types of papers; certainly, to a greater extent in tabloids. From our point of view, this fact reduces objectivity when introducing the news item to the readers and the information loses journalistic rigour. Consequently, getting as many clicks as possible is more important than information.

Although English speakers still differentiate between the broadsheet and tabloid newspapers, it seems that this distinction is increasingly blurred, with examples of broadsheets, such as *The Independent*, which has actually adopted a tabloid-style (use of capital letters, questions, etc.). Certainly, broadsheets, such as *The Guardian, The Telegraph* or *The Financial Times* seem to be more serious at first glance; however, as has been shown, they also report on sensationalist topics using devices which have always been characteristic of tabloids and, consequently, sensationalism. To conclude, it can be said that there are no remarkable differences between both types of newspapers when dealing with the same health issue because in greater or lesser degree all the selected papers make use of these linguistic devices, thereby presenting the news item in as interesting a way as possible.

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Traces of Orientalist Discourse in World War I:
Memoirs of Two British War Prisoners on Ottoman Turkey
Birinci Dünya Savaşı İngiliz Tutsakların Anıları ve Şarkiyatçı Söylem

Hasan Baktir
Yasemin Ayan
Erciyes University, Turkey

Abstract

This paper explores the representation of the Ottoman Empire in the memoirs of two English captives - John Still and Harry Coghill Watson Bishop. First, the paper discusses the idea of the orient in European history through Edward Said's theory of Orientalism. Secondly, this study examines the reflection of the orientalist discourse in Still's and Bishops' captivity accounts during World War I when they fought against the Ottoman soldiers. Still participated in World War I and was held as a prisoner of war until the end of the Great War, and during his captivity in Turkey, he kept a record of his observations and feelings about the Ottoman Empire. He published *A Prisoner in Turkey* as an account of his captivity. On the other hand, Bishop fought in the Kut-Al Amara battles as a second lieutenant in the Indian Army in the early days of the war. He was also taken as a captive on the 29th of April 1916. Through a long journey from Bagdad to Ankara, he reached Kastamonu and stayed there as a prisoner of war for almost two years during which he wrote memoirs about his captivity in Turkey.

Keywords: Orientalism, World War I, captivity, war memoir, John Still, H.C.W. Bishop.

Öz

Bu makalenin amacı, John Still ve H.C.W. Bishop isimli iki İngiliz askerin esaret anılarında kullandıkları şarkiyatçı söylemi analiz etmektir. Makalenin başında Avrupa tarihindeki şarkiyatçı söylemin izleri tartışılacaktır. Bu tartışma Edward Said'in oluşturduğu Orientalizm teorisi üzerinden yapılacaktır. Makalenin bir sonraki bölümünde Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna karşı savaşan Britanya asıllı askerlerin izlenimlerinden örnekler verilecektir. Son olarak da makalenin konusunu oluşturan iki İngiliz askerin esaret anılarında şarkiyatçı söylemin nasıl kullanıldığı açıklanacaktır. Still, Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Çanakkale cephesinde Osmanlı ordusuna karşı savaşan ve 1915'te Anafartalar'da Türklerin eline esir düşen 5 askerden biridir. Esareti Dünya Savaşının sonuna kadar devam etmiştir. Esaret anılarında Osmanlı Devleti, memurlar ve Türk toplumu konusunda kayıt tutmuştur. Anılarını daha sonra *A Prisoner in Turkey* başlığı ile yayımlamıştır. Harry Coghill Watson Bishop, Türklere karşı Kut-Al Amara cephesinde savaşan ve burada esir düşen diğer bir İngiliz askerdir. İngiliz ordusuna Hindistan taburundan katılanlar arasındadır. 29 Nisan 1916 tarihinde esir düşmüştür. Esareti sırasında Bağdat üzerinden Ankara'ya ulaşmıştır. Ankara'dan Kastamonu'ya götürülmüş ve burada 2 yıl esir olarak kalmıştır. Bishop da esaret anılarını yazmış ve yayımlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Birinci Dünya Savaşı, esaret, anı yazını, John Still, H.C.W. Bishop.

Introduction

The earliest examples of the conflict between European and Asian civilizations existed in the works of ancient writers such as Aristophanes, Aeschylus, and Herodotus. For example, *The History of Herodotus,* written in 440 B.C., reflects the earliest Europeans' idea of the Orient. Herodotus writes about his observations and descriptions of Egypt, Asia, and Africa. He provides an account of the Egyptians' gender norms, religious ceremonies, clothing styles, gods, feasts, holy animals, burial, mummification practices and kings. Herodotus argues that the Egyptian world is entirely different from Europe in terms of traditions, geography, and climate. He writes: "In other countries, the priests have long hair, in Egypt, their heads are shaven; elsewhere it is customary, in mourning, for near relations to cut their hair; the Egyptians, who wear no hair at any other time, when they lose a relative, they let their beards and the hair of their heads grow long" (Herodotus 238). The unfamiliar and strange customs of the Egyptians are the focal point of the book, discriminating the Asian from the rest of the world. Thus, the representations based on discrimination of the other dominate the overall discourse of Herodotus' *History*, which is regarded as the earliest text reflecting the image of the East. Herodotus's work is an early example for the European view of the orient. Greeks and Persians had been in contact and on-going conflict. The Greeks served as doctors, engineers, mercenaries and artists in the Persian Empire (Balcer 261-62). Contrary to their close relationships, the "Persian Other" was portrayed by the Greeks as childlike figures. Aristophanes creates oriental characters such as the Scythian archer in *Thesmophoriazusae* or Triballos, the Thracian god of Birds, in *Birds*. He presents such characters with a broken language, unintelligent mind, lustful and savage nature (Bravo 60). By doing so, he draws the line between Greeks and Persians based on a binary opposition.

The conflict between European and Asian cultures is intensified with the advent of Islam after the 7th century across a vast geographical area in the Middle East, Persia, and North Africa. When Islamic states conquered several important places of Christianity, the Europeans responded with the Crusade campaigns. The Europeans felt more depressed and insecure when the Ottoman power extended its border to the middle of Europe. Conquering Constantinople, the Balkans, as well as besieging Vienne, the Easterners, especially the Turks, posed the most significant threat to the European civilisation until the 17th century. The European response to the Ottoman advancement was military and cultural. The Medieval polemics on Islam and Muslim were revived and the stereotypes re-created to compensate the loss and defeat. For instance, English playwright Shakespeare reiterates the common stereotypes in his plays. Some of his plays, such as *Hamlet, Othello,* and *The Tempest,* include the stereotypes of the Orientals. There are diverse and binary characters in *Othello* and *The Tempest*: black Africans, and Moors as vulgar, and white Europeans as civilized. In *The Tempest*, while Caliban represents uncivilised, uneducated, deprived savage, Prospero, the white European, is depicted as a civilised, educated and righteous ruler. In *Othello*, the protagonist is portrayed as a strange Moor, an honourable commander in Venice, only to turn into "an honourable murderer at the end of

the play" (153). Similarly, in *Hamlet*, the protagonist, Hamlet, states that "if the rest of my fortunes turn Turk" (Shakespeare, *Hamlet* 104) to emphasize the "evil change of his fortune" as Christians turn Turk. As a result, the Oriental characters in such canonical works reflect the early examples of the oriental discourse that embodies the binary opposition.

Theoretical Background

Said develops comprehensive argument on the European idea of the orient in his seminal work *Orientalism*. Said constructs his theory with reference to the rise of the European colonial extension and power in Africa and Asia. Emphasizing the relation between power and knowledge, Said uses Foucault's theory of discursive practices. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault studies statements and their relationships, and for him, it is not simple to create a new statement because "it exists under positive conditions of a complex group of relations" (Foucault 44). Said refers to earlier studies and practices to analyse the contingency between different studies, readers, and discourses about the Orient, claiming that such contingency "constitutes an analysable formation" (Said 20). The bond between discourses, images, and descriptions of the Orient enables these writers to add a piece to the Oriental pictorial chain. For this reason, Said states that the bond of Oriental issues creates an "enormously systematic discipline," and it makes the Orient "not a free subject of thought or action" but a subject related to the former works (Said 3). Since it is not possible to cover the "author's involvement as a human subject in his circumstances" completely, the reader may face identity conflict (11). It can be said that portraying the Orient takes place under the existing Western images. The Europeans represent the "mysteries" of the East "to the West" (21). Therefore, the Orient is pushed into the background about Western matters.

The discourse formed and maintained by the Orientalist creates an academic field. Said argues that this academic side of Orientalism empowers the oriental discourse. The European scholarship embodies such discourse using certain stereotypes consistently. Said explains the academic aspect of the Orientalism as follows:

> In the depths of this Oriental stage stands a prodigious cultural repertoire whose individual items evoke a fabulously rich world: the Sphinx, Cleopatra, Eden, Troy, Sodom and Gomorrah, Astarte, Isis and Osiris, Sheba, Babylon, the Genii, the Magi, Nineveh, Prester John, Mahomet, and dozens more; settings, in some cases names only, half-imagined, half-known; monsters, devils, heroes; terrors, pleasures, desires. (63)

In *Orientalism*, Said also claims that the Oriental discourse stems from power efficiency. Again, he relies on Foucault's idea of power and knowledge. In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison,* Foucault destroys the conventional

idea of knowledge. According to the conventional belief, "knowledge can exist only where power relations are suspended and that knowledge can develop only outside its injunctions, its demands and its interest" (Foucault 27). In other words, knowledge improves itself independently from power, for "knowledge does not merely mask, serve or expose power" (Kenan 14). Contrary to the conventional thought, power and knowledge complete each other because, to Foucault, knowledge is influenced by power and those who know also have power or vice versa.

Power and knowledge have a strong relationship that dominates the Oriental discourse and image. To illustrate this, Said introduces a discussion of a lecture which Arthur James Balfour, a British statesman, gave at the House of Commons. In his speech, Balfour attempts to justify the British hegemony in Egypt. However, he does not rationalise the British rule based on economic or political power, but on the in-depth knowledge that the English administrators have about Egypt's history. Said explains Balfour's speech over Egypt, and shows how he justifies the nomination as follows:

> Knowledge to Balfour means surveying a civilization from its origins to its prime to its decline—and of course, it means being able to do that. Knowledge means rising above immediacy, beyond self, into the foreign and distant. The object of such knowledge is inherently vulnerable to scrutiny; this object is a "fact" which, if it develops, changes, or otherwise transforms itself in the way that civilizations frequently do, nevertheless is fundamentally, even ontologically stable. To have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it. And authority here means for "us" to deny autonomy to "it"—the Oriental country— since we know it and it exists, in a sense, as we know it. (32)

Although the Europeans are outsiders in the Orient, they act as if they have much more say in governing than the natives do. To Balfour, all through history, the Orient is shown to have failed to develop and remains primitive. Thus, Egypt has no right to judge or speak about western intervention. The knowledge about the Orient makes the West superior over the far and foreign East. The Orient is supposed to remain silent since the Europeans see its inhabitants inferior. Therefore, Europe acts, decides, governs, shapes, and speaks for her. Said writes: "There are Westerners, and there are Orientals. The former dominate; the latter must be dominated, which usually means having their land occupied, their internal affairs rigidly controlled, their blood and treasure put at the disposal of one or another Western power" (36).

The Oriental discourse derived from knowledge and power relationships paves the way for the formation of two conflicting statements between the East and the West. Europe classifies the Oriental discourse by comparing their traditions, customs, and policies with those in the Orient with the intent of gaining authority over the Orient. The traditional Oriental discourse suggests two qualities: it simultaneously emphasizes the European superiority and the inferiority of the Orient. To illustrate this point, Said cites from Cromer's speech about Egypt. As Balfour does, Cromer, the British representative in Egypt,

depicts the Orient and decides for the Orient thanks to his "knowledge". In contrast to Balfour, Cromer's Oriental ideas stand out, since he had experienced in the East, both in India and in Egypt, for a couple of years. He pictures Oriental peoples as "intrigue, cunning, inveterate liars and lethargic and suspicious" (38). The Europeans, on the other hand, are "reasoners, natural logicians" (38). Said links the two opposite discourses to the "political vision of reality," adding that this attitude sharpens "the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them')" (43). Thus, the opposite statements place the West in the superior race status, but it "others" the East as an inferior race.

The accounts of the European captives are widely read by the public and such accounts are not free from an imperialist point of view. The accounts that embody European superiority over the Eastern world take further attention. Yet, the same is not true about the captives who may face conversion in the alien world of the enemy. Captives whose family provide the ransom or politically important captives may be emancipated (Matar, *Captives* 153). The rest should suffer captivity. The suffering captives ostracize the enemy because of social and cultural differences. The Europeans captivated by Turk reiterate the common images and stereotypes about the orient. The "terrible" Turks live in luxury at "labyrinthine palaces and courts, have glamorous love affairs, and dangerous liaisons" (Matar, *Captives* 194). The *One Thousand and One Nights* stories are transformed into captivity context to meet the expectations of the public. As Matar suggests, "the sweet rural scene … charming groves add pathos and misery to the slaves chained" (*Captives* 195). The beautiful and panoramic geography of the East is in contrast with the violent, vulgar, primitive and lascivious image of the easterners. The nature and the people are discriminated against and alienated to one another. This dichotomy is an imperial attitude which implies the natural lack of relationship between people and space. This ideology embodies a cynical desire to justify the imperial conquest. While the East represents an uncivilized nation, the West becomes civilized and has the right to dominate the Eastern space. Although Matar and Said discuss the different sides of the East, they meet on the common ground about the stereotyped image of the East. In both accounts, the Western writers' or captives' discourses end up with the same conclusion; that is, the East is alien and passive, so the domination of the West is the "right" intervention. As the West has increased its colonial power in different parts of the world, its influence can be marked in every genre of imaginative work, even the captivity story.

Orientalist Outlook of Two Captives: John Still and H.C.W. Bishop

Until the mid-1916, Britain failed to win any great victory both on the West and Eastern fronts. The Gallipoli campaign ended up with a great disaster on the first days of 1916; the battles in Kut came to an end with the capture of the whole

British army, of about 25,000 troops, in April of the same year. During these battles, many a British soldier found the opportunity to apply their school-learnt knowledge to the place and the native people, as well as reveal their true feelings about these places and people. Many of them participated in this war with a centuries-old dream about the East. Patrick Huston Shaw-Stewart remarked his true feelings in a letter to Ronald Knox: "I shall take Constantinople and avenge the Byzantine Empire" (Hassal 319). Rupert Brooke, John Masefield, and Captain MacKenzie were also educated men fighting in the Dardanelles to realise the crusade dream. A priest defined this war as the final crusade, stating that Constantinople would come under the rule of Christians (Riley-Smith 78). Rupert Brooke and Patrick Shaw-Stewart were fellow officers in the same company heading for Gallipoli. En route to their destination, their troopship called at Skyros Island. Prime Minister Herbert Asquith's son, Arthur Asquith ('Oc') and Patrick Shaw-Stewart paid a visit to a village on the island, having "so vivid and deep information about the place where the native peasants lived that they impertinently inquired their familiarity with the ancient stories. [... but] later finding out that the Greek they spoke was very different from that of the ancient one" (Güllübağ 60). They knew more about the island than the native inhabitants. From *On the Road to Kut,* which is a war-memoir by an anonymous British soldier, we learn about the battles in Mesopotamia and about the Karbala Battle. The work recounts the Mesopotamian Battle from a soldier's first-hand experience. The soldier witnesses the Mesopotamian Battle from the beginning to the surrender of the British army at Kut-al Amara. The author has fascinatingly detailed knowledge of the history of this corner of the world. He refers to "Karbala," a significant event in Islamic History, and provides detailed information about the struggle between Sunni and Shia people (Anonymous 83-5). Captain Reynardson, a regimental officer in the Mesopotamian Battle, describes his observation in *Mesopotamia 1914-15*. Reynardson has in mind both the Oriental history of Mesopotamia and fairy tales of Baghdad. He reflects on his view of *One Thousand and One Nights* and the early Islamic history. He writes about Basra and the tragedy of Husain and his followers at Karbala (Reynardson 43-4). Also, he states that the fairy tales of "the gorgeous East" still exist, and the life of "the garrulous barber and his six brothers" might be staged in the dim street (Reynardson 46). Through the domination of Mesopotamia, they would obtain the economic wealth of the East, as well as the fantastic side of Mesopotamia. Besides, he compares the Turkish and British rules in Mesopotamia. He believes that this region would turn into a better place under the English dominance. Turks are "undesirable characters," turning the place into a mess and the East is economically, socially, and politically corrupt (40). Thus, his military expedition constitutes a journey in search of the fantastic Oriental world and its history.

Brooke and Stewart fought as an army official against Turks. Their imperial desire and colonial ambitions are obvious in the style and form of their memoirs. There are also infantry who fought against the Ottomans in different fronts. John Still was a Lieutenant in the 6th East Yorks when they attacked the hill in Anafarta from Suvla Bay on the 9th of August, 1915 (Still 27). Five soldiers

reached the hill, but they were captured by the Turks before the Dardanelles Campaign was over (29). Then, his captivity began in Turkey, and he was held as a prisoner of war until the end of the Great War. During his captivity, he stayed in Ankara and Afyon. He kept a record of his observations and feelings about the Ottoman Empire, the political system, Turkish officers, and people in Turkey, published in his first-hand experience book entitled *A Prisoner in Turkey.* He also wrote poems during his captivity, and his poems appeared in *Poems in Captivity.* After the war, he was rewarded for participating in World War I with "the Victory Medal".[1] Still reflects the unbearable condition of the war and captivity related to the war in his accounts which include certain similarities with the other British prisoners' perspectives about the Turks and the Ottoman Empire. This hostile perspective prevailing in Still's works against the enemy needs further discussion.

Studies on World War I primarily focus on the reasons and results of the war, as well as its impact on different nations. However, the real fighters or actors, in other words, soldiers and captives, remained in the background. They were the first-hand witnesses, but they remained the unvoiced side of the war. While the states had many expectations regarding the war, the soldiers' awareness about the colonial expectations needs to be studied. Thus, both Harry Coghill Watson Bishop and John Still's accounts will shed light on the imperial desire of the British prisoners in World War I in the Oriental Ottoman Empire.

The common stereotypes on the East are reiterated in the captivity accounts of the British captives. Matar states that the British conquered India through "Eurocentric" discourse and legitimised their colonization (Matar, *Moors* 17). England calls the Turks deceitful as they describe American-Indian (13). This image also dominates in *A Prisoner in Turkey*. Still remarks that, in Turkey, officers give orders, but they do not follow them strictly, and they know that rules have been broken. To explain the loose Turkish system, he draws lines for both the Turkish and the British. While the British line is strict and difficult to bend, the Turkish line goes up and down (Still 123). Furthermore, he adds that the broken law and order system coming from the past of the Empire leads to its collapse (123). Besides, Still depicts the Turks as liars and likens the attitudes of the Turks to "gilded villainy" as they would break promises often (42). Furthermore, Still emphasizes the superior identity of the Western nation over the Turks. Related to the flexibility in law and order, Still has trouble understanding how the Turks managed to govern a long-standing Empire, but that "all real organisations such as it was, has been done by Greeks, Armenians and Jews, by subject people, slaves, half-breeds and poly-breeds" (125). He finds it mysterious for the Turks "to run an Empire" and he believes that the military accomplishments by the Turks were through "the supports of the Germans" (125). He portrays Turks in a passive light, which gives Western powers the legal right to govern the systems and properties of the East. As a result of corrupted

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[1]*Record Details for John Still,* https://www.forces-war-records.co.uk/. Accessed 19 May 2019.

systems, the existence of the enemy is only possible with the intervention of the West.

The moral corruption of the Muslim Turkish soldier is compared to the Christian manner of the German soldier. Even though the Germans were the enemy of the English, they became friends during their captivity in Turkey. Still underlines the brotherhood between Westerners in Turkey. He compares both Turkish and German soldiers in terms of their attitudes towards prisoners. First, he states that both Germans and the Turks mistreat prisoners of war, but the prisoners under the German rule are exposed to better conditions. He compares the condition of the prisoners of war in Turkey and Germany from a story of a prisoner:

> The only prisoner we ever had who had been a prisoner in Germany too during this war he had escaped from there and been recaptured said that the difference in treatment between the worst places in Germany and Turkey was this: in Germany, the men were ill-treated until they became ill, and were then put into the hospital; in Turkey, they were ill-treated until they became ill and were then ill-treated more until they died. (Still 185)

Concerning the cruel nature of the Turks, he tells of a British captive story. In that story, the man is given sterilized bandage for its leg, but he finds out later that it is second hand and involves some lice (Still 138). Still dehumanises the Turks with such stories. Still, when the Turks take action, the darker side of them shows up. Thus, the different attitudes towards Armenians underline the polarised discourse between the East and the West again. Although Still deals with dehumanization and the primitiveness of the Turks, he does not touch on the religious discourse or the so-called homosexuality among the Turks. Homosexuality is used as a tool in such cases to "distance, dehumanize, and ultimately render the Other" (Matar, *Moors* 109).

At the end of the war, Still thinks that the systems of the Ottoman Empire are about to die, and recovery seems impossible to him because "they have no aptitude for wider forms of business and banking, building and organizing, or any form of creative work" (Still 244-45). The Turks have reached the end of the road with the Ottoman Empire, and they are far away from the industrial and superior conditions of the West. Still explains the distance of the two nations' development with the image of a cliff. England is on the top of this cliff, and the Ottoman Empire remains at the bottom (245). The comparison of the Turkish and British systems gives the right to England to intervene in the Turkish economic systems. He states:

> The only future for Turkey seems to be for the whole race to go back to the land until from the soil there rises middle-class able overtime to produce rulers of men. In the meantime, some European Power or America should have a mandate, not only the League of Nations' mandate, but the Turks' mandate, to do for them the things they cannot do; to provide judges and governors, railway and postal controllers, and

> to officer the police force. I believe they would, by British or Americans, be the easiest people on earth to rule. (247)

In addition to John Still, Harry Coghill Watson Bishop fought in Kut-Al Amara battles as a second lieutenant in the Indian Army in the early days of the war. Bishop arrived in Basra on the 2nd of October 1915, and he was taken captive on the 29th of April in 1916. Through a long journey from Bagdad to Ankara, he reached Kastamonu and stayed there as a prisoner of war for almost two years.

Bishop touches on the deceptive identity of the Turks without considering the circumstances. He is biased and far from being impartial: The flexible identity of the Turks, in a negative sense, dominates his memoir, *A Kut Prisoner.* The otherness of the East is one of the main features used by European writers who had colonial dreams about the Orient. Even in the powerful era of the Ottoman Empire, they expressed the real intention through stereotyped discourses. In their Oriental texts, while positive discourses describe the West, the derogatory language identifies the East. Matar explains how they justify the colonisation through the othering discourse: "They maintain their sense of national superiority over the undefeated Moors and Turk ... sustain the Eurocentric version of themselves they had developed during their conquest of the Indians" (Matar, *Moors* 17). The stereotyped discourse includes derogatory statements like dehumanization, cruelty, deceptiveness of the Turks. While this discourse separates the West from the East, it emphasizes the superiority of Europe over the Orient. In Bagdad, Bishop complains about a similar matter. He states that "we had been promised furnished quarters but found bare floors and empty rooms" (Bishop 42). This issue is emphasized several times in Bishop's account where he remarks the ineffective captivity rules in Turkey:

> The Turks used to put up numbers of rules for our benefit. These were written out in the best English the interpreter could achieve, which was never very clear. As a rule, we did not pay very much attention to them, and they, on the other hand, never seemed to care either. The rule was on the board, and, if any officious officer was to come round from Constantinople, he could always be shown it, and assumed it was strictly obeyed. (91-2)

Bishop underlines that the Turks lack the ability to manage their resources and system. A Western power, like Germany, can manage it easily. Bishop does not explicitly emphasise the Turks' incapability of managing the empire or its military forces. However, he emphasizes the inadequacy of the Turks in running their resources and the superior ability of Western powers. In this respect, the statement about the industrial decline fits the colonial discourse.

Also, he deals with the inability of the Turks' running the natural sources and substructure. While they move from Bagdad to Kastamonu, they pass by a railway station. He states that "everything in connection with the railway was naturally German, and of a substantial description" (Bishop 44-5). When he is in

Russia, he observes how Russians manage their natural supplies in comparison to the Turks. "One of the most striking contrasts to Turkey was the magnificent fruit on sale, grapes, pears and peaches, all cultivated with great skill" (Bishop 223).

To Bishop, the Turks act bravely against the enemy in the battlefield, but they turn into a villain when they bring the enemy under control. However, throughout his captivity, he generalizes the Turks with an othering image. Even though the Turkish outlaws help him escape from captivity, his discourse does not go beyond the othering image. He calls these new people "arkhadash-comrades" (Bishop 180). These people treat the British captive politely and even they find a hiding place among Turks. The outlaws also kill Turkish soldiers while they help them escape from Turkey. When in Russia, Bishop remarks his gratitude to the outlaws: "No men could have acted more pluckily in rescuing us in the first place or taken more trouble over our comfort and welfare during the weeks we spent with them in the hills and woods; and never shall we forget how much we owe them" (226-27).

Finally, Bishop deals with the subject of the Turkish language and its insignificant place among languages. Bishop indicates that "a good many studied various languages, but Turkish was not very popular, as no one expected ever to want it again when once they had left the country" (Bishop 96). To Bishop, the Turks are inferior, so he displays a reluctance to learn the other's language and does not make any efforts in that direction. He resists to the Turkish world and has a firm and restricted picture in his mind about the Turks.

Conclusion

British infantry and lieutenants who fought against the Ottoman Empire in different fronts reflected similar imperial ambition in their memoirs. Their accounts do not openly reflect the imperial domination over the Ottoman territories; they use orientalist discourse to justify the colonization of the Ottoman Empire. They developed arguments based on "civilized-Britain" and "primitive-Ottoman" in their memoirs. Although the conditions became better in time, the captives underscored the rarity of decent conditions and they continued to dehumanize the Ottoman people in their published accounts. The reflection of such an attitude obviously implied and reflected the existing imperial ambitions. Comparing the Christian [German] enemy with the Muslims, they emphasized the humanitarian and civil manner of the Christian enemy and the violence of the Ottoman officials. While Bishop and Still did not express the idea of the British economic interests in Turkey explicitly, they foregrounded the imperial ambition on the discourse of otherness. Bishop did not openly suggest domination, but Still openly argued for the British intervention in the Ottoman Empire.

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"Making your home in another bird's nest":
Conflict Zones and Conflicting Ideologies in David Greig's Plays

"Başka bir kuşun yuvasına ev kurmak": David Greig'in Oyunlarında Çatışma Bölgeleri ve Çatışan İdeolojiler

Sıla Şenlen Güvenç
Ankara University, Turkey

Abstract

Many important events such as the breakup of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the Gulf War, 9/11, the global hunt for "tyrants" in the Middle-East and the increasing war on terrorism took place at the turn of the twentieth century, that has, in turn, changed our perception of the world. Alongside technological advancements and globalization, the world is now changing faster than ever before, unions are dissolving, boarders are changing, boundaries are expanding and providing greater mobility and interaction as well as more opportunities to "trespass" into each other's spaces by force, or out of mere necessity. Many of David Greig's plays set in conflict zones, focus on significant or breaking points in history, in which characters with different cultural, religious, social backgrounds experience a "clash" of ideologies. In this respect, this paper aims to discuss topics such as conflict, identity politics, war, military intervention, violence, segregation in Greig's plays, with special emphasis on *Europe* (1994), *Ramallah* (2004), *The American Pilot* (2005)*, Damascus* (2007)*, and Dunsinane* (2010), which are set roughly in Europe, the Middle East, and the Scottish Highlands.

Keywords: David Greig, *Europe*, *Ramallah*, *The American Pilot*, *Damascus*.

Öz

Yüzyıl dönümünde, Sovyetler Birliği ve Yugoslavya'nın dağılması, Körfez Savaşı, 9/11, terörizme karşı açılan savaş ve Ortadoğu'da yapılan müdahaleler gibi önemli olaylar dünyayı algılama şeklimizi değiştirmiştir. Teknolojik gelişmeler ve küreselleşme ile birlikte veya sonucu olarak, var olan birlikler dağılmakta, sınır tanımları değişmekte ve bu durum, hem hareketliliği ve etkileşimi hem de zor kullanarak veya ihtiyaçtan dolayı uzam ihlalini doğurmaktadır. David Greig'in dünya tarihindeki önemli tarihi olaylara veya "kırılma" noktalarına odaklanan bazı oyunlarının çatışma bölgelerinde geçtiği görülmektedir. Söz konusu oyunlar, farklı dini, ideolojik, kültürel geçmişleri olan ve farklı "idelojileri" temsil eden karakterleri bir araya getirerek çatışma, savaş, şiddet, kimlik politikaları, ayrımcılık vb. konuları ele almaktadır. Bu çalışmada Greig'in oyunlarıyla ilgili söz konusu konular bağlamında genel bir değerlendirme sunduktan sonra, Avrupa, Doğu/Ortadoğu ve Kuzey İskoçya'da çatışma bölgelerinde geçen *Europe* (Avrupa, 1994), *Ramallah* (Ramallah, 2004), *The American Pilot* (Amerikalı Pilot, 2005), *Damascus* (Şam, 2007) ve *Dunsinane* (Dunsinane, 2010) ele alınacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: David Greig, Europe, Ramallah, The American Pilot, Damascus.

Many important events such as the breakup of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the Gulf War, 9/11, the global hunt for "tyrants" in the Middle-East and the increasing war on terror took place at the turn of the twentieth century, that has, in turn, changed our perception of the world. Together with, or as a result of technological advancements and globalization, the world is now changing faster than ever before[1], unions are dissolving, boarders are changing, boundaries are expanding and providing greater mobility and interaction as well as more opportunities for contact and means to "trespass" into each other's spaces by force, or out of necessity. This has led to the questioning and re-evaluation of concepts such as national identity, belonging, and what is to be termed as the "other".

Many of David Greig's plays that focus on significant or breaking points in history represent a world on the verge of modernity, re-defined geographical borders, uncertain territories, changing economic trends, all of which are, more or less, linked to globalisation. In this respect, some of his plays such as *The Speculator* (1999) deals with the Scottish banker John Law and the global network of financial transactions, *The Cosmonaut's Last Message to the Woman he once loved in the Former Soviet Union* (1999) with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, *Victoria* (2000) with modernization in Scotland, *Lesson of Dr. Korczak's Example* (2001) with the Holocaust, *Dunsinane* (2010) with the Anglo-Scottish union, *Outlying Islands* (2002) with the World Wars and environmental politics. Furthermore, the increasing opportunities for contact made possible by globalization, also lead to a kind of "clash" between different cultures and identities. Such encounters take place between characters belonging to different national, ethnic, religious and social groups in conflict zones such as the former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Syria, Palestine, or the Scottish Highlands. No matter where Greig's plays are set, his plays generally question the concept of home, war, conflict, violence, abuse, migration, segregation, racism, and identity. In *Outlying Islands*,[2] set in the summer of 1939 just before World War II, two Cambridge ornithologists are sent by the Ministry of Defence to make an inventory of all the "natural contents" on an island in the North Atlantic. It is later discovered that the ministry is planning to use the island for anthrax testing. In the play, Robert expresses man's capacity for violence by comparing them to birds:

> Robert: It's one of the most interesting questions of all.
> War.
> Is it natural?
> Two men fight, two birds fight, that's natural enough.

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[1] See Jan Aart Scholte. *Globalization: a critical introduction*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.

[2] For details about the Turkish production of *Outlying Islands*. See Sıla Şenlen Güvenç. **"**Ne Kadar Uzaksa Ada, O Kadar Kuvvetlidir Çekim Gücü: Ölü Aktörler-David Greig'in "Uzak Adalar"ı. *Tiyatro Tiyatro Dergisi*. 269 (March 2015). 18-20.

> But do you ever see a thousand or a million birds flock together to
> attack a million others?
> Birds kill, but you never see them massacre.
> War and God.
> Perhaps they are peculiarly human inventions. (Greig 2010a, 159)

Images of war, conflict and violence are always present, even in a play about
Casanova. In Suspect Culture's[3] *Casanova* (2001)*,* following the travels of an
artist and sexual adventurer curating his final exhibition composed of items
belonging to his former "international" lovers, war appears in relation to
Beirut. According to the story Mrs. Tennant relates about Casanova's sexual
experience with a Lebanese Waitress, a "war zone" is also "an erogenous zone":

> He [Casanova] was in Beirut, one day he was drinking at the
> Commodore Hotel with some war correspondents. Suddenly a car
> bomb exploded outside four floors. The newspapermen ran down to
> get the story. He saw the waitress standing by the shattered window
> looking down. They were taking bodies from the car. The bar was
> empty. He stood behind the waitress, put his hand on her hip. She
> didn't resist his touch. He lifted her skirt. She continued to stare at the
> blood on the tarmac. Without turning her head she moved her body.
> Just slightly, into him. The smell of petrol. He never saw the woman's
> face. He knew that a war zone is also an erogenous zone. (Greig 2001,
> 30)

Casanova also recalls seducing the cabinet maker's wife at an art gallery during
her visit to Europe in order to see "the sites of massacres and church burnings"
(Greig 2001, 67). In *Yellow Moon: The Ballad of Leila and Lee,* Leila Suleiman is
a Muslim migrant from Damascus, whose family came to Scotland in the 1990s
as "refugees from some sort of war":

> Leila Suleiman doesn't say much. […]
> Most people just assume she's quite because she's a Muslim.
> The way she dresses is Muslim, isn't it?
> Maybe Muslim girls aren't allowed to speak. (Greig 2006, 5)

The character Jack in the short play *Fragile* – written in response to the public
spending cuts announced by the coalition government in October 2010 –
wishes to protest the cuts in the Mental Healthcare Services by setting himself
on fire like Mohamed Bouazizi – whose suicide triggered the Tunisian
Revolution (Greig 2011, 60). Although topics relating to conflict appear in a
majority of Greig's plays, they are addressed in more detail in plays set in
conflict zones. In this respect, the aim of this paper is to examine five of Greig's
plays, namely, *Europe*, *Ramallah*, *The American Pilot Damascus* and *Dunsinane*,
which are roughly set in conflict zones in Europe, the Middle East, and the
Scottish Highlands. It will be argued that, these plays bringing a set of

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[3] Suspect Culture is an experimental theatre company based in Glasgow, which was founded
by Graham Eatough and David Greig. See Graham Eatough and Dan Rebellato. *The Suspect
Culture Book*. Oberon Books, 2013.

characters from different ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds in politically fragile territories or conflict zones, are used to comment upon subjects such as the idea of "Europe" and ethnic cleansing, the Middle-East, post 9/11 war on terror, the politics of invasion, military intervention in the Middle East by the West, identity politics, and democracy. Thus, the main focus will not be on cultural exchange, but rather on the clash between characters and their ideologies.

Conflict zones appear as early as *Europe*, David Greig's first published play, in which the idea of Old-New Europe and identity is discussed through a railway station that is no longer in use. It is situated in a border town in a middle-European state, possibly in the former Yugoslavia, that has become so "insignificant" that express trains do not even bother to stop there. The express train, which serves as a metaphor for globalization, questions what "Europe" is, in relation to the changing borders and breakup of unions as well as to Scotland's wish to be part of Europe.

The inspiration for *Europe* came on a train journey between Edinburgh and Dundee[4] and from "the story of forty Bosnian refugees trapped on a bus in a Slovenian border town in 1992, whom the British government, despite guaranteed upkeep from a charity, refused entry on the grounds they were 'economic migrants'" (Cramer 2011, 173). The play draws on the inner-ethnic wars of the former Yugoslavia to question what "being European" means at the turn of the century, and the difficulty in formulating their identity in an atmosphere of political and territorial change. The central "identity" that is examined in the play is that of Europe or whom the term "European" refers to. This point is emphasized through two extracts at the very beginning of the play. In *The Other Heading* (1992) Derrida questions what "Europe" is: "Something unique is afoot in Europe, in what is still called 'Europe' even if we longer know very well what or who goes by this name" (in Greig 2013, 3). Again, in W. H. Auden's poem "Refugee Blues" (1939) a Jewish refugee living in New York addresses his lover about not being welcomed there: "But where shall we go to today my dear?/But where shall we go to today?" (in Greig 2013, 3). These extracts seem to be drawing a parallel between the genocide of the Jews and the Bosnians.

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[4] In fact, Greig's inspiration for writing the play came to him on a train journey in Scotland: The play's very first inspiration came in Scotland. I was on a train between Edinburgh and Dundee. This trainline passes through a number of former coal and industrial towns in Fife like Cowdenbeath and Cardenden. These towns were brutally treated in the miner's strike of the 1980's and never recovered. They are also among the only former communist voting areas in Scotland. In particular the express train passes through a town called Burntisland without stopping. It goes so fast you can't read the station name. I suddenly wondered about this sense of living somewhere that the express trains don't stop. The thundering through of a fast, important train. The idea that you might be in a place that was left behind. Simply put, the play should be called Scotland. It's really as much about Scotland's desire to be part of Europe as it is about anywhere else! (in Şenlen Güvenç, 1 September, 2018)

The "status" of the border town in *Europe*, as well as some of the characters, is not static. Their geographical position has changed throughout history, from being on one side of the border to the other (Greig 2013, 5-6), which is also reflected on its architecture: "*The station's architecture bears witness to the past century's methods of government. Hapsburg, Nazi, and Stalinist forms have created a hybrid which has neither the romantic dusting of history nor the gloss of modernity*" (Greig 2013, 7). Two refugees Sava and Katia – father and daughter – who have "been blown around from place to place for a long time" (Greig 2013, 19) come to the station in order to seek refuge from the war. According to İnan, the references in the play portray the state of the former Yugoslavia during the Second World War:

> One is clearly reminded of the state of former Yugoslavia during World War II when German, Italian, Hungarian forces attacked the country and the independent state of Croatia was established as a Nazi satellite state, ruled by fascist militia. The Croatian Ustase murdered 500,000 people, and 250,000 people were expelled. Sava and Katia represent the people who were left homeless and forced to leave their hometowns at that time. Former Yugoslavia has been a place of unrest with various ethnic violence and an economic crisis in 1989, which resulted in the laying off of 600,000 people (represented by Berlin, Horse and Billy in the play). Social programmes had collapsed, creating an atmosphere of social despair and hopelessness within the population. (İnan 2010, 69)

As pointed above, in connection to World War II, they represent the people who were forced to leave their hometown due to the Croatian Ustase. In the context of current history, they appear to be Muslim Europeans who have fled from the Bosnian War. Although it is not clear through their names or stage directions, these two characters are Muslims. As Greig has stated, however, it is their sudden loss of European identity rather than religious status that is highlighted in the play:

> Two things… one I wanted "Everyman" names. But also, in my mind, Katia and Sava are from somewhere in Bosnia. They are, until very recently, secular European. Muslim only in the most surface sense. The way that I am a Christian. In essence they were Yugoslav, European, secular left wing… until the war forced them into a box. (in Şenlen Güvenç, 1 September 2018)

These "economic migrants" are given different receptions by the locals ranging from empathy to hatred. The stationmaster Fret, who believes in the idea of Old Europe, does not want refugees in "his" station because it is not a "hostel or a "gypsy encampment" (Greig 2013, 15). When Fret approaches Katia and Sava in this respect, Sava explains that they are there not out of choice but necessity:

> Sava: I'm sorry if things are bad for you just now but things are bad where we come from as well. We've been blown around from place to place for a long time and this is where we've come to rest. For now. The

fault is neither yours nor ours but belongs to the random chaotic winds of current events. (Greig 2013, 19)

There are two views presented about Europe, one as civilized, and the other – a site for bloodsheds, massacres etc. Sava advocates his belief in Old civilized Europe:

> Katia, we're not in some savage country on the other side of the world. Look around you, look at the architecture. Listen to the sounds from the street. You can smell the forest. We're a long way from home but we're still in Europe. We'll be looked after. Our situation will be understood. (Greig 2013, 29)

On the other hand, Katia, who has been assaulted in the war holds a much darker view of Europe:

> Europe. Snipers on the rooftops, mortars in the suburbs and you said: "This is Europe...we must stay in Europe." When the hospitals were left with nothing but alcohol and dirty bandages. I warned you and you still said "this is Europe. Honesty will prevail, sense will win, this war is an aberration...a tear in the fabric. In time it'll be sewn up again and things will look as good as new". (Greig 2013, 30)

Furthermore, it is clear that for Katia – whose country is currently non-existent – national identity is problematic. This is clearly portrayed in her dialogue with Adele:

> Adele: Where do you come from?
> Katia: Does it matter?
> Adele: I'm only asking.
> Katia: I'm not sure.
> Adele: Not sure?
> Katia: Like I said. I'm not sure.
> Adele: But. You must know. Everyone knows where they come from.
> Katia: The place I came from isn't there anymore. It disappeared.
> Adele: A place can't just disappear.
> Katia: Its name was taken off the maps and signposts. I couldn't find it anywhere (Greig 2013, 41)

Katia, who lacks a "home" feels Adele is lucky to have one while Adele, who has been stuck in a small town all her life "by accident," wants to escape and explore Europe with Katia. In Adele's words, they are both exiles: "you've lost your home and I've never had one. So we're both exiles" (Greig 2013, 67).

The play enforces how conflict can provoke fascism, like a pack of wolves that make raids on the town at night. Although Sava and Fret's mutual interest in trains and old civilized Europe brings them together to protest the closure of the station, a group of furnacemen laid off due to technological advancements blame foreigners for their condition (especially Berlin and Horse). They believe

that the Left have given all the jobs to "the Somalis and the Ethiopians," to the "Jews and the gyppos. The blacks and the browns," the "polluters of the nation" (Greig 2013, 59-60). Horse writes "foreigners out!" at the bus stop while Berlin, frustrated about losing his job, goes to do "a bit of tidying up" on behalf of the "community" (Greig 2013, 69). He gives Fret a petition to prevent their station from being turned into a hostel for the homeless and gypsy prostitutes, and give Sava a beating. Later they burn the station, causing the death of Fret and Sava. At the end of the play, Adele and Katia (after getting papers from Morocco, an entrepreneur or "smuggler" representing global trade, in exchange for sex) leave town on an express train calling out the names of European cities, while Berlin recalls how news about the fire led to the "recognition" of their town across Europe: "they said the name of our town, politicians and sociologists all across the continent said its name." The last line of the play uttered by Berlin, brings the play back to the beginning: "They know that, in our own way, we're also Europe" (Greig 2013, 89-90).

The next three plays, *Ramallah, The American Pilot* and *Damascus* are set in conflict zones in the East or Middle-East. Greig's short play *Ramallah*, focuses on Palestine. Daniel who has returned from Ramallah sits with his wife, drinking wine and feta cheese that he has brought back from Ramallah. During their short dialogue, he mentions going to a children's theatre company located on the front line:

> Daniel: One day we went to visit a children's theatre company. They had built their own theatre, converted it from a garage or something. They put on shows for children there. But unfortunately they built their theatre opposite a settlement so now it's on the front line. Every night there's shooting back and forth. I saw it. The place is covered in bullet holes. And then one night it was hit by a tank shell. There was a show going on at the time. They told us how they had to evacuate the children in small groups with the tank firing away. You'd think it was a bit much – firing a tank shell at a children's theatre – you'd think they wouldn't do that. But I saw the place where the shell knocked through the wall.
> *something of a pause*
> Anyway they performed a show, especially for us, in the rubble of their theatre. (Greig 2010c, 109)

He watches the show while his "palms" sweat, wanting to get "the fuck out" to avoid dying. When his wife questions him about why he put himself at such a risk by attending the show, Daniel reacts:

> Daniel: Jesus. These people are getting the shit kicked out of them every fucking day. And they have to carry on. I'm a tourist. I can go home. Right now Helen. Right at this very moment they are afraid. Their kids are afraid. The least I can do is piss myself for half an hour on their behalf. Get a flavour of things. (Greig 2010c, 110)

The play ends with Daniel talking about the end of his journey, returning home while thinking about how lucky they are:

> Daniel: I realised – you realise – one realises…
> How lucky one is – I realised how lucky I am –
> We are.
> We are. (Greig 2010c, 111)

The short play, above anything else, emphasized how far removed the West is from the conflict and suffering experienced in conflict zones of the Middle-East. While Daniel has the luxury of experiencing the East and returning to the safety of his home and family with things he picked up from Palestine, the conflict continues for people living there.

Similar to *Ramallah*, *The American Pilot* also focuses on a conflict zone in the East or the Middle-East. The play is set in a "country that has been mired in civil war and conflict for many years" (Greig 2010a, 345), possibly Afghanistan, Libya, Iraq etc.[5] According to Wallace, Greig's play has been triggered by the ongoing politics especially after September 2011 and the War on Terror:

> After September 2001, world politics swerved towards a heightened awareness of terrorism and the threats posed to the West by the East specifically in the shape of Islamic fundamentalism. Operation Enduring Freedom, begun in October 2001, saw the invasion of Afghanistan by an alliance of Western states with the aim of crushing the terrorist group al-Qaeda, and overthrowing the Taliban regime that protected them. it was the beginning of a complex and ongoing set of conflicts now habitually labelled the War on Terror. (Wallace 2013, 139)

Furthermore, in an interview with Peter Billingham, Greig indicated that The American Pilot "is in a response to the Iraq war which had not yet begun, but was patently on the horizon (Wallace 2013, 140).

The American Pilot traces the events that take place following the discovery of an American pilot by a farmer. Over three days, the people of the village such as the Farmer, the Translator, the Captain, the Trader, Evie, and Sarah discuss what to do with the pilot who represents America, imperialism, and military intervention. The farmer and his wife Sarah want to get rid of him, his daughter Evie believes he is there to save them, the Trader wants to profit from the situation by letting the Americans know where he is, while for the Translator

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[5] In Mark Fisher's interview with David Greig, he states the following about *The American Pilot*: "People can read The American Pilot how they like of course but for me it's not Europe but Asia. I've always checked it against the Panjshir Valley in Afghanistan. Having said that, quite a lot of people think it's set in the Balkans. It's not clear. Fisher, Mark. "Interview: Mark Fisher & David Greig: Suspect Cultures & Home Truths". Ed. Anja Müller and Clare Wallace. *Cosmotopia: Transnational Identities in David Greig's Theatre*. Litteraria Pragensia Books, 2011. 4-32. 21.

and the Captain, who have lost their loved ones due to an American missile, he is merely the image of American imperialism that support the dictatorship that they are fighting against. In the process, the American pilot, Jason Reinhardt, constantly reminds them about their terrible fate if he is killed: "America wants to help you. America wants your freedom. [...] If they kill me – bombs come here. If they don't kill me – money comes." (Greig 2010a, 395); "If you harm me. The United States will hunt you down and kill you" (Greig 2010a, 365); "If you harm me you will be hunted down and brought to justice" (Greig 2010a, 375).

It is first the Trader who comes to have a look at the pilot, and then the Captain – the authority in that district – and the Translator (Matthew) follow. According to the Captain, everything might have been different if they had met under different circumstances:

> In another world we could have been friends. But he and I were not in another world. We were not, for example, walking together in the streets of Oslo looking for a bar. The American pilot had fallen from the sky into my district. He was my prisoner. I had to decide what to do. (Greig 2010a, 363)

The Translator's father was executed by the regime (supported by America) due to his involvement in politics during the revolution and his bride Belle (who is also the Captain's daughter) has been killed due to an American missile. He is an educated man, who has also lived in America on a scholarship:

> I loved America. America is the most perfect society on earth. You can't deny it. how do you explain it? Almost every day there was a moment when I sat on a bench and wept. Maybe I would have been happier in Moscow. I was a communist then. (Greig 2010a, 393)

Matthew warns the Captain that the Americans will find the pilot. The Captain, however, has enough experience to foresee his terrible end captured by American satellite:

> One day, Matthew, I'm going to be captured by my enemies. A rabble of government conscripts will beat me. I will be trusted up like a chicken, spat at, urinated upon and mutilated. I'll be taken to some field of rubble and weeds. I'll be made to kneel in the dust. I will have the briefest of moments to reconcile myself to God and consider the pointlessness of everything I've fought for. The last sensation I will experience will be the taste of my own broken teeth. That is what will happen to me one day, Matthew. [...] And nothing we can do will make any difference to our fate. (Greig 2010a, 376)

The Translator, angered by the loss of Belle, suggests selling the pilot's head for more than a million dollars to fund their cause, but the Captain rejects the idea on the grounds that he is a "soldier" and not a "terrorist". For the West, however, there are all "terrorists," as indicated by the Translator:

> Captain: Those people are terrorists.

Translator: We're all terrorists now.
Captain: I'm a soldier.
Translator: You no longer have the power to decide what you are.
(Greig 2010a, 378)

Although they initially decide to kill the pilot and put the footage on the media to "enumerate" America's guilt's (Greig 2010a, 403), Evie convinces the Captain to change his mind:

America is on our side.
He told me this.
America is watching us.
America sees us, Captain, just as surely as if we were on television.
All the attacks
All the awfulness.
America has seen it.
All the hunger.
All the fighting and stealing.
America has seen it.
All the hunger.
All the fighting and stealing.
America has seen it.
He told me this.
We had no hope left.
We were full of dust and sorrow.
We were lost but America sent him to tell us, we don't have to be alone any more.
We can save ourselves.
We can be found.
We can be American. (Greig 2010a, 406)

She claims that America is watching and testing them. While the Translator is against the idea, the Captain feels that footage of a rescued pilot with a girl will be effective in making headlines and delivering their message. So, instead of killing him, they decide on a television message in which Evie will tell the world what they are fighting for.

When the Translator goes to untie him in order to get him ready for the video, the American Pilot asks for a "SAT phone or something". The Translator, angered by the turn of events as well as the devastating effect that the American intervention and the death of their president had on his country, replies:

Do you see me? Look with eyes. I am wearing bad clothes. I am a civilised human being. In nineteen eighty there was poetry in this country, and jasmine trees and I am training to be a teacher. I am teaching Marxism-Leninism to the children. I am in a village telling

people build an irrigation system. You kill my president. You don't want any more Marxism-Leninism. I want my country. I want walk in my own shoes. You want sell me cigarettes. You want me to bring you a telephone. [...] You bring telephone to me. (Greig 2010a, 411)

On the other hand, the Trader who has "loyalty [...] to no country" (Greig 2010a, 411-12), however, notifies the Americans through his contact in Dubai for money, and helicopters come and wipe out the whole village:

> *The Pilot is raised up on the winch. Taking Evie with him.*
> Farmer: Stop. Please. Stop.
> *He runs towards the Soldiers.*
> Soldier 3: Fuck fuck fuck fuck fuck.
> *Soldier 3 sprays gunfire at the Farmer and the Trader and kills them both.*
> *The Captain, the Translator and the Captain's men storm into the shed.*
> Captain: Evie!
> *They fire at the Americans. The Americans fire back.*
> *The last American throws down a grenade.*
> *The Captain and the Translator are both killed in the explosion.*
> *The American Soldiers leave.*
> *The Mother calls for Evie.*
> *The Mother sees the bodies.*
> *The bombing continues.*
> *The gunfire continues.*
> *The End.* (Greig 2010a, 418)

While the pilot is raised up on the winch with Evie, her mother is the only person remaining among the dead while the bombing continues.

This country that has been "mired in civil war and conflict for many years" (Greig 2010a, 1), brings together civilians living in this conflict zone, those fighting the dictatorship and an American Pilot, who represents American imperialism supporting the dictatorship. While the Pilot establishes a friendly relationship with the farmer's family, he constantly threatens those fighting the dictatorship through variations of "If you hurt/kill me, you will be killed/hunted down by the United States". On the other hand, the Translator dislikes him for what he represents, and even confesses that it made him feel better to stab his leg. In the end, in accordance with the American Pilot's expectations, the whole village is wiped out by the Americans. Thus, the play reinforces the point made by the Translator earlier about not having a say about their identity: "We're all terrorists now".

Similar to *The American Pilot, Damascus* also challenges western notions about the Middle East. Unlike *The American Pilot*, however, the stage directions clearly indicate that the play takes place in Syria. The play is set at "moment in history which is characterised by a political and ideological tension between the Western and Arab world" (Heinen, in Müller & Wallace 2011, 180). According to Greig, it is a "by-product of the artistic exchange" Greig had with

"young theatre makers in the Middle East, particularly in Syria and Palestine, since 2000" (Greig 2007, 3). In an interview with Charlotte Higgins, Greig has stated that the play set in 2006, should not be seen as "a comment on the specifics of the present day," but nevertheless, "it hopes to challenge received western notions about the Arabic world." (*The Guardian*, 16 Feb 2009)

Paul, a Scotsman selling English language textbooks comes to Damascus to meet Muna and Wasim, Syrian educators in a local college, to discuss the textbook *Middleton Road*. This leads to an intercultural encounter between the English and the Arabic world, in which linguistic, cultural and political differences emerge (Şenlen Güvenç, 29 March 2016). The dominant atmosphere in the play is that of conflict. Almost all of the scenes in *Damascus* contain the stage direction "The television shows news images of the current situation" (Greig 2007, 7) in the lobby of the hotel. On arrival, Paul, frustrated to be in Damascus on Valentine's Day, complains to his boss on the phone:

> Why do I have to come to a war zone?
> It is a war zone.
> It's not ridiculous.
> Iraq and Gaza – the Gaza thing, and Iran and… (Greig 2007, 10)

Furthermore, the possibility of the closure of the airport due to the fighting in Beirut is emphasized and it is closed due to a bomb later on.

The characters Muna, Wasim and Paul negotiate their differences through the textbook with the title of *Middleton Road.* Muna wants certain alterations to make it suitable for their cultural and political understanding, and acceptable to the board. An example of this is an illustration of a girl wearing a full niqab. Paul perceives it is an issue of faith while Muna defines it as an issue of patriarchy:

> when I grew up in Beirut my mother dressed as she pleased. She wore the latest Paris fashions. The women in Cairo, in all the big cities in Egypt, in Palestine, in Iraq could dress as they pleased. In the seventies women were finally making a progress, and now all those places they are being threatened. In Iran, in Egypt even, there can be problems for being uncovered. Iraq – which used to be very free for women – now they are being killed for even being teachers or so on. (Greig 2007, 43)

Paul claims that their government is a "dictatorship" that is "censoring free expression" while Muna explains that her "government is at war". She further outlines the context in which they are living in: "Our country is surrounded by war in Iraq, Palestine, Lebanon...Israel occupies our land. America calls us evil. We have many minorities here and we all live in peace and stability." (Greig 2007, 48). Paul says that he might be able to make certain changes, but that "democracy" is central. This leads to a discussion about "democracy":

> Paul: I could accommodate some of the changes you're asking for, but democracy is central to –

> Muna: Blessed democracy. Holy democracy:
> *Beat*
> Paul: What's wrong with democracy?
> Muna: your democracy is my problem.
> Paul: How do you make that out?
> Muna: Your democracy invaded Iraq. (Greig 2007, 49)

Muna finds it ridiculous that after all they have done, the West still feels entitled to talk about democracy, and professors from the UK come to lecture them on human rights:

> This year in Damascus, your embassy hosted a conference on human rights. [...]Professors from the UK came here to Damascus to talk to us about human rights! Ridiculous [...] After Balfour – after Sykes-Picot – after Mossadeq – after Suez – and always always support for Israel – after Guantanamo – after Iraq ... After all this *you* are coming here to lecture *us* about human rights.
> Everything is your fault. (Greig 2007, 49-50)

Through her reaction, Muna is pointing to the hypocrisy in the West that creates a false-image of standing for "liberty" and "democracy". This is a point that has also been emphasized earlier in Greig's *Europe*.

Paul and Wasim do not seem to hit it off, particularly due to Wasim's biased approach towards him. Paul cannot understand him because he speaks French and Arabic. On first encounter, Wasim tells him that his grandfather "killed an English soldier in Jerusalem during the British Mandate and asks him whether his grandfather killed any Arabs in Iraq, to which Paul replies that it was "un grand erreuré [a great error]" (Greig 2007, 21). During poetry night, Wasim makes a toast "I propose the Englishman finally fucks off and leaves us alone." (Greig 2007, 61) and later has a dispute with Paul:

> Wasim: You know nothing about the country I live in. You know nothing about how it has been formed. [...]
> There is no such thing as freedom of speech. What you are defending is simply your English power to describe the status quo in whatever way you like. [...]
> Nothing has brought more blood to this regime than Anglo-Saxon idealism. You make your accommodations with your regime and I will make my accommodations with mine. (Greig 2007, 66)

By the end of the play, Paul has changed his perception of Damascus. While calling it a "war zone" on first arrival, he later calls his wife, after getting drunk with Zakaria and two American girls the night before, and tells her that they should bring the kids, "It's not a war zone./It's not the way it's usually described." (Greig 2007, 112) Nevertheless, the textbook is not presented in the meeting and will not be taught at Syrian universities and everything including the relationship between Muna and Paul remain unsettled. Thus, the play conveys the complexity of the situation in the Middle East as well as

portraying their reaction to the false self-image created by the West as "protectors of democracy".

Military intervention with respect to Afghanistan and Iraq is also taken up in Greig's *Dunsinane* (2010) set in the Scottish Highlands. Whether the play is set in Europe or Scotland, Greig uses "doubling"[6] in his plays. The play which is a sequel to Shakespeare's *Macbeth* focuses on the English intervention in Scotland before the unification of Britain, taking Dunsinane and eliminating the "tyrant" (Macbeth). On a national level, it comments on the Anglo-Scottish union while on an international level[7], the play alludes to contemporary zones of conflict in the Middle East, and criticizes any kind of military intervention, especially by Britain and the United States to the Middle-East on false claims such as fighting a war against terror, and overthrowing dictators, or tyrants (Şenlen Güvenç, 2014). In fact, originally the play was about the Iraq and Afghanistan:

> The play's origins weren't in Scotland but around 3,500 miles away in the Middle East. "It was all about Iraq, and then Afghanistan. I saw a production of *Macbeth* around the time Saddam's statue had been pulled down in 2003, and I thought the interesting thing was not the toppling but what happens afterwards."
> Malcolm as Hamad Karzai? Siward as Blair? Greig grins. "The most obvious thing about Tony Blair was that he thought he was doing the right thing. Evil so often comes from the desire to do good." (Greig in Dickson, 24 January 2015)

In the play, the English army commanded by Siward arrive to Scotland, take Dunsinane castle and the "tyrant [Macbeth]" is killed (he is never named in the play). On his arrival, Siward believes that the Scots will welcome Malcolm – their new king – for getting rid of the tyrant: "We'll set a new king in Dunsinane and then summer will come and then a harvest and by next Spring it'll be as if there never was a fight here" (Greig 2010b, 24). However, he soon finds out that he has been misled by Malcolm: Gruach (Lady Macbeth in Shakespeare's play), the queen, is still alive and supported by the Morays, her son (Lulach) who is also the heir to the throne is alive and has escaped, and the chiefs are not particularly inclined to pledge their allegiance to Malcolm:

> You told me the tyrant had lost the support of the chiefs and he had no son and his queen had died of madness and so there would be no resistance to you […] and general acceptance of your rule and the

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[6] Rebellato has also indicated that no-matter where they are set, – Europe, the Balkans, or the Middle East, one feels that Greig's plays are almost always juxtaposed with Scotland, a nation in itself and also an adjunct to various larger national and supranational entities such as England, Europe, the West, the North. (in Greig 2009, 2013, x).

[7] See Sıla Şenlen Güvenç. "[You Can't Kill Me]:Scottish Identity and Anglo-Scottish Union in David Greig's *Dunsinane*". *Scottish Literary Review* vol. 6, no. 2, 2014, pp. 93-113.

> chance to establish a new and peaceful order. That's what you said." (Greig 2010b, 27-28)

Malcolm's address to the clan chiefs later on portrays that he is very much like a tyrant himself:

> You're all thieves. Thieves and the sons of thieves. Mothered by whores. [...] If you make me king I promise you one thing only – total honesty. In that spirit I offer you the following. I will govern entirely in the interests of me...I will periodically and arbitrarily commit acts of violence against some or other of you – in order that I can maintain a more general order in the country. I will not dispose my mind to the improvement of the country or to the conditions of its ordinary people. I will not improve trade. I will maintain an army only in order to submit you to my will. As far as foreign powers are concerned I will submit to any humiliation in order to keep the friendship of England. (Greig 2010b, 80)

Siward, who describes his role in Scotland as building "a new kingdom-not to settle old grudges" (Greig 2010b, 33) asks Gruach to renounce her son's claim, but she insists that her son is King and warns him not to interfere in some "other man's land":

> If I were you I would not be here. If I were you I would be at home guarding my own land. Not fighting on behalf of some other man's land. A man too weak and corrupt to hold his own land himself. (Greig 2010b, 34)

In this respect, Gruach constantly defines the English army as intruders, a cuckoo bird "making its home in another bird's nest" (Greig 2010b, 48) and interfering in matters that does not concern them, which is applicable to both Scotland and the Middle-East.

A focal point in the play is that Scotland is a separate nation – with its own distinct geography, people, language, and administration – which England (Westminster) can never fully understand or control. This is especially reflected through the dialogues and relationship between Siward and Gruach [representing England and Scotland]. While Siward describes her as "captivating," she defines herself as "captive" (Greig 2010b, 69). On another occasion, Siward protests "Who is the conqueror here?" when Gruach deliberately teaches Siward a wrong word in Gaelic (No for Yes) and her women laugh at him, to which she replies:

> Gruagh: Oh you're the conqueror.
> Siward: Am I?
> Gruach: You invaded my country.
> With your powerful army.
> You took it.
> Laid waste my land.
> Burned.
> Raped.

And now I'm your prisoner.
To do with as you will. (Greig 2010b, 77)

Although Siward and Gruach become intimate, he suggests a marriage between Malcolm and the former queen to unite the two great houses in Scotland, Albas and the Morays. Although Gruach initially appears to accept, she escapes and this proposed marriage does not take place. Furthermore, her son Lulach is killed by Siward to eliminate any kind of hope for the throne. The failed romantic liaison (union) between Siward (England) and Gruach (Scotland) is employed to comment on the Anglo-Scottish Union. The play ends in winter, with Gruach holding Lulach's baby. She makes it very clear that the conflict between England and Scotland will never end: "For as long as I reign I'll torment you and when I die I'll leave instructions in my will to every Scottish Queen that comes after me to tell her King to take up arms and torment England again and again until the end of time" (Greig 2010b, 136). Thus, the play about the Anglo-Scottish union, also comments upon the "rhetoric of intervention," and more specifically, the British and American intervention in the Middle-East on the grounds of hunting "tyrants".

In conclusion, David Greig's plays set in conflict zones such as the Middle-East, the Balkans, and Scottish Highlands deal with breaking points in history as well as the aftermath of conflict. Some of the political and cultural conflict between East and West, especially post 9/11 war on terror, and the politics of invasion is traced in plays such as *Ramallah*, *The American Pilot*, *Damascus,* and *Dunsinane* while *Europe* questions the different notions of Old-New Europe and the rising fascism in Europe, especially against refugees. In this respect, *Dunsinane* traces the politics and rhetoric of invasion/military intervention in the name of fighting terror or hunting tyrants. In both *Damascus* and *The American Pilot*, the characters believe that the military intervention by the West has led to the destruction of "modern" life in their country. This view is expressed as the destruction of poetry and the teaching of Marxism-Leninism by the Translator in the *American Pilot* and as miniskirts and fashion by Muna in *Damascus*. Moreover, the characters living in the Middle East reflect their frustration at being identified by the West as tyrants, terrorists or defined as evil without fully understanding their situation. The Captain and the Translator's negative views about America (We are all terrorists) prove to be true when the whole village is destroyed by helicopters, even though they plan to set the pilot free. Also Mona voices the hypocrisy of the West in relation to their understanding of democracy in *Damascus*, a point that is also taken up in the play *Europe* with respect to Europe. Furthermore, *Ramallah* emphasizes how far removed the West is from the conflict and suffering experienced in conflict zones of the Middle-East. Thus, it is evident that David Greig's *Ramallah*, *The American Pilot*, *Damascus,* and *Dunsinane* and *Europe,* bring together characters representing different views and ideologies in conflict zones in order to question notions of the East and West (or Europe) and

discuss related topics such as war, military intervention, conflict, displacement, belonging, democracy, human rights, etc.

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Hanif Kureishi's *The Last Word*: The Art of Fictional Biography
Hanif Kureishi'nin *Son Söz*'ü: Kurgusal Biyografi Sanatı

Kuğu Tekin
Atılım University, Turkey

Abstract

Hanif Kureishi's 2014 novel, *The Last Word* is a "roman à clef," which presents the literary biography of a world-renowned author of post-colonial literature -V.S. Naipaul- under the pseudonym of Mamoon Azam. This article traces the path of Kureishi, who assumes the role of the modern biographer as an artist engaged in the creative process, rather than an objective historian recording facts about an individual's life. In the novel, it is observed that Kureishi meticulously avoids being a mere chronicler of events that shape his subject's literary and private life; instead, Kureishi's intention is to project a truthful personality portrait of "a literary giant," that is, Mamoon Azam, the fictional counterpart of the factual V.S. Naipaul. Thus, the article particularly investigates such issues as Kureishi's preferred structural methods in treating his biography as a work of art rather than a dry, barely readable, informative account of a life story; the possible difficulties a modern life-writer may encounter; and the changing role of the modern biographer from craftsman to artist. A final discussion in the article is based on Kureishi's liminal status as a representative of the so-called ethnic authors living and producing in the West.

Keywords: Kureishi, roman à clef, biography, artist vs biographer.

Öz

Hanif Kureishi'nin 2014'te yayımlanan romanı *Son Söz* bir "anahtarlı roman" örneğidir. Kureishi bu eserinde postkolonyal edebiyatın dünyaca tanınmış bir yazarını, V.S. Naipaul'u, "Mamoon Azam" takma adı ile okuyucuya sunar. Bu makale modern biyografi yazarı rolünü üstlenen Kureishi'nin, bir bireyin yaşamı ile ilgili gerçekleri kaydederken, nesnel bir tarihçiden ziyade bir sanatçı olarak konuyu ele alış biçimini inceler. Kureishi, ana karakterinin edebiyatla olan ilişkisine ve özel yaşamına yön veren olayları doğrudan nakleden yazar olmaktan özenle kaçınır. Yazarın amacı Mamoon Azam olarak kurgulanan edebiyat ustasının gerçek hayattaki karşılığı olan V.S. Naipaul'un portresine ışık tutmaktır. Bu makale özellikle Kureishi'nin biyografi yazımında kullanmayı tercih ettiği yapısal metotları ve modern biyografi yazarının karşılaşabileceği olası zorlukları inceler. Yazar, yavan, güçlükle okunan sadece bilgilendirmeye dayanan bir yaşam öyküsü yazmak yerine konusuna bir sanatçı duyarlılığı ile yaklaşır ve böylece modern biyografi yazarının zanaatkârdan sanatçıya dönüşümünü aktarır. Makalenin son bölümü ise batıda yaşayıp üreten etnik yazarların bir temsilcisi olarak Kureishi'nin iki ayrı kültür arasındaki konumunu tartışır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kureishi, Anahtarlı Roman, biyografi, biyografi yazarına karşı sanatçı.

Hanif Kureishi's 2014 novel, *The Last Word* presents a world-renowned author of post-colonial literature under the pseudonym of Mamoon Azam; despite the disclaimer on the cover as to the fictitiousness of the characters, Kureishi's novel is generally recognised as a "roman à clef," which is defined as "a novel in which actual persons are presented under the guise of fiction" (Harmon and Holman 450). Following the tradition dating back to as early as the seventeenth century, Kureishi names his central character "Mamoon Azam," yet keen readers instantly recognise that the factual figure standing behind Mamoon Azam is V.S. Naipaul. The article traces the path of Kureishi, who assumes the role of the modern biographer as an artist engaged in the creative process rather than an objective historian recording facts about an individual's life. In the novel, it is observed that Kureishi meticulously avoids being a mere chronicler of events that shape his subject's literary and private life; instead, Kureishi's intention is to project a truthful personality portrait of "a literary giant," that is Mamoon Azam, the fictional counterpart of the factual V.S. Naipaul whose literary significance is once more underlined in the last chapter of the novel with the following words: "There wasn't a decent bookshop in the world which didn't carry this man's work, nor a serious reader who had not heard his name" (285). Thus, the article particularly investigates such issues as Kureishi's preferred structural methods in treating his biography as a work of art rather than a dry, barely readable, informative account of a life story, and the changing role of the modern biographer from craftsman to artist.

In the opening of *The Last Word*, Harry Johnson is introduced to the reader as the promising young author who is commissioned to write the biography of a significant writer of post-colonial literature, "Indian-born Mamoon Azam, a novelist, essayist and playwright Harry had admired since he was […] a kid for whom writers were gods, heroes, rock stars" (2).[1] The distinguished writer whose life story is going to be recounted is a thin disguise for V.S. Naipaul who is presented under the pseudonym Mamoon Azam in the novel. Rob Deveraux, the "respected and innovative" editor and publisher, chooses Harry for the task due to his impressive reworking of Nehru's biography. What made Harry's first attempt in biography writing successful is his ability to make an already-known life story brand new by seasoning it "with interracial copulation, buggery, alcoholism and anorexia" (2). In other words, Harry turned the plain informative tone of the life account of a historical figure, based on the accumulation of objective documentation, into a fleshed-out, tangible personality portrait of a political leader-hence found innovative as well as pleasing by the reader. Likewise, in the case of Mamoon, Rob expects Harry to write an "extreme

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[1] Here, the young Harry's admiration for novelists, which leads to his decision to become a writer, is reminiscent of Kureishi's. At the age of fourteen Kureishi was deeply influenced by the London of the1960s when, in his words, "everybody was free and everybody was Jimmy Hendrix, and above all, there was no racism." As a young member of the British-Pakistani community, Kureishi claimed that, he had two options to attain fame and wealth: becoming either a football player or a musician. Lacking the talent required for both, he opted into becoming a writer; and once that decision was made every new work that he produced led, again in his own words, to a reinvention of his artist self. ("The Last Word," Interview by Iqbal)

biography" which would publicise the scandalous liaisons of a nasty character, and thus achieve high sales rates. Prior to meeting with Mamoon and his second wife, Liana, Rob warns Harry about Mamoon's beastly nature: "'Listen up: that clever old sly fox Mamoon might seem dull and dead to you, and indeed to everyone, including his own family. [...] 'He comes on like someone who has never knowingly given pleasure to a woman, someone who has never loved anyone more than himself. He has stolen a lot of enjoyment. He has been a dirty bastard, an adulterer, liar, thug, and, possibly a murderer" (7). Obviously, Rob's analysis of Mamoon's character is the exact opposite of the dignified figure who "ha[s] been much respected by the literary world" (3). The narrative implies that Mamoon owes this respect to his racial background and to his political views of colonial and postcolonial periods rendering the author a spokesman for western cultural imperialism. He has been favoured and supported by, particularly, right-wing nationalists due to his ideas about the western domination of the so-called "Third World": "He was, at least, a writer from the Indian subcontinent they could like, someone who thought domination, particularly by the educated, informed and intelligent-people, oddly, who resembled himself-was preferable to universal stupidity, or even democracy" (3). Now in his seventies, Mamoon falls into disfavour on account of his being "too cerebral, unyielding and harrowing to be widely read; Mamoon was becoming financially undone; despite the praise and the prizes, he was in fiscal turnaround" (5). Therefore, what brings Rob and Mamoon together is the idea of a "controversial biography" which would not only revive Mamoon's fading fame and solve his financial problems but would also serve Rob's commercial interests as the publisher of a best-selling biography; and the chosen writer of this biography, of which so much is expected, would be Harry: "The biography would be an 'event,' a 'big bang,' accompanied, of course, by a television documentary, interviews, a reading tour, and the reissuing of Mamoon's books in forty languages" (4).

On the way to Mamoon's country house at Taunton, Harry is overwhelmed by authorial anxieties concerning the structure of his work to be. He is also suspicious about the adequacy of his writing skill for this challenging task: "How, he wondered, with a shudder, did you begin to do that? Where would you start, and how would the story, which was still being lived, end? More importantly, was he, Harry, capable of such a task?" (1). Would this be a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity that would allow Harry to exhibit his creative skills as a modern biographer? Would he achieve his dream of becoming a famous writer? Would this attempt earn him a rightful reputation as an author? Such are the questions occupying Harry's mind at the beginning.

In *Biographies and the Art of Biography*, Ulick O'Connor refers to James L. Clifford's views on what the new biographer should be:

> What, really, is a biographer? Is he merely a superior kind of journalist, or must he be an artist? Is writing a life a narrow branch of history or a form of literature? OR may it be something in between, a strange

amalgam of science and art? The difference between a craftsman and an artist is obvious. The one knows exactly what his product will be. He works with specific materials and uses traditional techniques. His skill comes as a result of serious study and long practice. The other works intuitively, evolving each move that he makes, and not certain until the end just what his work will be. Originality and genius are more important than practice. Is the life-writer one or the other, or both? (Clifford qtd. in O'Connor 11)

Clifford's definition of the biographer as the artist affirms Harry's doubts about how he should approach his subject. Yet, Clifford's distinction between the craftsman and the artist appears to be debatable; it has a twofold weakness: the first one is that it is very rare for anyone to become a fully-fledged artist without "serious study and long practice" (ix); and secondly, originality, intuition and genius are not exclusive to artists alone; they can be found in a craftsman as well. In brief, the distinction between the two categories is far from being easy to draw. O'Connor further carries the discussion related to the distinction between the biographer as the craftsman and as the artist back to Thomas Acquinas' distinction between the good and the beautiful. To Acquinas, the mind is fully satisfied only when the cognitive process is accompanied by the sense of the beautiful, that is to say the perceived aesthetic object should be informative, useful as well as pleasing. Relying on Acquinas' idea of the good and the beautiful, O'Connor suggests that the modern biographer should be a blend of scientist and artist.

As is known, one of the major problems a life-writer confronts is the selection and arrangement of factual information about her/his subject's life. In this phase, the inclusion and exclusion of materials related to the subject's life is very important because a biography which is devoid of imagination and is "stuffed with truth" will likely to have little or no artistic value; and, undoubtedly, the result will be a dull work. For O'Connor, "The guiding principle should be, does the material further illustrate the personality of the biographer's subject? If so it should not be left out; but neither should it be allowed to assume proportions unrelated to the central purpose of the book" (51). O'Connor also claims that what makes a biography a true work of art is the transmission of the subject's mind on page. It is understood that the selected amount, relevance and the arrangement of the material to be included matter much to the biographer.

A life-writer may also encounter various other constraints, such as self-censorship due to deference to the subject's sensibilities, or the fear of offending the person whose life story is going to be recounted. Since the subject's life will be narrated against a historical background, the biographer's freedom of speech may be limited or totally censored by various authorities. For instance, Virginia Woolf defends the modern biographer's freedom of speech on the way to become an artist as follows: "In any case, he preserves his freedom and his right to independent judgement… Raised upon a little eminence which his independence has made for him, he sees his subject spread about him. He

chooses; he synthesizes; in short, he has ceased to be the chronicler; he has become an artist" (qtd. in O'Connor 51).

In the novel, Harry starts living and working with the Azam family, seemingly without any constraint, except for his authorial concerns about how he would compose his work. Harry's sensitive approach towards his work might be interpreted with reference to Ann Oakley's statement about the ultimate outcome of biography writing: "The text of a written biography is the product of two biographies – that of the writer and the person written about" ("The Social Science of Biographical Life-writing" 431). Hence, Harry opines, the biography should not only transmit the essence of Mamoon Azam but also fortify his name as an established life-writer. After Liana emphatically reminds Harry of the purpose of his residence with the family, that is "to show the world what an artist is" (30), Harry delves into the half-abandoned barn which contains "unwanted books, boxes full of drafts of novels, and, most valuably, Mamoon's first wife Peggy's diaries in a wooden crate. Then he scrubbed down a table, found an unbroken chair, fixed up a light, and plunged in" (23). Kureishi's depiction of Harry at work exactly fits P.R. Backscheider's definition of biographers' working habits: "Biographers live with their subjects as parasites and barnacles, attempt to follow them day by day, study their relationships with everyone, pore over their letters and diaries, pounce upon all descriptions of them, if possible sit in their chairs and handle their crockery" (*Reflections on Biography* 108). In fact, Harry's most valuable material is Mamoon himself. He is standing right in front of Harry, in flesh and blood. Nevertheless, since he is definitely unwilling to give an interview, Harry starts collecting data through reading Peggy's eleven-volume diaries which include detailed information about the couple's turbulent relationship and the history of young Mamoon's writing career: "the callow scholarship-winning Indian, down from Cambridge and living in London; [...] The writer begins to make his name with an amusing and well-observed novel about his father and the old man's scoundrel poker-playing friends" (24). Presumably, Kureishi is referring to Naipaul's first novel, *A House for Mr Biswas* that achieved worldwide acclaim with its publication in 1961. Harry finds Peggy's memoirs as self-pitying, masochistic, alarming, and at the same time, illuminating for his task of drawing a truthful personality portrait, in Rob's words, of "the Great Literary Satan" (8). It is seen that Mamoon's rapid rise in his literary career commences with his marriage: "he and Peggy marry and travel; he and Peggy settle down in the house, where Mamoon begins to write long family novels set in colonial India that he would be remembered for, as well as sharp essays about power and empire, along with extensive profiles and interviews with dictators and the Third-World crazies created at the collapse of colonialism" (24-25).

Mamoon's appearance on the literary stage as a budding postcolonial author coincides with the decolonisation process that reached its peak especially in the second half of the twentieth century. Harry believes that Peggy's diaries would provide him with the necessary historical context that would help him to

understand the period's impact on his subject's motives both as an individual and as an author. Harry's decision echoes Robert K. Massie's idea of the biographer being "at least something of a historian before he begins his work… [for] the biographer places his subject in the historical context and makes clear the extent to which that context influenced the subject's life" ("Narrating the Past: History or Biography" 103). Actually, Kureishi's Peggy is the fictional counterpart of Patricia Ann Hale, Naipaul's first wife and devoted editor, who never lost faith in the author's creative skill in the art of writing. As Patrick French states in *The World is What It is: The Authorised Biography of V.S. Naipaul*, "Naipaul incorporated Patricia into the process of literary creation. He relied on her guidance and support even while he harried her; he said he could not imagine working without her" (486). Possibly, without Patricia, Naipaul could not have become a writer of such merit at all. Nearly throughout their marriage, Naipaul cheated on Patricia with plenty of prostitutes, and for twenty-four years, with an Anglo-Argentine mistress, Margaret Gooding. In *The Last Word*, the Colombian lover, Marion, stands for Margaret. Although Patricia Hale never mentions the factual Margaret by name in her diaries, the fictional Peggy openly expresses her abhorrence of Marion and other unnamed women all of whom had affairs with Mamoon: "he disappeared on a book tour, where he meets only sycophants and pussy, as he puts it. Now he is sleeping with one of the women - Marion- on another continent" (25-26). Patricia simply ignored Naipaul's prolonged affair with Margaret; however, what devastated her was Naipaul's revelation to *The New Yorker* that he had sex with prostitutes. Despite all his agonising infidelities, Patricia kept counselling Naipaul even on her deathbed. In Patrick French's *Biography*, Naipaul admits his literary dependence on Patricia: "Even at the end when she was dying, I [told her] these are the notes about Indonesia, let me read them to you. I read them for too long. She was in great pain. She cried and then I stopped. I asked her opinion about certain things and she gave it. She always gave good advice, literary advice. A few days before her death she was able to judge it" (French 489). Despite all the suffering Naipaul had caused, Patricia never gave up her role of being the author's primary and highly reliable literary advisor until her death in 1996.

While exploring the limits of Peggy's patience, Harry pounces upon Mamoon's illegitimate affairs since, as Oakley states "the nature of a subject's sexuality is a common theme in modern biography" (433). For Kureishi, the reason for Peggy's endless tolerance is Mamoon's artistic genius. Indeed, Harry knows well that unethical behaviours, debauchery, or perversion of various sorts are found condemnable for ordinary people; whereas, artists are tolerated, even forgiven, when they commit questionable acts because "[t]he artist was the proxy, the brave one, the one who spoke, was thanked, and who paid the price" (36). From another perspective, the "real" artist's unique ability to create attaches her/him a God-like status; the artist becomes a competitor against God, a rival "trying even to surpass him. It was God, with his insistence on being worshipped and admired, who made the argument of art necessary, keeping the fire of dissent alive in men and women" (171). Hence, the artist is dissident by nature, the one who dares to speak, act and create contrary to existing norms, rules, paradigms

and laws. The artist is the one who takes the risk of being ostracised, exiled, vilified, punished, tortured, imprisoned, and, in some cases, killed. Kureishi also draws attention to the ever-present idea of the dangers of having "an artist around making mischief, stirring things up with the spoon of truth and intoxicant of fantasy and magic" (171). Reflecting upon the material Harry finds in the barn, he makes a list of literary figures who are said to have been involved in numerous immoral, perverse and/or criminal activities, ranging from paedophilia, incest and bestiality to torture, murder attempts or causing suicides. Both Kureishi and Harry, his fictional biographer, are fully aware of the devastating difficulties of creating works of art with words. Harry believes that "literature was a killing field; no decent person had ever picked up a pen" (37). Obviously for Harry, decency does not match with artistic genius. So, just like Peggy, Harry would love, honour and respect Mamoon for the sake of the undeniable artistic merit of his works. Harry's words justifying the element of aberration often found in artistic temperaments read as follows: "Mamoon might have been mean, drunken and dirty at times, as all men and women were, but it was important that prurience didn't distract him, or his readers, from the increasingly important lesson that great art, the best words and good sentences, mattered […] in a degraded censorious world… [because] Words were the bridge to reality; without them there was only chaos" (37). The conclusion Harry draws is that writers are the only ones to show reality in all its transparency; thus, his scope of forgiveness becomes nation-wide: "People admired Britain only because of its literature; the pretty little sinking island was a storehouse of genius, where the best words were kept, made and remade" (37). In Harry's eyes, what made Britain an admirable country is its rich repository of writers whose contribution to the world literature is immune to the corrosive effects of time.

After getting Mamoon's permission to interview Marion in New York, Harry pays a visit to India to further investigate his subject's childhood and adolescence, his relationship with his acquaintances, friends, family members and with his father in particular. Mamoon's father sent his son to "the hated mother country" (152) for education and betterment. However, at the end Mamoon deeply disappointed his father by not returning to India. Mamoon turned out to be his father's unfulfilled dream for he chose "to join the larger or complete" (152) civilisation. Indeed, his fellow countrymen, including his family members, friends and allies accused him of betrayal, of becoming "white." The father died of grief because the son whom he expected to be his "prop, his mirror, his *chamcha*" (150) that would share his loneliness refused to come back. Mamoon's success as a writer received contradictory criticisms and reactions in the two distinct camps of the world; while western readers highly appreciated and admired his works, and found them original and revolutionary, the rest of the world expressed profound resentment towards his work as well as his personality: "Those he left behind said he had made a pact with the devil and violated his forbears and family" (151); they believed Mamoon was a traitor to

his origins and indigenous culture. Yet all these bitter criticisms enable Harry to understand what makes Mamoon a unique postcolonial writer of such questionable fame or even notoriety:

> Harry learned what determination and strength Mamoon showed, not only in remaining in inhospitable Britain to earn money by his pen, but to make himself into an original writer, one not seen before, speaking from the position of a colonial subject or subaltern, but one without hatred, and with fascination if not identification with the colonisers' culture, Eschewing temporary causes and attitudes, Mamoon fashioned himself into a considerable and successful artist from a background which had enabled few before. (150-51)

To Harry, a man of lesser determination, intellect and skill would not have become the man he is now.

Harry's New York journey to interview Marion introduces the reader to a third role the modern biographer assumes other than that of the scientist and the artist: the detective. In her article, "Life Writing," Laura Marcus emphasises the changing role of the relationship between the biographer and the subject through a comparison of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries with the recent decades. For Marcus, recently, the relationship between the biographer and the subject "has been framed much more substantially in terms of quest, haunting and detection" (156). Thus, chasing after clues and facts about the secrets of Mamoon's private life, Harry goes to New York like a literary detective. Harry's meeting with the heartbroken Marion strengthened the bond between Harry and his subject. According to Oakley, "the familiar folklore of biography is that biographers [not always, but mostly] have an affinity for their subjects: they like them, identify with them, have interests in common" (430). In Harry's case, his admiration for Mamoon turns out to be love. After a few days of chatting with Marion and learning about the former lovers' sex life, the details of which were both complicated and astonishing, Harry's admiration for Mamoon deepens on seeing the author's striking photograph taken by "Richard Avedon" on top of Marion's bed:

> Mamoon must have been in his mid-forties, dark-haired, black-eyed, anguished, a man with the strength to endure, with a poet's soul, an Asian Camus. In time, Mamoon, the radical transgressor-for whom accurate language was always revolutionary-would argue and fall out with fellow writers; he would be banned from various countries for political or religious opinions, pick up a clutch of fatwas, and numerous prizes and awards, at which he would chuckle; and he would write good books. (170)

The photograph enables Harry to understand why he admires Mamoon that much. Whatever the cost is, Mamoon never abstains from telling what he considers to be true. It is the writer's courage, his being the daring man who says what has never been said before. To Harry, the photograph lays bare the personality of the artist who is "the tough-guy, hard-living artist who looked into

the dark without flinching, and spoke what he saw, putting truth and authenticity before safety. [… it is] the picture of pride, self-knowledge and glamour…" (171). Following inquiries and tape-recordings, Harry convinces Marion to see Mamoon's letters in order to confirm Marion's claims about Mamoon's prurience nearing perversion in the course of the author's exploration of his own sexuality. Having found nothing to confirm Marion's claims in the letters, Harry returns to Britain with a ready plan for the book in his mind, even though he has not written anything on page yet. The materials Harry has collected so far are Peggy's letters and diaries, Mamoon's notebooks that Julia gave to Harry (Ruth, her daughter, Julia, and son, Scott, are the staff of Mamoon's country house. Prior to Mamoon's marriage to Liana, Ruth and her children were a sort of family for Mamoon; however, after Liana, they returned to their servant status immediately. Julia and Harry have a brief and secret affair while Harry stays at Mamoon's); his visits to India and the US; his five-week residence with the Azam family, and his close observation of the couple's private life, their relationships with their staff, friends and acquaintances; the tape recordings and notes of the conversations he held with Mamoon; and undoubtedly, Harry's keen readings of Mamoon's literary output would help him fill in the gaps in the background materials and interpret them in a creative way. Thus, Harry appears to overcome his concerns about the structure of his work. Indeed, since he is supposed to write the biography of a factual person, he would not need an invented plot like a novelist. As C.D. Bowen suggests, "Compared to novelists, biographers supposedly have an easy time, because they have ready-made plots: birth, education, marriage, career, death" (*Biography: The craft and the calling* 3).

Rob's assessment of Harry's conduct throughout his sojourn at the Prospect's House is significant in several ways: "You behaved like a beast in his house […] you were baiting him, cunt-teasing and provoking his wife. You even turned her against him. You screwed his staff while consuming large amounts of his booze, eating his wife's food, stealing his notebooks, slapping him around the head, and accusing him of being a sadomasochist" (241). It is interesting that Rob's comments on Harry's behaviour are, with Kureishi's characteristic playfulness, emblematising Harry's ongoing progress on the way to become a literary artist, while, at the same time, they signal his transformation from literary observer to literary subject-the subject of Mamoon's last novel, one who is just as easily misunderstood and/or harshly criticised as Mamoon has been throughout his career. This evident and increasing resemblance between the personalities of Mamoon and Harry may also be interpreted in the light of Oakley's characterisation of biographers as "guide, companion, interpreter," but most importantly, as "aggressive competitor" (428) with the chosen subject. Indeed, in the last sections of the novel, Harry sets out to write his first work of fiction, and Mamoon his last novel, "*A Last Passion*," which he composes as a series of "conversations between generations, an older and a younger person" (250); not surprisingly, both of the said persons are writers. Thus, this fluid switching of

roles constitutes Kureishi's final judgement on life-writing as both art and craft, and beyond that, on all fictional writing as a form of life-writing, this possibly being the reason why he lets the literary artist-Mamoon and Harry, provided he publishes his novel, and naturally, Kureishi himself as the author of *The Last Word*-have the last word.

To refer one last time to Oakley's commentary regarding the double nature of biography as a two-level text about both the biographer and the person chosen as the biographer's subject, (431) Kureishi's novel actually appears to be a multi-level text: while the first level consists of Kureishi's literary text about the fictional writer, Mamoon Azam, and his fictional biographer/prospective novelist, Harry Johnson, the second unwritten level is related to factual V.S. Naipaul and his life-writer, Patrick French; Harry's biography of Mamoon constitutes the third level, and Mamoon's "*A Last Passion*" makes up the fourth level. In fact, in a near *mise en abyme* of levels, Mamoon's interpretation of Harry's ripening as an artist serves as a mirror, an unwritten text, of his own artistic personality and his past or present anxieties, while Harry's written biography about Mamoon simultaneously offers an unwritten psychological portrait of Harry himself, based on his personal manner of selecting and synthesising significant events from Mamoon's life and career.

It is seen that in the process of artistic creation literary artists like Kureishi, or Naipaul, or his fictional counterpart, Mamoon Azam, in *The Last Word*, are taking full advantage of their in-between status, heavily drawing on the liminal space which provides contemporary ethnic authors with a subjective platform of free aesthetic production. In this respect, Donald Weber's comment on the function of Kureishi's liminal status concerning his literary output is worth mentioning:

> Kureishi's embrace of his liminal status, the creative empowerment made available by his shifting position as a writer 'caught between two cultures, ideologies, colours...English and not English; middle-class but classless; outsider insider,' will inevitably compel him to resist both the politics of ethnic insiderism (the British-Pakistani community of London should not expect Kureishi to soften, let alone apologise for his biting satire any time soon) and the Left critique... [for] (Kureishi is not likely...to relinquish the imaginative freedom and subversive curiosity of the artist to join the collective struggle. ("No Secrets Were Safe from Me: Situating Hanif Kureishi" 130)

In Homi Bhabha's words, this liminal status has an "empowering condition of hybridity" (219), enabling authors to produce freely in an ethnospace. The ethnospace liberates the artist from the restrictions of all diasporic concerns, ideologies and paradigms imposed on the artist by the absolutism of one single culture because it is made of an amalgamation of different cultures. Thus, never being bothered by the hyphenated epithet, "British-Pakistani author" preceding his name, Kureishi makes use of his liminal status and feeds on the so-called ethnospace to fulfil his authorial needs, just like the subject of his fictional biography, "Indian-born" Mamoon Azam, not to mention "Trinidad-born" V.S. Naipaul himself.

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Re-envisioning "The South": Immigration and Postsouthern Place in Cynthia Shearer's *The Celestial Jukebox*

Cynthia Shearer'in *The Celestial Jukebox* adlı Eserinde Göçmenlik ve Post-Güney Mekan

Hüseyin Altındiş
Selçuk University, Turkey

Abstract

The US South has been defined as a backward and agrarian space with its monolithic structure that maintained the plantation nostalgia. Due to its plantation history, the *Lost Cause*, and being a part of Bible belt, the US South and specifically Mississippi was not open to transformation. However, the impact of globalization and emerging international corporations created a paradigm shift. Historian James L. Peacock suggests that "globalization has the capacity to fundamentally transform the South" as southerners tend to define themselves in a global context rather than a regional one (17). The arrival of immigrant workers not only changed the region demographically but also culturally. This inspired the depiction of the impacts of new cultural and demographic change on conventional notions of region and space. Within this scope, this paper seeks to analyze Cynthia Shearer's novel *The Celestial Jukebox* (2005) to discuss the paradigm shift in defining the South. The paper first presents historical ideas of the South, explains what the South and multiple Souths mean, introduces postmodern spatial theory and then utilizing postmodern spatial theory, the article attempts to discuss how immigration and globalization changed the culture, recognition, and perception of the region using two public spaces in *The Celestial Jukebox*.

Keywords: The South, immigration, space, memory, nostalgia, Cynthia Shearer.

Öz

Geleneksel olarak, Amerikan'ın Güney eyaletleri kendine has içine kapanık ve tek tip yapılanmasıyla geri kalmış ve kölelik kurumu ve çiftliklerinin mantığını devam ettirmiş veya devam ettirme niyetinde olan tarıma dayalı bir bölge olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Köle çiftlikleri, Kaybedilmiş Savaş ve "Bible belt" denilen dinin çok katı olarak yaşandığı bir bölge olma gerçeğinden dolayı, Amerika'nın güneyi, özellikle de konu ettiğimiz eserin mekânı olan Mississippi, değişime açık bir yer değildi. Ancak, küreselleşmenin etkisi ve uluslararası şirketlerin ortaya çıkması değerler dizisi değişikliğine yol açmıştır. Tarihçi James L. Peacock'un dediği gibi "küreselleşme Güneyi temelden değiştirme kapasitesine sahiptir" (17) çünkü güneyliler kendilerini artık yerel değil daha çok küresel olarak tanımlama eğilimindedirler. Göçmen işçilerin gelişi bölgeyi sadece demografik olarak değil aynı zamanda kültürel olarak da değiştirmiştir. Bu gerçeklik birçok yazar için ilham konusu olmuş ve geleneksel bölge ve mekân tanımlamasına kültürel ve demografik değişimin nasıl bir etki yaptığını tasvir etmişlerdir. Bu bağlamda, bu makalenin amacı Cynthia Shearer'in *The Celestial Jukebox* romanında küreselleşmenin ve göçmenlerin nasıl bir değerler dizisi değişikliği meydana getirdiğini analiz etmektir. Bunu gerçekleştirmek için makale ilk olarak

Güney'i tarihsel kavram olarak tanımlamakta ve Güney ve Çoklu Güney kavramlarına açıklık getirmeyi hedeflemekte ve daha sonra Mekân teorisi üzerinden metinde geçen iki mekânı inceleyerek göçmenlerin ve küreselleşmenin Güney'i ve bölgenin algısını nasıl değiştirdiğini göstermeyi hedeflemektedir.
Anahtar Kelimeler: Güney, göçmenlik, mekan, anı, nostalji, Cynthia Shearer.

> [T]his latest mutation –postmodern hyperspace– has finally succeeded in transcending the capacities of the individual human body to locate itself, to organize its immediate surroundings perceptually, and cognitively to map its position in a mappable external world.
>
> -- Fredric Jameson

We cannot study American literature and culture in the early twenty-first century without considering its global connections which gained momentum the previous century and resulted from unprecedented forms of emigration and immigration. Southern literature, inevitably, portrayed demographic and spatial changes introduced by diverse ethnicities and economies because the impact of globalization through capital flows, immigration, foodways, and information technologies has been visible in every aspect of daily life. The region is home to millions of immigrants from the Far East–Vietnam, China, and Korea–to Latin America, Asia, Europe, Africa, and the Caribbean. Thus, mass migration triggered unprecedented changes in the social, economic, cultural and political life of the region. One significant paradigm shift occurred via globalization and immigration that transformed the region from historically defined black/white and North/South binaries into multiethnic and multicultural transnational region. As James L. Peacock argues globalization is transforming both the South and the ways in which southerners perceive the region and regional identity. Peacock suggests that "globalization has the capacity to fundamentally transform the South" as southerners tend to define themselves in a global context rather than a regional one (17). This factuality has inspired many writers to depict the impacts of new cultural and demographic change on conventional notions of region and space.

Within this scope, this paper seeks to analyze Cynthia Shearer's novel *The Celestial Jukebox* (2005) as a case study to discuss how immigration and globalization introduced a paradigm shift in defining the South. In this regard, the paper, first, presents the historical ideas of the South, explains what the South and multiple Souths mean, introduces postmodern spatial theory and then utilizes postmodern spatial theory to historicize immigration and globalization and using two public spaces, The Lucky Leaf Casino and the Celestial Grocery, aims to discuss how immigration and globalization reshapes

southern spaces. The essay concludes by addressing significant areas of further research in Shearer's text.

Global Movements and the Transformation of the U.S. South

Most of the Americans and foreigners alike thought the U.S. South to be backward, remote, mysterious, and even dangerous with "its spiritual and intellectual barrenness, [...] religious fundamentalism" (Griffin 26). One of the most significant aspects of the old South is that it retained the "peculiar institution" of slavery, racial segregation, and white supremacy dominated the region by law, custom, and force. The Old South was poor, bereft of justice and economic opportunities. Franklin Roosevelt publicly proclaimed the region to be the nation's "number one economic problem" (qtd. Griffin 18). In *Inventing Southern Literature*, Michael Kreyling explains that the idea of "the South" in literature is a construct and an "imaginary" place "created by an arbitrary set of social formations" (6). Therefore, southern fiction comprises a series of "inventions and reinventions of the South in literature as ways of keeping history at bay" (xii). We no longer study southern literature or southern culture but "southern cultures," indeed, no longer the South but many Souths. In their edited collection, Fred Hobson and Barbara Ladd elaborate the plural Souths in the following manner:

> What had been generally referred to in historical and literary scholarship as "the South" began in the early 1980s to be "the American South" [...] and by the late 1990s we began to hear the 'U.S. South,' to signal a focus on the South in and as part of the nation, suggesting that, even within the Western Hemisphere, there were regions of South of South, including the Caribbean and Central and South America, an extending as far as Brazil –regions which had a great deal in common with the U.S. South, at least in its lower regions: tropical and semi-tropical climate, a plantation economy, a legacy of slavery, a colonial past. (9-10)

They suggest that there is a structural continuity between past and present, which is constantly challenged and reconstructed on a "residual culture," to borrow Raymond Williams' term. Then, Southern scholars such as Scott Romine, Martyn Bone, and Jay Watson, referencing some scholars such as Michael Kreyling and Fredric Jameson, discussed what postsouthern is. Postsouthern does not sever ties with the past, yet, as Martyn Bone explains, "*may* signify a break with familiar ideas of 'the South' and 'southern literature,' the etymological retention of 'southern' reminds us of historical continuities with earlier forms of uneven development and exploitation in the region" (*Postsouthern*, 344). In this sense, postsouthern should not be considered as an "end of the South so much as a tradition between Souths, in which 'earlier forms' of regional consciousness, affiliation, and discourse are 'restructured' into new regional identities and stories, [but as] new ways (a new 'stage') of being southern" (Watson 232). Jay Watson states that "a postsouthern South [...] appears to rest on no 'real' or reliable foundation of cultural, social, political,

economic, or historical distinctiveness, only on over-proliferating series of representations and commodification of 'southernness'" (219). Another important approach that connects "the South" to larger global South is suggested by Susan Jones and Sharon Monteith. They encourage scholars "to chart connections with "other" Souths in ways that open up spaces and places from which we might read the region as *a site of exchange*" (10, emphasis mine). Similarly, Barbara Ladd argues that "the local has become the crossroads— contemporary work wants to bridge the local and the global, laying claim to relevance, in and beyond the nation-state" (1636). Shearer's novel, *The Celestial,* in this sense, re-contextualizes global and postcolonial connections through immigration and globalization phenomena that contribute to restructuring and reinventing the meaning and functionality of southern spaces.

The southern states did not attract immigrants in large numbers until the late twentieth century mostly because of its slave-labor based agrarian economy. At the turn of the century, as David Goldfield notes, "small groups of immigrant workers from Europe and China settled in the region, but the vast majority headed to urban areas in the Northeast, Midwest, and West to become part of the industrial workforce" or those stayed in the South did not work in the fields but initiated entrepreneurship (qtd. In Lassiter, 237). Chinese immigrants, for example, who "were recruited to the state by agricultural businessmen hoping to find replacement laborers for their fields after the Civil War," opened grocery stores which became significant landmarks of the rural South (Jung 5). In Shearer's text, an example of these groceries, The Celestial Grocery, is analyzed to depict how the postsouthern space is redefined through immigration.

Following Chinese immigrants, changes in the U.S. immigration policies contributed to the pluralistic and transnational demographics of the region. The Hart-Cellar Act of 1965 abolished existing discriminatory national origin quotas and opened doors for new immigrants. The Immigration ACT of 1924 allowed Chinese immigrants to work in the United States but without their families. In that sense, the ACT of 1965 made family reunification and established visa categories for workers in occupations with insufficient labor supply. After the 1965 Immigration ACT, immigrants reflect the transnational reformation of the space in the South (Altındiş 10). In addition to the ACT, the business expansion in the region, food processing companies, such as Tyson Food in Northwest Arkansas, foreign automobile companies (Toyota, Honda, Nissan, and Mercedes) in Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, and local and foreign corporations such as Wal-Mart (headquarters in Bentonville, Arkansas), demanded various types of labor ranging from unskilled labor and construction workers to engineers. Another significant act that brought an influx of immigrants, Latino(a)s, to the region is the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986. Under IRCA approximately three million immigrants gained a permanent legal residence in the South (Odem 358). Related to IRCA, historian Raymond Mohl explains that "globalization has brought a transnational, low-wage Hispanic labor force to the land of Dixie–a pattern of human migration that

has produced substantial cultural and demographic change in a region where changes have always been slow and received with skepticism (430). As a result of immigration and global economies, the American South became a spatially and demographically transnational center as opposed to backward and isolated old South.

Representations of the American South, therefore, the southern sense of space, have been changing rapidly due to transnational effects of colonialism, globalization, and the rise of technologies. Due to such factors, unprecedented numbers of people now travel to more distant and less visited places. One consequence of such changes is that place and spatiality represent more multicultural and global perceptions and experiences rather than uniquely and distinctively local ones.

Over the past few decades, space has become an essential concept for literary and cultural studies. Among many others[1], Martyn Bone's *The Postsouthern Sense of Place in Contemporary Fiction* and Suzanne Jones and Sharon Monteith's edited collection, *South to a New Place: Region, Literature, Culture* (2002) highlight multiple geographic sites in order to explore the local, national, and global connections of the US South. In the contemporary world, the South has numerous meanings, and the region is becoming "more fluid than […] parochial axioms would imply" (Jones and Monteith 3). Thus the US South becomes, what Maureen Ryan calls, "a new frontier of cultural hybridism" (qtd. in Jones and Monteith 5). People go to a Mexican or a Chinese restaurant, wear clothes produced in Indonesia, shop in a local farmer's market, and drink Turkish coffee in a small Mediterranean cafe. All these changes emphasize a newer and postmodern concept of space.

Postmodern Spatial Theory and Postsouthern

This section of the paper analyzes the Lucky Leaf Casino and the Celestial Grocery using Lefebvre's classifications of space as mentioned below. These places show how immigration and new corporations have altered the space in the contemporary southern town, which in turn challenges the idea that southern space is still tied to binary representations. The Lucky Leaf Casino and the relations evolved around the Celestial Grocery offer a new language of representation of the contemporary US South, which articulates an epochal transition in material life and multicultural integration through rejecting binary discourses. The ethnicity of the customers and workers in the Celestial Grocery and the Lucky Leaf Casino creates a new space-based ontology, which pictures the South with its economically and racially changing face. In other words, the Celestial Grocery and the Lucky Leaf Casino reject paradigmatic and categorical thinking and investigate alternative ways to interpret and depict the southern

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[1] There are several examples from different disciplines such as Ceri Watkins in "Representations of Space, Spatial Practices and Spaces of Representation: An Application of Lefebvre's Spatial Triad" uses Lefebvre's theory to explore organizational space, Jasminah Beebeejaun uses space theory to discuss "Gender, urban space, and the right to live," and Barbara Tversky's article "Structures of Mental Spaces: How people Think About Space"

space by "tear[ing] away [from] its layers of ideological mystification" (Soja 73). In that sense, both the Lucky Leaf Casino and the Celestial Grocery represent a philosophical investigation into the poetics of space with their interior and exterior depictions.

In order to investigate these poetics, this section of the paper aims to introduce postmodern spatial theory in the light of which space is going to be analyzed in the selected work. Numerous influential books and scholars focus on the significance of place and its relation to people inhabiting that space. Edward Soja, for example, in his seminal work *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (1989) attempts to make "theoretical and practical sense of the contemporary restructuring of capitalist spatiality" (159). He argues that while "space in itself may be primordially given, the organization and meaning of space is a product of social translations, transformations, and experience" (80). He coins the term "spatiality" to capture the dynamic nature of space; Soja's definition of spatiality divulges notions of "naturalness" from space and suggests that spatiality is a dynamic that affects our life experiences. Ultimately, Soja accepts "an essential connection between spatiality and being" (119). In *The Celestial Jukebox*, physical spaces, such as the "Lucky Leaf Casino" and the "Celestial Grocery," influence postmodern experiences of people living in Madagascar while representing the essential connection between space and "being" that Soja refers to. In other words, *The Celestial Jukebox* offers ways to understand how space is constructed, organized, and imbued with power that affects our perception of space. It portrays how the spaces we occupy, inhibit, negotiate, and modify our understanding of the region and, therefore, ourselves.

Another prominent scholar, Henri Lefebvre, in his book *The Production of Space* (1974) presents the relationships between *physical*, *mental*, and *social spaces*, all of which the paper will be using for the analysis of the place in *The Celestial Jukebox*. Lefebvre argues that "few people today would reject the idea that capital and capitalism 'influence' practical matters relating to space, from the construction of buildings to the distribution of investments and the worldwide division of labor" (9-10). Physical space represents the nature of space, and mental space refers to formal abstractions about the space while social space refers the space of human interaction. These aspects of space are important in analyzing the southern spaces in *The Celestial Jukebox*, because space is a social product, in which there is a close interaction between a place and its inhabitants. Both the Lucky Leaf Casino and the Celestial Grocery, as entities, are multidimensional spaces that can be portrayed and perceived through Lefebvre's modes of physical, mental and social spaces. Their physicality plays a significant role in cognitive mapping of the space while challenging and problematizing historical dilemmas. Physical mode of the space ushers the reader to mental mode which reminds traumas and problematic abusive history of the region that needs to be addressed. Finally, as social spaces, both studied entities bring different aspects of life into communication in the physical space that mentally crosses tangible boundaries. Lefebvre posits that every society

"hence, every mode of production with its sub-variants create their own spaces" (31). From the literary perspective, Eudora Welty, in *The Eye of the Story*, elaborates the significance of place in literature as follows:

> Place absorbs our earliest notice and attention; it bestows on us our original awareness; and our critical powers spring up from the study of it and the growth of experience inside it. It perseveres in bringing us back to earth when we fly too high. It never really stops informing us, for it is for-ever astir, alive, changing, reflecting, like the mind of man itself. When one specific place is comprehended, we can understand other places better. (114)

Welty's depiction of place highlights radical sociospatial and cultural transformation of a locale while inviting the reader to interpret and appreciate the space in a dialogical relationship with other places. Shearer, in her text, portrays the significance of a place and contributes to the reconstructing of the postsouthern space as a global region, thereby, freeing southern literature from traditional conceptual models that reinforce its insularity and exceptionality.

The term "post-southern" was coined by Lewis P. Simpson in his article "The Closure of History in a Postsouthern America" (268). In his collection of essays, *The Brazen Face of History* (1980), Simpson delineates a crucial shift in southern literature from agrarian representation to postmodern. Building upon this term, Michael Kreyling suggests that postsouthern landscape "question[s] the natural authority of the foundation term: *Southern*," which "has been used so much, been invested with so much meaning, that we can no longer distinguish between what if anything is inherent and what other interests have attached [to it] over time" (155). More recently, in his book *The Postsouthern Sense of Place in Contemporary Fiction* (2005), Martyn Bone explores how southern literature establishes a traditional aesthetic or "sense of place." He argues that contemporary southern fiction explores this sense of place as a construction. Bone suggests that "a historical-geographical materialist approach might help us to recover the relation between postsouthern literature and the sociospatial reality of the contemporary (post-)south" (45). From this standpoint, it is the contention of this paper that *The Celestial Jukebox*'s transnational world, with its immigrants and contemporary capitalist spatiality, disrupts received notions of place and southernness. The text suggests that postsouthern sense of place has changed in tandem with globalization, immigration, economic and political advances that have altered the landscape. In *The Celestial,* Shearer presents a visual depiction of a sense of place, which has shifted more toward narrative constructions of southern places that offer stability in a rapidly changing southern culture.

As Bone argues, immigration to the region alters and reconfigures the South, rendering it doubly post-regional and national. He states that "writers will emerge from the region's new transnational populations to write 'the South' again in unexpected and exciting ways" (253). For Bone "to tell about the postsouthern, and to map the postsouthern geographies, is increasingly and necessarily also to take the transnational turn" (253). He concludes that "Only

then can one develop a sufficiently critical, global 'sense of space'" (253). In that sense, Shearer's immigrants and the setting of the text, Madagascar, should not be read as casual insertions to literary texts but rather as a project that spatializes our conceptions of history, knowledge, and cross-cultural and transnational dynamics that re-envision the U.S. South. In other words, the text reminds the readers of the significance of space and territory and exemplifies, as Bone aptly puts it, "geographical redevelopment of the region and related representational shifts in fiction" (ix). In doing so, the text reconsiders the South within the context of the region's social, spatial, and cultural transformations. Thus, the text embodies the idea that, as Scott Romine asserted, "it [is] inevitable that the erosion of economic and ideological distinctiveness will radically alter the meaning of place" (23), which highlights that the history and culture of the nation is intertwined with economic and ideological concerns that change the perception of the space.

The setting in *The Celestial*, Madagascar, as a postsouthern space, has multiple functions and meanings. First, it helps us understand remapping of the southern town with transnational dimensions as "cognitive mapping," to use Fredric Jameson's term, presents a "guided tour through mythical, political, and economic histories" of the South (Brown 738). For Jameson, the concept signifies aesthetic function, and it may assist this paper in interrogating and reconstructing the meaning of space critically (51). For the aesthetic of cognitive mapping, Jameson writes, "an aesthetic of cognitive mapping [...] will necessarily have to respect this now enormously complex representational dialectic and invent radically new forms in order to do it justice" (54). Based on the urbanist Kevin Lynch's notion of cognitive mapping from his 1960 book *The Image of the City*, Jameson connects the concept to the crucial Marxist theme of the social totality. Lynch suggests that "the alienated city is above all a space in which people are unable to map (in their minds) either their own positions or the urban totality in which they find themselves" (51). Jameson adds historical dimension to the concept of mapping for the representation of the global total. Thus, cognitive mapping "will reflect the distortions and omissions of the individual's personal experience of living in such an alienated environment" (Roberts 141).

In this context, *The Celestial Jukebox* presents enough data representing historical dimensions and alienated personal experiences that can be analyzed through the lens of cognitive mapping. The following exchange between Angus Chien, Chinese proprietor of the Celestial Grocery, and Aubrey Allerbee, an African American land owner, cognitively remaps the paradigm shift and diversification of a small southern town which "had never been big enough to hire a policeman" (102). This exchange enables us to remap and visualize the changing face of the South not only with commercial districts but also with demographics. With the construction of a station that apparently excesses the

demand is the signifier of servicescapes[2] that would attract other types of businesses and ethnicities to the region. The depiction of the Casino enterprise, which the paper analyzes in detail later, also acts as a cognitive mapping that relates past and present with multiple meanings and functions.

 Madagascar becomes a transnational diasporic space and offers the intensity of meanings through its name, particular qualities, and shared memories. In other words, Madagascar, by illuminating important social realities, becomes the phenomenon of an increasingly multicultural space that reconstructs the image of the small southern town. Second, Madagascar, in this sense, becomes a significant territory distinguished from other areas by its name, its past, and by the intensity of meanings people give or drive from it. Last but not least, Madagascar embodies the notion that the significance of a place is in its identity rather than its physicality while the text, at the same time, draws attention to broader practices of racialization, globalization, and transculturalism. Madagascar, as setting, and its immigrants establish both historical and contextual ground and highlight significant characteristics of contemporary southern space. With fictional Madagascar, Shearer creates a place, which offers an alternative reading of the space that can be defined as "multi-Souths," to adapt C. Hugh Holman's phrase (qtd. in Davis 61). In this sense, "the South" is depicted as postsouthern and new in contrast to "old setting" of the rural and "the old theme" of community. Shearer's imagined world and space significantly alter the traditional racial binaries and backwardness of southern spaces while bringing life to the dying southern town and constructing a globally connected space.

The Celestial Jukebox suggests that it would be impossible to envision postmodern southern space without diverse immigrant populations that authenticate Shearer's imagined geography in which the narrative interrogates the nature of locality "as a lived experience in a globalized, deterritorialized world" (Appadurai 56). Shearer introduces various ethnic immigrants with shared historical relations to display the "solidarity with other Global souths" (Hinrichsen 213) while depicting a space that harbors cross-cultural and transnational identities. Immigrants are central to the story of *The Celestial Jukebox*; they work at low paid jobs as construction builders (Mexicans), field workers (Hondurans), and casino workers (Mauritanians). The position of the immigrants also highlights the realities of exploitation that are usually visible. When Boubacar, a Mauritanian teenager, arrives at Memphis International Airport, his uncles cannot come to meet him as they do not want to lose their job by taking a day off. The following excerpt demonstrates the instability of their positions and, therefore, the exploitative nature of immigrant labor:

> There would be no one to meet his plane, to call out his name, *Boubacar.* His uncles would be working at the casino in Mississippi. There was no

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[2] Stephen Brown and John F. S Herry Jr in *Time, Space, and the Market: Retroscpaes Rising* (2003) define servicescapes as a "landscape created to serve the economic aims of the service, retail, and tourism industries" and modern-day consumers are "witnessing a renewed interest in place, as the recent rise of dramatic servicescapes" (3)

time for the luxury of an airport greeting. His uncles might return and find themselves replaced by some other newcomer equally adept at carving carrot-roses, or spiriting baggage off big American buses, or smiling without rancor at old infidel women with no manners. A worker had taken time off for his wife to give birth, so his uncles had said, and found himself replaced that very day by another Mauritanian, someone from his same street back in Nouatchkott. (17, emphasis in original)

This passage highlights that the existence of diverse ethnicities cannot be taken for granted for the community in Madagascar. The visibility of immigrants and the way Boubacar was purchased by a northern philanthropist and the way he traveled to the South locates the novel cognitively, tying the place with history, and offers that postsouthern place reflects cultural, economic, political, and spatial changes. The fact that he is purchased like a commodity cognitively reminds the peculiar institution of slavery in which the black were bought and sold as commodities to perform manual labor in the southern spaces. For that reason, people arrived at this land in any way such as Angus, the Mauritanian Boubacar, and Honduran field workers become the elements of the space more than any local detail. The existence of these characters underscores crucial changes in the diversity of southern identities and affirms historical, social, and political connections of the South with larger souths. By highlighting the diversity and creating a multicultural southern town, Shearer creates a notion of space in which "absolute particularity of the mixture of influences" to borrow John Agnew's phrase, creates specificity rather than mythical representations and insularity (Agnew 22). In so doing, Shearer offers epistemic detours, which depict the U.S. South as a complex transnational space that renders the social reality of her characters in all its complexity. The visibility of immigrant-dominated spaces and their centrality locates the novel in a postsouthern space which signifies the fact that space is not constituted as a singular entity, but rather it is polyvalent and constituted by a "dialectically interwoven matrix" of transnational and transcultural interactions (Wegner 182). Thus, in addition to evoking a particular setting, immigrants, more ethnic diversity will be discussed below, and changing space reveal the complexity of the constructed space.

As the story unfolds, it becomes clear that immigrants not only create a distinct and recognizable southern space, but also offer ways to re-envision and reassessing the South as global south; thus, blurring the real and imaginary borders of the South. The "skinny Mauritanian boy," Boubacar, arrives in a cosmopolitan and globally imagined place, Memphis airport, and finds himself almost lost among the "river of bodies [that] bumped him from behind, eddied around him, whorled off in a long stream" (Shearer 15). The crowd he encounters is reminiscent of the "city-ocean," to use Gaston Bachelard's phrase (Bachelard viii). The *whorled* crowd creates a metaphorical "ocean" of humanity in postsouthern space. The polytonality and multicultural aspects of the postsouthern space are depicted through the phrases "America was a *prism of voices*," and "*sea of cars*," which highlights diversity implying the foreign as well

as American makers of those cars and labor, local and foreign, produced the cars (Shearer 17, emphasis added).

Upon leaving the airport, Boubacar travels to Madagascar, where his uncles work in the Lucky Leaf Casino. On his way to Madagascar, southern rural space is depicted from Boubacar's perspective as a "flat, wet desert, infinite fields [...]an empty parking lot in front of a store [...] few human beings in sight" (24-25). In Shearer's imagined postsouthern space, Boubacar's observation mirrors, what Soja writes as, "the essential qualities of the physical world, spatiality, temporality, and social being [that] can be seen as the abstract dimensions which together comprise all facets of human existence" (Soja 25). The symbolic depiction of the southern landscape continues to shape our perceptions as the South is "continually undergoing demographic changes" (Jones and Monteith 11). In other words, through Boubacar's observation, Shearer expands the conceptual framework in which the South has traditionally been mapped. The Lucky Leaf Casino and the Celestial Grocery present a powerful depiction of place as important spaces that shape our understanding of the region. This closer perception and dynamic representation of the space aims to refute Tom Dent and his idea that small towns "are more resistant to change [and] more reflective of the South as a region" (qtd. in Jones and Monteith 7). *The Celestial Jukebox* underscores that the South and, therefore, small towns in the South, will be changed forever by new immigrants and modern capitalist corporations like *Futuristics* and *Dixie Barrel* in Madagascar.

Post-southern Spaces: The Lucky Leaf Casino and The Celestial Grocery

For Lefebvre, the place means "first, the physical- nature, the Cosmos; secondly, the mental, including logical and formal abstractions; and, thirdly, the social" (11). In other words, the space is alive in all its aspects, and it communicates in perceived, conceived, and lived aspects. It communicates and, as Lefebvre writes,

> has an affective kernel or center: Ego, bed, bedroom, dwelling, house; or, square, church, graveyard. It embraces the loci of passion, of action and of lived situations, and thus immediately implies time. Consequently, it may be qualified in various ways: it may be directional, situational or relational, because it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic. (42)

Representation of physical mental, and social space in *The Celestial Jukebox* is significant because, as perception, conceiving and living experiences, the space cognitively reminds historical, social and cultural values of the community to be accepted or challenged. In other words, *The Celestial* depicts the physical space through the capitalist spatiality created by companies such as *Dixie Barrel* and *Futuristics*. The latter, "[a] Memphis *business* with vague intent"(105), sends letters to the residents of Madagascar wanting to buy their land, including Angus Chien's grocery store and Dean Fondren's, a white land owner, land to turn them into modern-day servicescapes such as casino and gas station(Shearer 85). Similarly, *Dixie Barrel* transforms the spatiality of the southern space adding a

more global sense to space. Aubrey Ellerbee, an African-American farmer whom Dean tries to save from the cogs of the casino, talks to Angus about how capitalist investment reshapes and relocates the sense of place in the southern town. They talk about the change these companies bring in the following exchange:

> *- I reckon you seen where they broke ground for that Dixie Barrel.*
> *- The What?*
> *- Dixie Barrel, up the road a ways. One of them Arkansas chains. Big doings, twelve gas pumps, souvenir shop. They working three shifts of Mexicans to get it open by the end of the month. I'm surprised you can't hear the racket all the way over here. I can hear the backhoes and dozers going all night long.*
> *- Souvenir of what?* Angus asked
> *- They is people in this world that will pay three dollars for one cotton ball wrapped in a little baggie,* Aubrey laughed. [...]
> Angus was silent a moment.
> *– Twelve pumps? Ain't nobody around here need twelve tanks of gas all the same time.* (36, emphasis in original)

Contrary to Boubacar's initial depiction of southern land as barren and flat with signs, Aubrey in this dialogue reflects the transformation in a rural town which depicts construction, more job opportunities, and multiplicity of the space. By establishing businesses, the capitalist investment aims to transform the regional to national, or more broadly, to global space through fetishizing the regional themes and attracting more capital to the region. Thus, the individual can create a cosmos to make one's existence intelligible and meaningful.

The Lucky Leaf Casino represents a practical sense of the contemporary restructuring of "capitalist spatiality," to adopt Soja's phrase (159). The field on which the casino was built used to be a plantation house which represents an "absolute space," to borrow from Lefebvre. Lefebvre writes, "the cradle of the absolute place [...] is a fragment of agro-pastoral space [which] has the potentiality of being close to nature" (234). From this standpoint, space is a produced place in which use-value is produced, which is also a microcosmic space. As a mental space, the casino mirrors the biracial plantation history of the South located in a predominantly labor-based black state. The Lucky Leaf Casino is reminiscent of historical traumas and depicts, what Taylor calls, "slavery's prescriptive calculations of worth and value" (2).

Although it aims to entertain its customers, the casino is the place "that would break Aubrey" and many others (Shearer 36). Aubrey signs papers to get more money and to gamble more in the casino. The company intends to confiscate his tractor and land in return for his debt. In that sense, the casino becomes a representational space of exploitation and transformation in a postsouthern sense of space. In other words, it underscores the idea that "past itself may return, inflicting new wounds and reopening old ones" (Adams 5). As Lefebvre succinctly puts it, it is this characteristic "that make[s] it similar to fictional/real

space of language, and of that mental space, magically cut off from the spatial realm" (236). Thus, with the Lucky Leaf Casino, Shearer problematizes the nostalgic perpetuation of plantocracy and the myth of the old South by creating a simulacrum. She creates an absolute mental space which frees the space from its singularity and insularity, thereby making it a global space.

The visual and sensual depiction of the interior of the casino, which can be interpreted through Lefebvre's physical and mental space, emphasizes the ideas of space and memory in a modern physical space. This relation is depicted through Dean's perceptions of the casino as a "hypnotic drone, an electronic beckoning, like thousands of dreamy false coins falling, a way of wooing fools" (182). He witnesses modern forms of subjugation that exploits the space and the people occupying that space with "black sharecroppers in overalls feeding coins into slot machines" (182). In addition to the ambiance, the description of the "mindless murals of the old moss-draped *trompe l'oeil* plantations on the walls" aims to relate the space to the past while portraying the relationship between the present and the past. Through the murals, Shearer suggests that "slavery's physical and psychic violence is always active within scenes of nostalgia" (Adams 17). The casino, in this sense, cognitively ties the place to the plantation history of the Old South and the peculiar institution of slavery. The perpetuation of the labor and human abuse is challenged via mapping. In other words, Dean's narrative establishes a better understanding of the interconnection between space, imagination, and literature. Thus, through these interconnections, space in *The Celestial* presents ways to interpret how these interconnections shape our perceptions, memories, and representations of lived and conceived space in the modern South. In other words, through the murals on the walls, Shearer reminds the readers that memories of space are entwined with the present, a part of our current ongoing experience. The murals represent the embodiment of what Lefebvre calls "spatial competence" (33) that communicates cohesion and continuity in the society. The description of the murals reminds us of the concept of "time-space," the chronotope, coined by Mikhail Bakhtin to make a clear sense of the relations between historical time and geographical space in literature.

The interior description of the Lucky Leaf Casino with its physicality, explores, as Bachelord puts, "edges of the imagination, recesses of the psyche, the hallways of the mind," which can be read as mental space ([1958], 1994 vii). "Overseers standing on what once had been all cotton fields" cognitively ties physical space to mental and thus to a social space by addressing different paradigms that shape our understanding of southern spaces in modern times while visualizing the history (Shearer 183). Readers learn more about the casino through Dean's perspective. The destruction that the casino brings to Aubrey, Jimmy–Angus's cousin– and many other nameless characters highlights the social characteristics of space and displays how it creates a social web of relations. For Dean, the casino always "seemed like some vague piece of pornographic cardboard" that attracts people and takes their money and savings away (181). Dean's physical and mental description of the casino reveals the spatial change as follows:

> [The casino] occupied what once had been Israel Abide's main cotton
> field, which had been so large it had taken six cotton pickers at the time
> to work it. Now, most of that field was covered in asphalt. Cars and trucks
> from Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi were wedged as close to the
> entrance as possible. (181)

Through Dean's perception of space, the text confronts old depictions of the South defined as agrarian, monolithic, and backward while depicting contemporary "capitalist land speculation" that plays a major role in the production of postsouthern space in the fictional Mississippi town, Madagascar (Bone 42). Thus, Shearer's divergence from traditional depiction of the southern space establishes a postsouthern sense of place. Similar to the interior description, the external description of the Lucky Leaf Casino continues to visit the halls of the mind and imagination when Dean notices "a huge fountain [...] rippling with water. Concrete cherubs cavorted, while concrete angels with the bodies of whores watched over them. Then he saw cotton pickers and combines, arranged in a circle around the fountain" (186). The fountain, similar to the murals inside the casino, serves to the same purpose and depicts the land's connection to labor and exploitation. These depictions highlight capitalism's "tremendous impact upon the material production of place," which is radically reconstructed and ultimately portrays "the sociospatial reality of the post-South" (Bone 46). Similarly, in *The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and Postmodern Perspective*, Antonio Benitez-Rojo defines the plantation as a machine, which facilitates the destructive work of colonialism from its "mercantilist laboratory" (5). Similar to the plantation economy, the Casino business, as a proliferating and insatiable machine, mirrors the economic and spiritual destruction.

At crucial moments in the text, Shearer challenges exceptionality and notions of racial binarism in the U.S. South through the space that the Celestial Grocery occupies, a locale that imbues the text with connections of which immigrants are an integral part. The Chinese grocery "invites a cross-temporal, transcultural collaboration and dialogue" (Hinrichsen 169), which would create a hybrid and multicultural U.S. South. Through her diverse immigrant groups and customers who meet in the Celestial Grocery, Shearer succeeds in opening up the US southern town through dialogic encounters with the global south via the help of these diverse characters whose initial dislocation from traditional referents leads to a reconsideration of "southern paradigms in southern places" (Hinrichsen 198). We learn much about Madagascar through Angus's perspective, knowledge, and memory. Angus presents an unbiased perspective. The Celestial Grocery, which is one of the rare places that races are mused, plays a central role signifying the function of post-southern place. As the "deer-antler chandelier [...] dominated the center" of the Celestial Grocery, Angus as a character and the Celestial Grocery as a place dominate the center of the setting with "little yellow lights" (99) it radiates, which help the residents of Madagascar to "[locate] themselves in the vast black nights"(97). Angus and the Celestial

Grocery, as a physical, mental, and social space, present ways of seeing, knowing, and understanding the contemporary South.

In addition to hosting customers with distinct ethnicities and cultures, the Celestial Grocery, as a social space, also represents history and cultural values that are unique to the South as the Grocery "was the last of a constellation of Chinese-run country stores that used to exist in almost every river town between Memphis and Mississippi" (31). With the old jukebox, the Grocery carries the tinges and sounds and culture of the past to the present. Boubacar is introduced to southern music through the jukebox and could listen to "Johnny Cash, Otis Redding, Carl Perkins, Percy Sledge, Slim Harpo, [and] Wilson Pickett" (33). With this functionality, the Celestial Grocery was not "just a subsistence-level business," but more a socioeconomic and cultural space where we can witness the history of the town as well for any literary representation is a "*reinterpretation* of the contemporary historical reality" (Mete 217, emphasis in original). The following description of the Celestial Grocery as the hub or center of the town portrays global connections of a place through business. There is something for everybody in this small multicultural southern grocery:

> The Celestial Grocery was the acknowledged heart of the little dying town, the kind of place to get live fish bait at five in the morning or eggs over easy near midnight if you could catch Angus still up. Inside, plaid flannel t-shirts from Taiwan were shelved next to sardines from Finland and pantyhose from North Carolina. Cheap cotton-candy textured dresses from the Philippines hung on a rusty rack alongside camouflage t-shirts from Alabama meant for deer hunters. (32-33)

In addition to the economic aspects, the Celestial Grocery occupies a significant space in the memory of the town as a "living organism," to use Lefebvre's words, which is a characteristic of mental space. The Celestial Grocery as a physical space is an active place in which experiences are recreated through mental abstractions. In this sense, the grocery becomes one of the main characters of the story. The text presents a mental and historical role of the place in the following manner:

> Angus recorded the history of Madagascar on those walls, the wedding and birth announcements, obits, and local engagements. As the years passed, the walls were covered with accounts of riverboat wrecks and local sons lost in the wars, those declared and those that weren't. [...] Aubrey's had been only the second black face to be tacked up on the Celestial's wall. [...] The clipping was put up there by Angus in 1973 when Aubrey was fifteen. He was the first black boy in Future Farmers of America in Mississippi to win Grand Reserve championship at the fair in Memphis. (37-38)

The grocery is depicted as a dynamic physical space, which is at the same time conceptual and imagined. The identity of the place adds materiality to its physicality and, therefore, to its visibility. It is the phenomenon of an increasingly multicultural postsouthern space. The discourse on the place is

representational as it bears witness to the historical events that are recorded and displayed on the walls of the Celestial Grocery. In a dialogical relationship with the spatiality, the text portrays spatial practices of the community because the Grocery depicts that spatial practice is the result of practices dominated and affected by everydayness. Thus, the Celestial Grocery is a conceptualized space that delineates what is lived and what is perceived within the physical existence of the space. The recordings, pictures, and notes on the walls exemplify ideologies and potentials of repression. In other words, they represent, as Lefebvre puts succinctly, "imposed relations between production, signs, codes, and frontal relations" (33). Furthermore, with Aubrey's photo taped on the wall, space portrays the complex race relations in the South. As a representational space, Grocery embodies "complex symbolism, sometimes coded, sometimes not" (33). The pictures show how relations are grasped by historical accumulations, what Lefebvre defines as "history of space" (42). In other words, the Celestial Grocery and, similarly, the Lucky Leaf Casino, display how physical spaces are built within a complex dialectic relationship with societies that inhabit them.

Conclusion

The Celestial Jukebox, through social and historical characteristics of the space, highlights the significance of postsouthern space and multicultural social relations in contemporary literature. Through the Lucky Leaf Casino and the Celestial Grocery, postsouthern space becomes a site of ethnography, anthropology, and history that would narrate the story of space while reconstructing and re-envisioning functionality and role of the space in Twenty-first Century American literature. In order to present functionality, Lefebvre's modes of physical, mental, and social spaces enable the reader to better analyze the role of space as perceived, conceived and lived experience. Choosing Madagascar as a setting and context for immigrants and changing space, Shearer enlarges our understanding of the postsouthern space and the relations that shape that space. To do so, her choice of specific and significant spaces such as the Lucky Leaf Casino and the Celestial Grocery accentuate the significance of space in relation to lived experiences, culture and history. Her choice and presentation complicate and challenge the persistence of historical, political and cultural paradigms that shaped the space which undergoes significant shift due to shifting demographics and economics. The text thus presents multidimensionality of a lived space. In other words, Shearer, through her depictions, suggests that space as a physical and socially constructed entity cannot be reduced to only one basic form. The text offers alternative representations of a space while depicting the ways in which place and memory, along with many others, reconstruct and re-envisions the space in the South. Most importantly, in depicting the postsouthern space, the text amalgamates different cultures and ethnicities and reminds the reader of the main principles upon which the country has been founded. Different cultures and demographics

save the region from its insularity bringing it diversity, multiculturalism and richness that is seen through international corporations that revived the region's economy which ultimately saved the region from being backward. In that sense, it is possible to say that *The Celestial Jukebox* depicts post-southern space as a complex and multiethnic social product. By challenging plantation nostalgia, human commodification, and exploitation, the novel contributes to the subversion of economic and historical abuses of immigrants, labor, and land in the contemporary US South. Shearer's text addresses many different cultural and historical aspects of the South. In that sense, there are significant areas of further research that can be conducted on immigration labor, globalization, music, and foodways.

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Henry James's Prefatory Discourse as a Site for Innovation, Construction, and Instruction
Henry James'in Önsöz Yazma Geleneği Üzerine

Nodhar Hammami Ben Fradj
University of Kairouan, Tunisia

Abstract

This study attempts to show the distinct features of Henry James's prefaces as a body of criticism that provides the receiver with new cues to read not only his narratives but also fiction in general. It aims to demonstrate how his prefatory discourse becomes a site for literary criticism and an extra-textual space that allows the author to communicate his "lessons" on new fiction theories rather than an illustrative pre-text that discloses the author's objectives. Through an unconventional use of prefaces, James endeavors to change the reading habits of the past by making the modern reader aware of his rebellious style and innovative theories of fiction and acquainting him/her with a different treatment of the literary text in the critical act. James is known to have adopted new techniques, like stream of consciousness and the scenic method, in his novels and instructs the reader in his prefaces to focus on the character and pay heed to the governing intelligence in the narrative, thereby providing a philosophical account of the relationship between art and the artist, and art and life.

Keywords: Henry James, preface, prefatory discourse, nineteenth-century narrative, innovation.

Öz

Bu çalışmanın amacı, yalnızca kendi anlatısına değil, genel olarak kurmaca metin okuma konusunda ipuçları sunan Henry James'in önsözlerinin eleştirel bir bütün olarak özelliklerini sergilemektir. James'in önsöz yazma geleneğinin yazın eleştirisi için yer açtığı ve bu sayede yazarın okuyucuya yeni kurgu teorilerine dair "ders" verdiği metin dışı alanlar oluşturduğu gösterilmektedir. Romancının önsözlerini böyle sıra dışı kullanması geleneksel okuma biçimlerini değiştirme amacı gütmektedir. Modern okuyucunun yenilikçi anlatı yollarının farkına varmasını ve metni yorumlama süreci içerisinde metinle farklı bir ilişkiye girmesini istemektedir. James, bilinç akışı ve manzara yöntemleri gibi yenilikçi teknikleri kullanması ile ünlenmiştir. Eserlerinin önsözünde okuyucuyu eserde geçen karakterlere odaklanmasını ve hikayelerini şekillendiren yapıyı dikkatle okumasını ister. Böylece, sanat ve sanatçı, sanat ve yaşam arasındaki ilişkiye dair düşünsel bir aktarım da elde edilmiş olur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Henry James, önsöz, söylem, 19. yy romanı, yenilikçi anlatı.

Introduction

In its extensive definition, the term "Preface" in Latin means either "spoken before" (prae and fatia) or "made before" (prae and factum). While the former usage of the word could narrow its meaning to that of a prologue, the latter

strongly implies an introduction written before the body of the book.[1] A preface generally covers the story of how the book came into being and how the story of its creation was developed; this is often followed by acknowledgments to those who helped the author accomplish the work. When the reader revisits a multitude of famous prefaces taken together, s/he can conclude that the conceptualization of "preface" varies from one use to another, depending on the writer's objective. The classical meaning of prefaces as found in books' opening pages can be traced back in canonical works, essentially to direct readers to the intended meaning. The volume entitled *Prefaces and Prologues to Famous Books: The Five Foot Shelf of Classics*, which includes prefaces ranging from William Caxton to Walt Whitman, is extremely helpful in the attempt to comprehend the motive behind each preface. Caxton (1422-1492), for instance, wrote the prologues and epilogues to his translations, perhaps to justify some imperfections in his performance. This series comprises also Sir Walter Raleigh's preface to *The History of the World* (1614) as well as the inspiring prefatory statements of Francis Bacon (1561-1626) and the preface to the great dictionary by Dr. Johnson (1709-1784). These frontal texts, though detached from the main works, fit into the determined function of the preface and preserve its objective as a personal statement composed by the author to establish an intimate contact with the reader and to impart his/her intentions before the commencement of the act of reading. The present study lays its focus on one of the most unconventional uses of prefaces through the exploration of the prefatory discourse of the Anglo-American author Henry James (1843-1916). James's famous prefaces do not conform to the classical definition of the term, but rather follow their own self-constructed rules and structure. In fact, his prefaces do not only describe the conditions in which the story was composed, but, more amazingly, provide a body of criticism to his own work, a criticism that teaches the reader how to be a new brand of critic who copes with the literary novelties and abandons the traditional superficial act of reading. The objective of the present study then is to show an untraditional use of the preface discourse that appeared more penetratingly with James in the context of his philosophy of innovation and desire to unchain his works from the dictated standards of writing. By performing a critical reading of James's innovative narrative techniques as they were introduced in his prefaces and used in his fiction, the paper aims to demonstrate how the preface becomes a space to explicate the writer's philosophy and new theories and direct the reader's attention to new angles in the art of fiction.

Like William Wordsworth's famous preface to *The Lyrical Ballads* (1800), which appeared as a radical discourse that broke with Neoclassicism and introduced a new type of poetry, James's prefaces presented groundbreaking fiction theories that revolutionized the narrative tradition of his time. If Wordsworth provided the Romantic Manifesto on poetry and society in his preface, James expounded

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[1] See *User Contributed Dictionary*.

his theories of psychological realism in his prefaces and introduced the technique of the stream-of-consciousness in the fiction genre. He used them to look back over his established body of fiction that had already found its way onto the nineteenth-century reader. James's prefaces are rather post-faces that occurred as ensuing self-assessing texts, "endeavoring to introduce each text to new readers and to situate it within the context of his literary career" (Rundle para. 1). In this context, R.P. Blackmur claims that with James, "Criticism has never been more ambitious, nor more useful. There has never been a body of work so eminently suited to criticism as the fiction of Henry James, and there has certainly never been an author who saw the need and had the ability to criticize specifically and at length his own work" (vii). The author loses his authorship as the creator of his work and seizes an opportunity to manifest himself to the reader to grant him new tools of access to the modern text and capture for him an upper sight of the architecture of the book. In the preface to *The Golden Bowl* (1904), James announces that he is transcending the narrative tradition and that he is writing a new form of art:

> I have already betrayed, as an accepted habit, and even to extravagance commented on, my preference for dealing with my subject-matter, for "seeing my story," through the opportunity and the sensibility of some more or less detached, some not strictly involved, though thoroughly interested and intelligent, witness or reporter, some person who contributes to the case mainly a certain amount of criticism and interpretation of it. (*The Art of the Novel* 337)

In this new mode of prefaces, the author puts on the garment of the critic; a critic of his own work while taking distance from himself as the author. James's prefaces are not mere introductions to the works or words of acknowledgements. They turn into territories for the author-critic to declare his challenge to the long-established literary traditions, advance his theories of fiction writing, enlighten the modern reader in his act of reading, and show him how to set himself free from the passive habits of reading popular literature. James took a step back from his novels and composed prefaces to them altogether for two main reasons: first, to construct his fictional theories, and second to instruct and inform the modern reader.

In a challenging rigorous critical act, James did not follow the conventions of the use of the preface to literary works either in its spatiotemporal composition or in its subject matter. In a seminal article entitled "Defining Frames: The Prefaces of Henry James and Joseph Conrad," Vivienne Rundle offers a comparative study between James and Joseph Conrad as writers who delivered their prefatory texts in the form of retrospective post-faces. What seems to be shared between the two authors is the fact that "[s]ince each set of prefaces was written well after the initial publication of the accompanying novels, these texts provide invaluable insight into the nature of each writer's relation to his readership" (Rundle para. 1). Nevertheless, Rundle remarks that James appeared more concerned with the preservation of the authority of authorship than Conrad, who seemed more permissive with his readers: "While James's prefaces strive

to shore up narrative authority, Conrad's 'Author's Notes' disperse authorial power by inviting the reader's interpretation, explicitly questioning the author's importance, obscuring the historical referents of narrative, and including alternative versions of a story within the preface" (Rundle para. 7). Rundle's study shows the distinct binding character of the Jamesian prefaces as framing strategies that maintain the authority of the author. The consideration of his prefaces as frames to his works is not only advanced by Rundle but more profoundly analyzed by John H. Pearson in his book *The Prefaces of Henry James: Framing the Modern Reader* as a rare comprehensive study of these prefaces that discloses James's strategy to create an ideal reader through them. Pearson suggests that James's ultimate objective is to make the reader aware of his art and adept in the critical performance. Even with the leading introduction of Blackmur to James's critical prefaces and the insightful works of Pearson and Rundle, James's prefaces have remained an infrequently trodden area and an overlooked zone in the literature despite the crucial role of his prefaces in acquainting the modern reader with the author's new theories and teaching him to question the conventional. Their unconventionality, which goes hand in hand with James's unconventional style of writing, has not been deeply investigated compared to their use as a framing strategy. That is why the present paper seeks to present James's prefaces not only as theoretical frames but also as a mirror of his rebelliousness and non-conformity. It seeks to fathom the motives behind James's eccentric employment of prefaces while placing them in the context of his seditious temperament and tendency to innovation.

A Brief Outline of the Reading Strategies

In the novel genre particularly, the preface writing tradition can be said to be a marked part of the narrative that intended to address the reader directly, starting with Cervantes' publication of *Don Quixote* at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Cervantes's opening phrase "idle reader" shocked but awakened the reader who would immediately feel close to the author as a person. This closeness increasingly grew when the writer informed his receivers that his story looked real despite its fictional character and that he refused to garnish it. He announced that his preface would be void of the common decorum as the sonnets and epigrams that had been traditionally delivered at the beginning of books. This rebellious note led to the change of the usual preface from an ornamental introductory part to an opportunity to form an intimate bond with the intended reader. When Cervantes reported his hesitations of how to proceed with the preface and declared that it was plain and unadorned, he established an unpretentious friendship with his readers who would love and believe his tale. The tradition extended to the earlier novels in British literature with the publications of Henry Fielding and Laurence Sterne, for instance. Fielding's preface to *Joseph Andrews* (1742) indicates the maintenance of this tradition of preface writing, albeit in a more enlightening pattern. He intended to correct the reader's perception of romance and instructed him about the

components of the comic romance and its difference from the other genres in a scholarly exposition of the classical theories of genres. Likewise, Sterne's delayed and misplaced preface which appeared in the third volume of *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (1759) informed of his awareness of the significance of his preface for the reception of his jumbled and unconventional biographical chapters and of the remaining volumes. It also redeemed the fragmentation of the narrative's digressions and progression, and brought him into contact with his most intellectual readers while setting his heroes offstage. Since the dawn of the modern era, the established tradition of preface writing has served as a direct channel between the real author and his receiver either to touch on the latter's emotions or give him lessons about the English classics and philosophical or religious accounts.

In the Anglo-American protestant culture of the seventeenth century, authors commonly presented a direct address to their targeted readers in inaugural written statements. The writer's objective was to instruct the reader on the ways of reading the text that would follow, especially if the text is of a religious nature. It was an authorial strategy mainly used to help the ideal reader understand the described process of redemption. The emergence of the English romance in the second half of the seventeenth century, however, changed the reading habits from "solemn" ways of reading to a "nonchalant" performance of reading. In the nineteenth century, as a result of the invasion of the industrial revolution and the change of the social and economic systems, there were varied forms of literature that satisfied more secular tastes by addressing a new market of readers that included women and children. Genre fiction or popular fiction, nonfiction books like magazines and cookery books, were abundantly consumed, which created a superficial and an unreflective type of reading. Following that change in the mode of reading, from the "devotional" mode of the seventeenth-century Protestants to the nineteenth-century light mode, certain novels reacted against that popular taste and asked for a more serious engagement with literary texts.

James was exceptional in his ways of instructing the reader whereby he uses his prefaces to combat that invasive trend of superficial reading activities. He calls for attention, understanding and explanation after facts. In the preface to *The Ambassadors* (1903), for example, James criticizes the passive follow-up of events in the classical reading tradition and aspires to a modern reading habit that cares for the character's central consciousness:

> for my first care, I had thus inevitably to set him up a confidant or two, to wave away with energy the custom of the seated mass of explanation after the fact, the inserted block of merely referential narrative, which flourishes so, to the shame of the modern impatience, on the serried page of Balzac, but which seems simply to appal our actual, our general weaker, digestion. "Harking back to make up" took at any rate more THE ART OF THE NOVEL doing, as the phrase is, not only than the reader of today demands, but than he will tolerate at any price any call upon him either to understand or remotely to measure; and for the beauty of the

thing when done the current editorial mind in particular appears wholly without sense. (*The Art of the Novel* 422)

In the nineteenth century, novels were produced in monthly parts, with advertisements at either end to intensify their consumption. The writers that published their novels in weekly or monthly segments in magazines and periodicals ended each episode on a cliff-hanger to arouse the suspense and curiosity of the reader about the next episode. Interested in the course of events more than anything else, some readers even corresponded with authors to suggest endings for novels: Dickens, for instance, changed the original gloomy end for Walter Gay, in *Dombey and Son* (1848) to a happy one because of the readers' response. Because of this monthly serialization, James could not write a preface to each novel. After the production of a huge number of novels and short stories, James revisited his works, revised them, re-read them, re-wrote them and shared with his readers his revisions. Having been aware of the superficiality of the act of reading in the nineteenth century, James directed his prefaces to his audience in the hope of creating a model of the modern reader who would no longer be focused on the plot and the events to come in the serial story or magazine episodes. He hankered for a levelheaded and shrewd reader who would pay heed to the techniques of fiction writing, the character and his psychology, his flow of ideas, and his central consciousness. Blackmur succinctly defines the objectives of the Jamesian prefatory scripts, saying: "One burden of the Prefaces was to prove how much the reader would see if only he paid attention and how much he missed by following the usual stupid routine of skipping and halting and letting slide. Without attention, without intense appreciation an art of the intelligent life was impossible and without intelligence, for James, art was nothing" (xvii).

Constructing New Fiction Theories

The Stream-of-Consciousness Technique

The theories and innovative ideas of James that had already been implemented in his narratives were elucidated in his prefaces. The purpose of these prefaces was to enlighten the reader, teach him these innovations and new techniques, call him to detach himself from the passive habits of the reading practice, lose his concern for the plot and abandon his curiosity about what would happen in the following episode. James's instructions were gathered in a collection of prefaces that appeared in the form of critical essays, known as the New York Edition in which he selected and revised his novels and tales and made extensive revisions of his early works; he added eighteen prefaces that provide what many readers believe to be the best commentary on his fiction. The title of the collection is *The Art of the Novel: Critical Prefaces*; originally written for the 1909 multi-volume New York Edition of Henry James's fiction, first appeared in book form in 1934 with an introduction by the critic R. P. Blackmur. Those texts are prefaces that James wrote for a reprint of his novels. Through his prefatory

statements, James attempted to construct an ideal reader that would pay attention to his artistic and modern narrative performance. In the eighteen prefaces, he used strategies to prepare the reader for the prefaced texts. He sought to create an up-to-date reader, one who would learn to appreciate and discriminate his literary art. His prefaces were used as a framing strategy to his tales whereby he endeavored to instruct the reader in his aesthetic of fiction. The readings of *The Awkward Age* (1899), *What Maisie Knew* (1897), *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881), *The Aspern Papers* (1888), and *The Wings of the Dove* (1902) through the prefaces proffered more theoretical implications than the serial reading as scattered bite-sized bits of novels.

James gave rise to the stream-of- consciousness novel as a genre[2] that takes as its subject the procession of ideas that happens in the mind of one or more of its characters. It has contributed to the development of the psychological novel. James created what he coined a "central consciousness" or a governing intelligence, a character whose flow of thoughts and emotions is explored throughout the novel. This new narrative method intended to shift the reader's mind from the course of action to the inner mind of the character, from the inclination to know about the events to the eagerness to explore the human consciousness. Lengthy passages are devoted to the description of the mental scenes that take place in the interior architecture of the character's mind, such as in the famous fireside scene in James's *The Portrait of a Lady* wherein Isabel must consider her choices and affront her destiny. The techniques used in the stream-of-consciousness novel create the illusion that the narrator had been overhearing the flood of sensations, nonverbal thoughts within a character's mind before he could organize them in well-ordered rational verbal sequences or transform them into decisive choices and actions. Therefore, the novelist has to use a distinct style that goes hand in hand with the unstructured states of mind while dispensing with grammar, coherent sentences and orderly structures. It is a break with the main canon of literary works as narratives of logic with an excess of order and accumulation of events; as stories with beginnings, middles and closed endings.

The reader takes cognizance of that central consciousness technique through James's prefaces which turn into a reference book that covers the tools of fiction writing or "a sort of comprehensive manual or vademecum for aspirants in our arduous profession" (Blackmur viii). James considers the technical side of an artistic work more important than the story itself. The stylistic devices of a work reflect the relationship between art and life and how art can transmit reality with an artistic lens. He repudiates the conventional telling of the story and prefers instead a detached narrator who would show the characters reflecting, talking, reacting, taking decisions. Furthermore, he extemporaneously lets his character think and act in accordance with the situation without a preparation

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[2] The term "stream-of-consciousness" was first used by the philosopher and psychologist William James, Henry's brother, the founder of pragmatism. He did not use it to describe an imaginative writing but the workings of the mind; it is the attempt to render the thoughts as they naturally fall upon the mind, flowing, free, and chaotic as they are.

of a preset scenario and insists on the character's responsibility for this choice and action. In the preface to *The Portrait of a Lady*, James describes his novel as a "conception of a certain young woman affronting her destiny" (*The Art of the Novel* 48). James asks the reader to follow the consciousness of Isabel Archer, the spirited young American lady who assumes the outcomes of her choice of a devious husband who succeeds in deceiving her, hunting her fortune, and dragging her to betray her ideals. These new techniques are methodically expounded in his prefaces; in the preface to *The Ambassadors*, for example, James reserves the last part to talk about the technical exposition of the novel whereby the single consciousness of the hero and the scenic method are highlighted.

The Scenic Method

James's prefatory discourse informs the reader about the technical overlap between fiction and drama in the construction of the major themes of his work. In the preface to *The Ambassadors*, James describes his novels as built up around the scenic method:

> The material of "The Ambassadors," conforming in this respect exactly to that of "The Wings of the Dove," published just before it, is taken absolutely for the stuff of drama; so that, availing myself of the opportunity given me by this edition for some prefatory remarks on the latter work, I had mainly to make on its behalf the point of its scenic consistency. (The *Art of the Novel* 322)

James arouses the attention of the reader to the dramatization of the action and to the focus on the method of the scene alternation with its reliance on monologues and exchange of speeches between its characters. A declaration of the adoption of the "scenic law" is made obvious in the preface to *What Maisie Knew*:

> If I speak, as just above, of the ACTION embodied, each time, in these so "quiet" recitals, it is under renewed recognition of the inveterate instinct with which they keep conforming to the "scenic" law. They demean themselves for all the world--they quite insist on it, that is, whenever they have a chance--as little constituted dramas, little exhibitions founded on the logic of the "scene," the unit of the scene, the general scenic consistency, and knowing little more than that. To read them over has been to find them on this ground never at fault. The process repeats and renews itself, moving in the light it has once for all adopted. (*The Art of the Novel* 157)

The Dramatic Scene as a tool of James's indirect approach is the major device employed by the author in his fiction and explained in his prefaces. These new techniques are used to restrict the attention of the reader, stimulate his thought and inculcate self-reliance in him. James's Indirect Approach is defined by Blackmur as follows:

> James never put his reader in direct contact with his subjects; he believed it was impossible to do so, because his subject really was not what happened but what someone felt about what happened, and this could be directly known only through an intermediate intelligence. The Dramatic Scene was the principal device James used to objectify the Indirect Approach and give it selflimiting form. Depending on the degree of limitation necessary to make the material objective and visible all round, his use of the Scene resembled that in the stage-play... But the novel was not a play however dramatic it might be, and among the distinctions between the two forms was the possibility, which belonged to the novel alone, of setting up a fine central intelligence: "no other art could dramatise the individual at his finest". (xvii)

That technique of the dramatic scene that is introduced in the art of fiction by James in order to focus on the single consciousness of the hero is the result of James's temptation by drama and his experience with writing plays. He published his first play *Pyramus and Thisbe* in 1869. The other two experiments of his twenties, *Still Waters* (1871) and *A Change of Heart* (1872), failed in realistic representation as well as in dramatic subtlety. Both plays have "unnatural soliloquies and reflexive sides" (Murphy 58). It was not until ten years after these early efforts that James returned to the drama. His 1882 dramatization of *Daisy Miller* (1878) was his first full-lengthy play which was written for the American theater while *The American* (1890) was dramatized for the British theatre. These two works "are the first examples of James's mixture of comedy with the French drame Bourgeois, the serious play about middle-class people" (Murphy 58). During the nineties, he wrote four plays that were intended for production. He published them into two volumes, *Theatricals: Two Comedies* (1894) and *Theatricals: Second Series (1895)*. After writing *The High Bid* (1907) and some of his other late plays, James extended his tendency to direct stage business "to the point of maintaining tight control of the portrayal of his characters, right down to the tones of their speeches" (Murphy 65). After he failed artistically and publicly, especially in his early dramatic experiment, he returned to fiction. He kept revisiting drama in-between his fictional works during his literary career although he had already reached reconciliation between the two genres through the creation of the dramatic novel. The dramatic principle controls the majority of James's works whether in structure, form, themes or characters.

Likewise, James's body of critical essays on drama affected his fictional work by inciting the inclusion of the dramatic form in his novels which often function as comedies or tragedies. James's introduction of the "dramatic scene" in the novel as related to the emotional development of the character is, according to Stephen Spender, a revolution with which "the novel has, of course, in the presentations of passions, never broken quite away from the tradition of the theater . . . in the description, we see the alignment of characters; in the scenes we witness the release of emotions, the expression of passion" (104). The theatre allowed James to explore "the self as performance, to give himself up to what he called 'different experiences of consciousness'" (Wilson 41). In *The*

Bostonians (1886), many big scenes mark the development of the action, climaxing in the big theatrical scene of the conclusion, set up in a theatre while arousing the same theatrical emotional effect. In *Henry James and the Experimental Novel*, Sergio Perosa describes these scenes as "sensational, melodramatic scenes –coups de théatre –rather than dramatic scenes" (26). *The Tragic Muse* (1890) similarly contains intense and compressed scenes, articulating sequences and showing actions through dialogues. James says about it: "the whole thing has visibly, from the first, to get itself dare in dramatic, or at least in scenic conditions" (*The Art of the Novel* 89-90). He uses the dramatic method within the framework of the pictorial style; in *The Literature of the American People*, Clarence Gohdes describes the work as "a series of rich prose pictures of scenes" (qtd. in Perosa 21). In the novels of the following decade, the narrative method would rely more and more on dramatic presentations of little actions and minor events. While preserving the dramatic style, James relies on the march of action through the application of the limited point of view and scenic form, aiming at "synthetic compression" (Perosa 48). *The Awkward Age*, for instance, is one of his avant-garde novel of that period; it is theatrically structured around dialogues and trialogues. It is modeled upon the play script where each of the "acts" is divided into numbered units or "scenes" which are evenly distributed among the ten-character-named books of the novel. James is so tempted by drama that he loses the genre motif in his writings and establishes what he calls a "contact with the DRAMA, with the divine little difficult, artistic, ingenious, architectural FORM that makes old pulses throb and old tears rise again" (Carlson 411).

Having instilled the dramatic techniques into the fiction genre, James moved to the composition of plays as a self-sufficient genre. After James's first period extending from 1865 to 1882 in which he discovered his cosmopolitan subject and developed his international theme, he shifted to realistic political themes concretized in his two long novels: *The Bostonians* and *The Princess Casamassima* (1886) and ended this second phase with the world of art tackled in *The Tragic Muse*. Susan Carlson classifies James's dramas into three clearly-defined periods, starting from *Pyramus and Thisbe* (1869) to his dramatic years when he wrote *The American* (1890) and *Guy Donville* (1893), for example, and closing with his later plays like *The Saloon* (1908), *The Other House* (1908). Some plays are theatrical adaptations of his own fiction like *Daisy Miller*, *The American*. Others like *The Other House*, the scenario for the play preceded. Hence, the impact of drama is strong on James's fiction which loses its connection with the deep-rooted standards of literature and breaks free from the main literary canon. These innovations and transcendence of the genre boundaries are channeled to the reader's mind through the prefaces.

In addition to the elucidation of the stream-of-consciousness technique, the indirect approach and the scenic method in James's prefaces, there is a reference to other elements of fiction analysis like the plot, setting, characterization, and themes. Some Prefaces are more about the technical aspect, like those of *The*

Wings of the Dove and *The Awkward Age*; however, others deal with the thematic complexities of the story, such as *What Maisie Knew* and *The Ambassadors*. In the preface to *The Ambassadors*, the reader gets informed about the setting and is led to think about the protagonist and the major theme of the novel all the same: James says that "It had been a frank proposition, the whole bunch of data, installed on my premises like a monotony of fine weather," (*The Art of the Novel* 310) and adds, "since most immediately to the point was the question of that supplement of situation logically involved in our gentleman's impulse to deliver himself in the Paris garden on the Sunday afternoon"(*The Art of the Novel* 311). On the creation of his hero, he declares: "I rejoiced in the promise of a hero so mature, who would give me thereby the more to bite into- since it's only into thickened motive and accumulated character, I think, that the painter of life bites more than a little" (*The Art of the Novel* 310). By underlining the hero's maturity, James refers to the character's power of imagination and acknowledges that he is doing a "man of imagination" (*The Art of the Novel* 310). The author deals with the story of Strether in the preface, providing the reader with personal information about the protagonist like his identity, original country, and the reason behind his visit to Paris. In the same textual space, he similarly accounts for his characters and leads the reader in thinking about the serene difference between Madame de Vionnet and Chad Newsome. In fact, James is building a whole theory of criticism that mainly revolves around the character, a theory that trains the modern reader on making the plot, the setting and the theme at the service of the character: his consciousness, imagination, and maturity.

Instructing the Modern Reader

Calling for the Attention to the Central Intelligence

James deems his prefaces useful to the acquaintance of the modern reader with the real meaning of criticism that stems from an appreciation to the text. He wrote to W. D. Howells that his prefaces "are, in general, a sort of plea for Criticism, for Discrimination, for Appreciation on other than infantile lines as against the so almost universal Anglo-Saxon absence of these things" (Blackmur viii). He insists on the equation between criticism and appreciation because once appreciated, the artistic work will be the possession of the reader. In the preface to *What Maisie Knew*, James puts: "To criticize is to appreciate, to appropriate, to take intellectual possession, to establish in fine a relation with the criticised thing and make it one's own" (*The Art of the Novel* 155). That plea for the rewriting of the text by the reader is, in fact, an anticipation of Rolond Barthes's postmodernist critical theory of the Death of the author and the birth of the reader in the act of reading. The reader, according to James, should possess the text; this process of appropriation is a direct result of the feeling of appreciation. In his prefaces, James asks for attention and appreciation; R.P. Blackmur affirms that: "The one faculty James felt that the artist may require of his audience is that of close attention or deliberate appreciation; for it is by this faculty alone that the audience participates in the work of art" (xvii).

According to James, the reader should not approach a work of art with fear and anxiety; they should rather be unprejudiced and think about it with a critical mind, dwelling within its curves, assimilating its themes, and discerning the character's intelligent consciousness. There is an appeal for the intellectual reappropriation of the text instead of its precocious rejection. Blackmur avers that: "The reader had better make sure he knows what it is before he rejects it. The act of rejection will deprive him of all knowledge of it. And this precept applies even more firmly to the criticisms he made of his work to the effort he made to reappropriate it intellectually than to the direct apprehension of the work itself" (xiii). James focuses on the characters' intelligence regardless of their age, sex and social position. He puts both Maisie the child in *What Maisie Knew* and Strether Lambert the adult in *The Ambassadors*, for instance, on equal footing by showing how Maisie is intelligent enough in her entourage to govern situations and influence the other characters up to her understanding, and makes Strether also excessively sensible to represent the human consciousness at its fullest. In the preface to *What Maise Knew*, James asserts:

> This precious particle was the full ironic truth the most interesting item to be read into the child's situation. For satisfaction of the mind, in other words, the small expanding consciousness would have to be saved, have to become presentable as a register of impressions; and saved by the experience of certain advantages, by some enjoyed profit and some achieved confidence, rather than coarsened, blurred, sterilised, by ignorance and pain. (*The Art of the Novel* 142)

The prefaces of James arouse awareness of the governing intelligence of the characters and calls for the attention of the reader to that intelligence as the character's central consciousness. "Without attention, without intense appreciation," claims Blackmur, an art of the intelligent life was impossible and without intelligence, for James, art was nothing" (xvii). The author crafts intelligent protagonists in his narratives in order to make them spontaneously sensible to their surroundings and to help them give meaning to their lives. He sets up and pleads for a fine central intelligence. The Jamesian text seems difficult to grasp and his style is so elaborate that an overage reader may not be able to discern the character's intelligence in coping with situations in his disorderly surrounding. The protagonists of James are created sufficiently quick-witted to predict the future and deal with the unknown. The reader is appealed in his prefaces to pay attention to the character's workings of the mind in order to reveal the human fine central consciousness in the novel. The stream-of-consciousness technique is a gadget that allows the reader to dig deep in the human mind and apprehend the verve that instigates the character's comportment. That is why the reader is invited to focus on the character rather than the plot and on the human intelligent consciousness in lieu of the progress of events and closures in his narratives. As a consolidation of that idea, James writes in the preface to *The Portrait of a Lady*:

I see that it must have consisted not at all in any conceit of a "plot," nefarious name, in any flash, upon the fancy, of a set of relations, or in any one of those situations that, by a logic of their own, immediately fall, for the fabulist, into movement, into a march or a rush, a patter of quick steps; but altogether in the sense of a single character, the character and aspect of a particular engaging young woman. (*The Art of the Novel* 42)

Explaining the Relationship between Art and Life

In his prefatory discourse, James draws the attention of the reader to the major theme treated in his fiction, which is, in fact, the relationship between art and life. Art is, in James's view, a domain full of thought and intellectual depth since it represents the intricacies of life. He always claims that the artist is "in a perpetual predicament that the continuity of things is the whole matter, for him, of comedy and tragedy; that this continuity is never, by the space of an instant or an inch, broken" (*The Art of the Novel* 5). James displays an obsession with the theme of the "conflict between art and 'the world'" (*The Art of the Novel* 79) and believes that the endurance of the artist dwells in his personal conviction of his art and recognition of his talent irrespective of the sterile and static old conventions. As an artist, he records reality and declares in his prefaces that his plots, settings, and characters are derived from real places, stories, and persons. James admits that "the novelist must write from his experience, that his 'characters must be real and such as might be met with in actual life" ("The Art of Fiction" 4). In the essay "The Art of Fiction" produced in 1902, he calls for general and representative characters as archetypes derived from real life. He compares the genre of the novel to a painting, stating that "as the picture is reality, so the novel is history" ("The Art of Fiction" 2). Perosa echoes James's opinion about the novelist who has "the right and indeed the duty to deal openly with every aspect of life, even those regarded as taboo in the Victorian age" (15).

James assembles his theories in the body of his prefaces after applying them to his novels where he actually relies on experiment and deals with taboo subjects like politics, sexuality, homosexuality and feminist issues. He attempts to write about anarchist politics in London with an analysis of its institutions of law and auxiliaries. Hence, *The Princess Casamassima*, for example, is "a novel about the mysteries of London, about spies and secret societies, and it is also a novel about spectatorship, about seeing and being seen" (Seltzer 96). Political satire is also present in *The Tragic Muse* through the character of the unmotivated politician and reluctant parliamentarian Nick Dormer. James based his novels on the "reality effect" of verisimilitude to find himself implicated in feminist issues by which he interconnected political and social recordings. He wrote novels that contain elements of deception, betrayal, exploitation and victimization. In his notebooks, he describes *The Bostonians* as "a tale very characteristic of our conditions . . . the situation of women, the decline of the sentiment of sex, the agitation on their behalf" (*The Notebooks of Henry James*, 47).

The Jamesian prefatory discourse endeavors to bring to the reader's mind that the narratives are but the byproduct of the artist's imagination despite their historical aspect. In the preface to *The Princess Casamassima*, he avers: "It is a

fact that, as I look back, the attentive exploration of London, the assault directly made by the great city upon an imagination quick to react, fully explains a large part of it" (59). He wishes to convey to his readers the idea that the artist represents life within the limits of his imagination, and that the story is what the intelligence feels about reality. While talking about romanticism and reality, Blackmur counts eight pages in James's prefaces on which he attempts to answer the question why one picture of life is called romantic and the other real. Blackmur carries on, saying that the answer comes in the preface to *The American* when James affirms that "The experience here represented [in his novel *The American*] is the disconnected and uncontrolled experience uncontrolled by our general sense of 'the way things happen' which romance alone more or less successfully palms off on us." (*The Art of the Novel* 33). So the realism of the picture presented in a work of art depends on the artist's consciousness, intelligence and imagination. This very assumption shakes the traditional meaning of realism and invites the reader to reflect on fiction as personalized bits of life dependent on the author's sensibility.

The Jamesian prefaces do not only instruct, explore the artist's center of consciousness, hanker for the focus on the character's workings of the mind, but also draw the readers' attention to the amusing side of these characters. For James, the art of fiction is at the same time thoughtful and pleasurable, serious and delightful. It is true that art gives the reader a vivid account of reality but it also distracts. Not to cause the abrupt rupture with the previous entertaining spirit of the reading activity, James believes in the necessity of amusement. Blackmur claims that "To be amusing, to be interesting; without that nothing of his subject could possibly transpire in the reader's mind. In some of his [James's] books half the use of certain characters was to amuse the reader" (xvii). Blackmur gives the example of the character of Henrietta Stackpole in *The Portrait of a Lady* who serves mainly to capture the reader's thought because of her excessive liberation and unconventional character. It would be added that in *The Bostonians*, Mrs Luna, the jealous spinster, Henry Burrage, the indulgent son, Mr Pardon, the banausic journalist, Mr Tarrant, and the mesmerist healer are ridiculous figures, intended for fun though James deeply implies a rejection of their attitudes. Some characters are designed for distraction so that the reader is reenergized once he feels the boredom of satire, the bitterness of reality and the solemnity of the dramatic style.

Conclusion

James opens a space through his prefaces wherein he describes the conditions of the writing of his works of art, describes real places, delivers some autobiographical details, explains his new fiction theories, endeavors to change the reader's mentality, conveys his own vision about art and the artist, and art and life, presents his themes and also entertains. The preface is a whole story; according to Blackmur, "a Preface is the story of a story, or in those volumes

which collect a group of shorter tales the story of a group of stories cognate in theme or treatment" (xi). In his prefaces, James narrates the conditions of his novels' conception while touching on biographical and historical details, and struggles to show that his narrative methods carry an insightful meaning in themselves other than the focus on the plot and the ending; their ultimate goal is to enhance the knowledge of the reader. The latter is taught new techniques in the art of fiction and called to ponder over a different mode of writing that lets the receiver cut loose from the classical literary traditions and desert his past passive and superficial reading habits. James's prefaces are also a synthetic reading in his own narratives, a space to compare the conditions of writing, the events and the characters of his various works, an opportunity to draw on their similarities and differences, and an arena to exhibit his attitude towards the art of fiction.

To conclude, one can say that the collected Jamesian prefaces function as a powerful critical discourse that deviates from the conventional use of the preface. Away from the commercial purposes, James does not compose his prefaces to lure and attract the consumer into buying his tales but rather to inform and instruct him, stuff him with the theories of fiction and furnish his mind with imagination and intelligence, and make him attentive to the central consciousness of the character. He builds his philosophy on the importance of the human intelligence that enables people to understand how things happen around them and not what really happens. It is a rebellious critical thought strikingly brought through his prefaces in which he shares with his readers the revision of his own texts. The preface, for James, becomes a framing strategy in educating the modern reader unto an active and deep rewriting of the text, and a space where he would introduce his theories of the aesthetics of fiction.

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Epistolography of the Repressed:
Writer/Iwaszkiewicz, Reader/Karpowicz
Iwaszkiewicz Örneğinde Yazın Türü Olarak Mektup ve Bastırılmış Kimlik

Magdalena Płotała
University of Silesia, Poland

Abstract

This article focuses on the epistolography as a space of free expression for the repressed queer identities. Through the example of Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz's letters to Jerzy Błeszyński, the paper renders affects, emotions and facts that could not have been said in the officially published works of Iwaszkiewicz. After the interpretation of the letters in the optics of minority writing, this study leads to the importance of modern affective lectures for literary interpretation. The author analyzes similar motives in Iwaszkiewicz's letters and contemporary Ignacy Karpowicz's *Miłość*, and shows the results of this reparative reading's attempt, using the tools and methods provided by minority studies, queer critic, and works on historical and contemporary epistolography. By using these texts and discourses, the paper aims to give the answer to the role of reading epistolography as a changing process in literary history.
Keywords: Iwaszkiewicz, Karpowicz, epistolography, repression, queer.

Öz

Bu makale baskılanmış eşcinsel kimliklerin özgür ifade alanı olarak epistolografiye odaklanmakta; Jerzy Błeszyński'ye yazdığı mektuplardan yola çıkılarak, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz'in yayımlanmış eserlerinde ifadesini bulamayan duyguları ve duygusal gerçekliği irdelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu mektupların azınlık yazını çerçevesinde yorumlanması, çalışmayı etkin ve modern edebi metin yorumlama için önemli bir izlence kılmaktadır. Makale, Iwaszkiewicz'in mektuplarında ve Ignacy Karpowicz'in *Miłość* adlı romanında benzer motifleri analiz eder, azınlık ve cinsiyet çalışmalarıyla birlikte tarih ve epistolografi üzerine yapılan araçları ve yöntemleri kullanarak çeşitli okuma yöntemlerini önerir. Farklı metinlerden ve söylemlerden yararlanan makale, epistografinin edebiyat tarihindeki değişken rolüne göndermede bulunmaktadır.
Anahtar Kelimeler: Iwaszkiewicz, Karpowicz, epistolografi, baskı, eşcinsellik.

Introduction

Epistolography is an unusual genre. It exists on many borders, or places in-between, of literary typologies. Are letters part of literature, or some utility writing?[1] Should we qualify them as a non-fiction genre, or put them into the

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[1] This question about categorizing epistolography has been posed since the beginning of the letter's existence. According to Gabor Almasi, "Letter was an extremely broad category, including practically anything that had a salutation and a signature" (Gabor Almasi, "Humanistic Letter–Writing"). Later, epistolography was divided into two types: official,

box of "private documents"? Then, if it is "private," why do editors decide to publish whole collections of it? And maybe the last question should be posed in the beginning: if writing a letter requires a moment of intimacy, where is the time to think about editing the message?[2] The above-mentioned doubts and questions are strongly connected with our (readers' and academic interpreters') urge to formalize literary genres and somehow classify a text in a gradable manner. But structural descriptions can often diminish the role of writing itself. Epistolography – just because of being a fossil in the genology system – is sometimes able to offer many more values than the "classical" literary genres. The reason is simple: private (or "non-private") letters contain facts, emotions and effects that would not have been published anywhere else. This "fossil" can hide many repressed stories, personalities and identities. Simply put, epistolography – as a "literary outsider" that hardly fits into any literary classification – tells stories of "real outsiders," sealed by time and social silence. According to Anna Pekaniec, letters are treated as autobiographical texts

> offer not only space for self-discovery, searching for flickering identifications, whose greatest advantage is instability, separateness defending against being seized by the dominant discourse, seeking certainty of independence of existence lost by contact with the colonizer. Autobiographical texts are archives gathering the voices of subaltern, negotiating idiomatic languages, thanks to which it is easier to grasp the subject – an identity hybrid, an intimistic nomad. (256)

While writing about epistolography, Pekaniec incorporates the word "subaltern" in connection to the statement made by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (15). The term – in her opinion, described in the essay *Can the Subaltern Speak?* –illustrates all the subjects that have been reduced to the position of an object of discussion (objects are voiceless). Their message, if not expressed by the channels of patriarchal communication, is neither understood nor supported by the society. This leads Spivak to the idea of "subaltern" who "cannot speak," who is not just "oppressed" (like in Antonio Gramsci's theory, where the word "subaltern," according to Spivak, is used similarly to "proletariat"), but disqualified from taking part in the discourse. In the opinion of Pekaniec, thanks to epistolography – and other autobiographical texts – voiceless objects find their way of expression, of existing independently. Combining this with Spivak's theory, one can say that letters would be a place

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laconic letters (with the tradition derived from the ancient rhetoric) and conversational (developed on 16th century French social lounges). Both types of letters shortly started to interfere, combining format of ancient official letters (apostrophe, salutation at the end) and emotional, private matters (like love letters). Such a connection is used more often in literature (case of *Julie; or, the New Eloise* by Jean-Jacques Rousseau or *Dangerous Liaisons* by Pierre Choderlos de Laclos).

[2] All these questions and doubts are still in the on-going humanistic discourse about epistolography. See A. Całek, *Nowa teoria listu* (Kraków 2019, 53-83).

of object's free expression, where one can speak with its own voice and construct its own stories (as in the case of emancipated subjects). Yet, how does it look like from the interpretational point of view?

Letters of Free Expression: Polish Examples

Let us think about epistolography as a place of freedom for repressed identities. By "repressed" I mean those who with their identity or style of living do not fit into the normative and strict systems (Foucault), like patriarchal and hegemonic ones.[3] If we look into the history of Polish modernist literature, to support my path of deduction, the more characteristic letter-writers would be Maria Dąbrowska, Maria Komornicka and Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz.

Maria Dąbrowska, the author of the monumental prose *Noce i dnie* ["Days and Nights"] and many more shaping Polish historical and social outlook, had never mentioned any queer (sub)text in her works (Kienzler 20). For her entire life, Maria Dąbrowska had been redacting and editing her private diary, in case it would be read by someone else (first – by soldiers during World War II, second – while thinking about publishing them). Her letters (apart from further parts of her diary) were the only place where Dąbrowska could express herself freely. Her epistolography is a great archive of self-discovering female bisexuality. Also, her correspondence disclosed the fact that she had a complicated relationship with another famous writer, Anna Kowalska (Głębicka 155-179). However, those letters are public nowadays, it seems like Dąbrowska has nothing to do with queer receptions. In popular opinion, she is still known as a flawless, heteronormative and conservative writer. There is not much practice on reading her works with her letters, which still preserve the influence of her heritage, bearing in mind such interesting, autobiographical content about the writer – and not using it while interpreting – weakens factographically new receptions of her prose.

There is also a different example of the repressed personality shown in letters. Writing in the same period as Dąbrowska, there was another writer with an interesting message: Maria Komornicka, *via* letters known as Piotr Włast Odmieniec. Transgender motives had not been recognized in his "official" works (besides his desire to be called by the male name "Piotr" and sign his works as such). Only in his epistolography from psychiatric hospital could Włast write to his mother about his repressed transsexual identity. At the beginning of the 20th century, when transgenderism in Poland was still being treated as a mental disease,[4] in his letters the poet was shaping his personality,

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[3] By using the words "patriarchal" and "hegemonic" I signalize the presence of Pierre Bourdieu's thought from "Masculine domination" (about symbolic violence against women and minorities, casus homosexuals).

[4] Although I have to add that Poland was not the only country with medicalized reception of transgenderism. The problem of transgenderism and mental health was a topic of controversy, concerning social exclusion; nowadays in Poland there are still complications concerning legal issues of transgender people, but – due to the decision of WHO, planning to

identity and performativity as a man. Paradoxically, epistolography – a free place of the expression for the repressed – had become a proof that Włast was insane (in elder terms) and this made him locked up in the hospital.[5] This lasted until the outbreak of World War I in 1914, when he came back home – tired, unmotivated and misunderstood. Due to such scandalous story, Włast is not often mentioned in the history of Polish literature. Even though his works were very recognizable (poems, essays, opinion pieces), after the psychiatric lockdown there were not many literary discussions about him. Critics commented on his works and life with a pity (Janion 197). His family was ashamed that their daughter was extracting her teeth and wearing men's suits to appear more manly (Tomasik 31-35). Włast's epistolography is a testimony of social incomprehension, lack of tolerance and struggling with one's self. In the end, he did not write anything as valuable as when he was young – the therapy took his hope and will to create a work of art.

The last case would be about probably one of the most popular Polish writers and poets of the 20th century – the politician and essayist Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz. Although his homosexual relations were widely known (as much as the love for his wife and kids), Iwaszkiewicz's prose and poetry represent queerness only in subtexts, using – as German Ritz would say – "the poetics of sublimation" (Ritz 15-25). As a diligent reader of André Gide and Oscar Wilde, in his works the Polish writer was only suggesting that there might be some homoerotic tension between characters, usually by using the figure of triangle (in the meaning of René Girard's theory of temptation) (20). Commonly known as a reserved and moderate professional, Iwaszkiewicz was using his private letters as a means to openly express his fears, obsessions and intimate reflections. It is necessary to mention that the epistologist was living under a big social pressure – he worked not only as a writer and poet, but also as a politician in the communist government (Romaniuk 201). His letters to his lover Jerzy Błeszyński were regularly read by the PRL's political police, containing plenty of comments about his social life and views (Król 411). It is a different case from Dąbrowska and Włast's. In the first example, Dąbrowska was trying to express her queerness only in private letters, just to avoid being known as queer (which would probably happen, as she was a famous writer and a known patriot). When considering Włast, his letters to his mother become the only place where he could be himself and talk under his preferred name. As for Iwaszkiewicz, his problem was different. His sexuality did not fully affect his living conditions, but it had a strong impact on his literary works

cross the transgenderism out of the mental disorder list in January 2022 – the awareness about legal and social status (with possible health care included) about this group is raising.
[5] Włast's family had decided to legally incapacitate him due to his transsexual behavior and suspicion of insanity; the poet claimed that he is not only a man, going by the name of "Piotr," but he also incarnates himself the former founder of his family – who died long ago – Piotr Włast. Apart from his mental problems, Włast was considered as a very sociable and interesting interlocutor, as long as he was called by the male form (Tomasik 35).

(yet being never openly expressed). In his letters, Iwaszkiewicz not only mentioned his true emotions, but also made liaisons between his literature and characters from private life he kept as a mystery for years. The writers mentioned above had in common an interesting trait: they had the ability to let their voice be heard. They used letters as a means to share their opinions in public (all of them were essayists). But they would never speak openly – in their literary works – about their hidden feelings and desires. This would make them, as it were, a paradoxical Spivak's "object" – they could be a speaking "subject" only in their private works like letters. Due to this repression (the writer who could not "truly" write), Iwaszkiewicz and Dąbrowska decided to divide their personalities as "the writer" and "the private person". As soon as he wanted to combine the two, Włast was committed to a psychiatric hospital. These cases prove how exceptional epistolography is: it is a testimony of deep, personal division, almost schizophrenic; it involves unsaid dramas and happiness, which are barely echoed in the writers' "official" works.

Based on all that has been mentioned so far, I am going to discuss Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz's letters to Jerzy Błeszyński. In his letters to his lover, the writer presents an intimate portrait of an elderly artist with a desperate love for a young man. Their passionate story not only bears testimony to a repressed identity, but also provides an example of reading epistolography in an effective way, to which I will refer later.

"Everything as You Want": Intimate Letters

Jerzy Błeszyński is not a completely unknown character in the history of Polish literature. Although he was not an artist (but a physical worker from the writer's neighborhood), Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz had dedicated to him a prose (*Choinki* ["The Chonifers"] 1957), a cycle of poems (*Droga* ["The Way"] 1957) and a play (*Wesele Pana Balzaka* ["Mr Balzac's Wedding"] 1959). Literary critics recognize in his popular works, *Kochankowie z Marony* ["Lovers from Marona"] (1961) and *Tatarak* ["The Calamus"] (1958) traits of Błeszyński's personality, transferred to certain characters. In 2017, there was a new opportunity to read more about "the last and the most important love of Iwaszkiewicz's life," as Anna Król, a journalist, published a series of letters from the writer to his lover called *Wszystko jak chcesz… O miłości Jarosława Iwaszkiewicza do Jerzeg oBłeszyńskiego* ["Everything as You Want. About the Love of Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz and Jerzy Błeszyński"].[6] Previously, letters were sold on the auction to the King's Castle in Warsaw, but only in one part – of Iwaszkiewicz (the second piece of correspondence, which means: the voice of Jerzy, had never been found). This fact has had a great influence on the letters' reception.

Due to the absence of Błeszyński's text, it is only Iwaszkiewicz's thoughts and feelings that the reader can know about. This – in addiction – has a lot to do

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[6] All quotes from this book have been translated from Polish to English by the author of this article.

with the credibility of letters. We know only one side of this love affair; but it is the side of an artist who cannot separate his personality from the writer's talents. As Robert Papieski says:

> As an epistologist, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz had a protean ability to adapt to the person with whom he corresponded. Therefore, each of his correspondence is specific, in some aspects unlike others. It is no different with letters to Jerzy Błeszyński. Certainly, Iwaszkiewicz's tragic love for Błeszyński influenced him, tragic because for both it was clear that as a result of Błeszyński's fatal illness their relationship was doomed to a dramatic end. Hence, in Iwaszkiewicz's letters to Błeszyński, there is a lot of affection marked by suffering, lyricism and love confessions – in Iwaszkiewicz's other correspondence not found in such intensity; hence the elegant, farewell tone dominates.[7]

Błeszyński's "fatal illness" turned out to be tuberculosis – a disease, which ended their relationship in 1959. Iwaszkiewicz outlived his lover for more than twenty-one years.

In Iwaszkiewicz's works, the topic of homosexuality was never openly developed mainly because of social stigmatization. Although his greatest pieces had a strong amount of homoerotic subtext, contemporary critics avoided using the term "homosexual literature" when commenting on Iwaszkiewicz's texts. The writer avoided expressing any element of queerness in his poetry or prose: "my publisher would never print it," he once expressed (Śmieja 87). The writer was aware of the homophobia in Poland during the 20th century. In a letter he wrote in 1957, he explained to his lover:

> No, son, it is not unfortunate that we met - and we consciously strove for it. […] Of course, people see it as gross, just gross, but you know what we see – deep friendship, deep love between two men, which has tremendous value, by the very fact that it exists. And you should take care of your health to save this feeling, this male friendship, this is a great treasure. (Król 83)

While others were having an affair, Jerzy had been struggling with his infectious disease. Iwaszkiewicz wanted him to take responsibility for his actions and stay sane, but Błeszyński (in his twenties) was living his life courageously; the elder writer barely stood the situation, when his lover cheated on him with women, used him financially, lied to him several times and declined the medical treatment. This provoked Iwaszkiewicz's jealousy. In the letter we read:

> And you write to me: 'Yours, Cinderella'. Yours, Cinderella. Although it sheds light on your character, your crazy ambitions. Indeed, like

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[7] My interview with Robert Papieski, an editor of Iwaszkiewicz's diaries and letters and an archivist at the Museum of Jarosław and Anna Iwaszkiewicz in Stawisko. Stawisko, Podkowa Leśna, 2.01.2019.

> Cinderella, you were picking up poppy seeds from the ashes to go to the ball. You wanted to use me for it, and it turned out that I was completely different from what you thought based on what they say in Bryjawa. [...] I'm afraid that you got into some very cheerful company. My child, after all, these babies will not give you peace, with your height, with your dick, with your beauty, which, as Olimpia says, is choking in the throat and in an empty apartment. You will be having sex, drink vodka, wave your hand at everything – I already know you. (Król 115-116)

As much as Iwaszkiewicz was jealous about his partner, his letters give the reader a hint of constant worrying about Błeszyński's health, love life, loyalty and care. These traits can also be found in the following letter:

> You didn't call today as you said. Does this mean that you spent the night in Brwinów? Somehow I'm afraid of your nights ... oh, my dear, how I get tired – I still have the impression of some complicated game on your part. I tire yourself with it and myself too – forgive me, my dear, how many times you have forgiven [...]. I write nonsense, eh, it's like I'm talking to you. I kiss you many times. (Król 140-141)

In their correspondence the writer is vulnerable, demanding, greedy and lonely. Iwaszkiewicz shows both the best aspects of his prose (bright metaphors, irony, rich artistic imagination) and the worst ones, when the lover disappoints him. During critical moments of their relationship, the writer had been literally begging for the attention of his younger beloved. In 1958, he writes "I am begging you, call me back, write," "My gold, my wonderful, I miss you, you are beautiful, I press you to my heart" (Król 152). The intensity of his letters increases when Iwaszkiewicz realizes that there is not much time left for his lover: Błeszyński's health is deteriorating. The writer sends him notorious letters about the need of being in contact with him, but – on the contrary – the more he writes, the less they meet. Epistolography becomes a place of free expression, but starts to limit other ways of contact. As time passes by, Iwaszkiewicz writes longer letters, just to feel closer to his reserved lover. But shortly the artist painfully realizes that their "real" meeting is impossible. Letters and phone calls are full of Błeszyński's lies (about his health condition, other affairs and way of life). How is it possible that despite writing so many letters in nearly three years of relationship, Błeszyński has become more and more detached from his lover?

Impossible Meetings

Absence – next to love – seems to be the main topic of their love letters. While reading, page by page, Błeszyński becomes the absent *persona* of the epistolary contact. This is not only because the reader cannot read his letters (literally). Eventually, in almost every message Iwaszkiewicz starts complaining that his lover is not answering most of his questions, and that he is stubbornly silent. As readers, we experience even some kind of paradox: once the writer says that he is in regular contact with Błeszyński, the second time he claims that he

saw him weeks ago. It turns out that only through epistolography can they become connected, because they meet only from time to time, and in their letters they keep constantly recalling it (and daydreaming about its alternate endings). As time passed by, Iwaszkiewicz was afraid of being abandoned. In 1958, he wrote:

> After all, I miss you very much, my love, and I feel the worst fear that when I come back you will be different than when I was leaving. The more that you have been different recently. I am terribly afraid of our meeting and I experience great emotions because of it – I'm afraid of your indifference - your apathy. (Król 162)

Similarly, in a different letter, he wrote:

> Why are you always in this damn iron armor? Don't you understand that it's much harder for you and me? I got the impression of unsatisfaction, something incomplete and unreal from our meeting, because you didn't tell me anything important, nothing of what you really relive in your sleepless nights and barren days? Of course, I know what you will answer me: that you still know what I think and feel. (Król 215)

Epistolography of this love affair is full of emotions, both ecstatic and depressing. After the first two years of the relationship, Iwaszkiewicz discovers that he had never really known his lover. Aware of this fact, he continued writing letters, hoping that it would make Błeszyński write about himself, which would allow the writer to learn about his lover's life. Even though his messages were regularly read by the political police (for possible blackmailing him), Iwaszkiewicz had been writing him love letters to him, and even after his death.

Letters of Elegy

The most dramatic part of their correspondence is probably the one after Jerzy Błeszyński's death. Iwaszkiewicz could not accept his loss, so he kept on writing letters. In relation to their past conversation, where lovers were talking about a future travel to Surabaya in Indonesia (Błeszyński's brother lived there as a contract worker), as an act of grieving Jarosław was writing to Jerzy like he was living far away, in dreamed Indonesia. The artist wrote this letter several days after his lover's death:

> Just now have I analyzed [poems]. But what conclusions have I come to, I will tell you in the next letter. In the meantime goodbye. Why don't you let me know you? Is the beautiful weather, where you are now? Give me a sign –
> Or:
> Write a lot, I don't know what sea rocks you: Mediterranean, Red? Don't send letters, hide them, we'll read them together when I come to Surabaya. I kiss your eyelids the way you like,

Yours. (Król 455)

Then he comes to think about everything that happened before Błeszyński's death. Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz talks with his friends and family, discusses every life decision he made, reads their letters many times, just to feel that he knew the person he loved. In the next stages of grieving, he lets himself decide to finish his private investigation. The artist accepts his loss and starts to compile his quotes and stories from the letters.

From the reader's perspective, this part of correspondence is the most emotional one. It is full of affects (according to Brian Massumi, "affect" is an impulse, intensive feeling, later transmitted and called as a specific emotion (Massumi 83-109)), and the most touching – from both sides of the epistolography, to the writer and the reader. If previously Iwaszkiewicz was complaining about rare dates with his beloved and finding reasons to fight (and become reconciled), in these last letters he seems to be passing through all stages of mourning.

Apart from experiencing their affective character, the letters of grief can be read – from a theoretical point of view – as imprinted into the epistolography's tradition. When defining epistolography, Cicero said it is "conversing with the absent" (Ceccarelli, Doering, Fögen, Gildenhard 330). Comparing this with Iwaszkiewicz's situation, this could not be truer. Even though Cicero was not talking about sending letters to those, who had passed away, his words are gaining an interesting accuracy: readers do not know the letters of Błeszyński (because they are not found), but *via* Iwaszkiewicz's epistolography, they suspect what could have been said by the absent lover. But at the end of letters' cycle, there is only mourning. And here is the real "absence," of which Iwaszkiewicz was accusing his beloved.

Letters to Błeszyński are exceptional, when it comes to Iwaszkiewicz's heritage. Bearing in mind the fact that he was a really "active" epistologist (writing every day to his family and friends), only with his lover could he be truly sincere and vulnerable. This example underlines the liberating role of epistolography: in this strange, unfitting genre, "unfitting" people can finally speak up what lies in their minds.

Reading from What Remained: "Love" of Ignacy Karpowicz

As I previously pointed out, fragments from letters to Jerzy Błeszyński had become part of many Iwaszkiewicz's works (prose, poem, drama). In fact, their content attracted the biggest part of the audience by that time when Agnieszka and Robert Papieski published the writer's diaries (three parts in 2011). The circumstance provoked young, contemporary Polish writers (Szczepan Twardoch, Jacek Dehnel), literary critics and reviewers (Justyna Sobolewska, Krzysztof Tomasik) and filmmakers (Izabella Cywińska) to make a commentary – through making art or review – about Iwaszkiewicz's life and his influence on their work. All of these artists, and their connection to *Wszystko jak chcesz…* are potentially interesting materials for different kinds of

research (maybe in the field of Harold Bloom's theory of influence). But for a longer review and interpretation, I chose one of the most interesting "effects" of reading Iwaszkiewicz's letters: the book of the modern Polish writer, Ignacy Karpowicz.

As a prose writer and reporter, Ignacy Karpowicz published his work *Miłość* ["Love"] in 2017. It was a prose work paying tribute to his biggest artistic inspirations – Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz and his wife, Anna Iwaszkiewicz (also connected to the matter of literature, as the interpreter of Marcel Proust's works). The dedication part of *Miłość* reads as follows:

> Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz accompanied me since my first, conscious readings. His dark entanglement in himself and his bright side, the one that organizes and simultaneously hides, have been with me for years, along with the figure of Anna Iwaszkiewicz. I feel honored by such company. (Karpowicz 289)

The interesting designation of "accompany" shows up in Karpowicz's text. While reading his book, the reader receives the impression that the author is using a writing style similar to Iwaszkiewicz's; Karpowicz makes configurations of the same clues and motives. As a matter of fact, the younger writer openly expresses the affinity between his own writing and his precursor's style: "I had the idea to start with short stories modeled on Iwaszkiewicz's sublimations" (Karpowicz 289). This is a good point to pose a question: how is the factual relationship between the elder writer's letters and the younger writer's prose reflected in Karpowicz's case?

Miłość is thought of as an echo of Iwaszkiewicz and Błeszyński's relationship. Moreover, the most remarkable fact is that Karpowicz, while writing the story, did not have access to the original letters between the two men (Anna Król published them few months later, entitled as *Wszystko jak chcesz...*). The writer was excerpting information about the men's affair from the letter's fragments in the writer's diaries, his prose, poetry, drama and biographies. The whole epistolography to Błeszyński was not available back then, so Karpowicz had been constructing in his prose his own vision of that romance. As he says in the interview promoting the book: "I wrote this part before Iwaszkiewicz's letters to his beloved. [...] I write something, and then it turns out to coincide with reality. In addition, the part that opens the book was the last one" (Karpowicz 1). A composition of the stories, which Karpowicz mentions, contains three parts: *Piękno* ["Beauty"], *Prawda* ["Truth"], *Dobro* ["Good"] (in relation to the Greek ethic's canon). This was commented altogether: "Beauty? Truth? Good? Without love, they dwarfed, becoming their own opposite, disconnecting into the dark ground" (52).

In the first part of *Miłość*, Karpowicz presents the story of Jarosław and Anna Iwaszkiewicz, hosting in Stokroć (the prototype of this place, as in another Jarosław's novel, *Panny z Wilka*, is Stawisko – writer's actual home) Irena and

Jerzy Siwicki (in real life, Jerzy Błeszyński and his lover, Lilka Pietraszak). Karpowicz constructs the story on three main themes: the loneliness of women – Anna and Irena (writer's wife and guest's lover), the latent, homoerotic relationship between Jarosław and Jerzy, and the awareness of death accompanying all characters. It is not without reason that the reader recognizes in the plot a reflection of the correspondence published later by Anna Król.

As with the letters, the relationship described here recreates the figures of "Eros" and "Sublimation," recognized by German Ritz in Iwaszkiewicz's prose. According to Ritz, writing about the death of potentially homosexual characters is a way of describing their inability to gain satisfaction: "Sensual perception of a man's body is only possible as a borderline experience (death experience)" (Ritz 15-25). Iwaszkiewicz and Błeszyński in Karpowicz's novel experience the same phenomenon during their drinking meetings and hourly disappearance from Stokroć. In *Miłość*, Iwaszkiewicz never openly admires the body of a young man, to whom he devotes every spare moment, eventually leading him to ignore his wife more and more. It is worth mentioning that without knowing about the letters, Karpowicz somehow caught the catchphrase used intimately between Iwaszkiewicz and Błeszyński: "Everything as you want". In *Miłość* he writes: "A mutual friend gave sage and shisha tobacco. 'I love you, you know?' – 'Everything as you want'. Inattentive, delightful young man suddenly emerges into the world" (68).

The story, containing flashes of the man-loving-man relation, fatal illness, Anna's insanity and dealing with Iwaszkiewicz's friend's death, evolves to the different parts of books and becomes a literary motive. In the second part of the prose work, there is the story of Albertyna, a young student of philology, in the time of the right wing's regime. She falls in love with her friend, Mateusz, and starts shyly to realize her bisexuality. When it becomes visible, that Mateusz is having an affair with his male friend (which is forbidden in the homophobic country's policy), she denounces him to the political police, believing that after the compulsory conversion therapy he would be able to make a family with her. Besides, Albertyna discovers while studying that it is impossible to borrow the book about Iwaszkiewicz and Błeszyński from the university's library and her mysterious dissertation adviser tells her to avoid researching the topic of homosexuality. It turns out that all the people somehow connected to the queerness (and queer studies too) were endangered in the country. By this pessimistic vision – built on Iwaszkiewicz's queer literary heritage – the author makes a bold allusion to the current Polish political situation (in the novel, the governing party's name – *Prawo i Swoboda* ["Law and Freedom"] – is very similar to governing in Poland nowadays *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* ["Law and Justice"]). Jarosław and Jerzy, as well as all the literary allusions in book (Proust, Mann, Wilde) become Karpowicz's question: where do the neglecting minority's stories lead? Into the strict right wing's policy or straight into conversion therapies? Karpowicz grasps Michel Foucault's theory and underlines the importance of subversiveness in queer life stories in the heteronormative society.

The third part of the book – next to the fairytale about two boys in love (one being a prince, the other a poor peasant) tells us about the inequalities in a homosexual relationship and the general exclusion (of women and the poor). The part is shared by quasi-autobiographical intermezzo. Although Karpowicz claims that it has nothing to do with his own biography, there are strong biographical bonds between him and the *persona* that he creates (which can be suspected from his open, personal queerness). In one of the interviews he says:

> Of course, I wrote this book, it is my book. But I am in it only a medium through which something has to flow or speak. And my fate was different from that of the first-person narrator. [...] *Miłość*, as I said, was difficult to write, but this first-person narrative was particularly difficult because I had to create an impression of sincerity. And such an impression does not come directly from life. (Karpowicz 1)

This time the narrative changes from the third person, where the speaking man is a writer during his coming out. The character discusses his own struggles with self-acceptance as a homosexual person, giving extensive descriptions of internalized homophobia, quite accurately depicted, as well as secret meetings of homosexuals (silenced by sublimation as furtive, nocturnal and filled with shame). Moreover, the narrator reveals the place where his story meets the fate of Iwaszkiewicz. By describing the struggle with his own identity, sexuality, hatred for his own body ("sleeping with the enemy"), distrust of himself and feeling social fear, the narrator of *Miłość* in some way draws a connection with the story of the elder writer, who – in the first part of the story – has a problem with his orientation. While the previous story contains descriptions of Jerzy and Jarosław's night meetings, the second one reads: "Sometimes this lie was repealed for the closest in the evening at supper or by itself was completely repealed by strangers in a darker alley, and in front of the world I was a completely lying person" (Karpowicz 82). The character, exposing himself emotionally and physically, presents a description of his heart disease and epistolary (or more: *via* e-mail) correspondence with his beloved.

What kind of conclusion can be drawn from these stories? And what is their exact link with Iwaszkiewicz's letters? According to his vision of contemporary Polish political scene, Ignacy Karpowicz decided to write a different version of love stories based on the romance between Iwaszkiewicz and Błeszyński. Because the complete cycle of their (or his) letters was unavailable, Karpowicz searched through the elder writer's archives, took fragments of their correspondence and used them in his own love story and political manifest, in the name of tolerance. Apart from the romance plot, there are a lot of sociological reflections about exclusions in Poland. Przemysław Czapliński, a literary critic, draws attention to what readers may fail to notice, guided by the interpretative path of the narrative. Homophobia, as an example of a touchstone for democracy, family relationships, memory of literature and history, is just one of the topics discussed in history. As the reviewer aptly

writes, "every dictatorship can be recognized by the misfits it appoints and fights, by offering illusory unity to the rest of society" (Czapliński). Therefore, in the world described by Karpowicz, discriminated groups are not only homosexuals, but also women and poor people. With such an interpretation, *Miłość* goes beyond being a colorful story based on the romance of an old writer. It becomes a triptych – a treaty on anti-feminist and classist society (because the theme of the class as a category is found in each part), whose representative group are discriminated homosexuals.

Ignacy Karpowicz used Iwaszkiewicz's letters very responsibly. What Karpowicz did can be called a reparative reading (and writing), relating to Eve Kosofsky-Sedgwick (123-150). The younger writer relieves reading, absorbs it affectively, is under the feeling of some (unspoken) intensity. What did the reparative part suggest? If we interpreted the word "reparative" as a form of writing designed to repair one's traumas by telling their own plots stories, then Karpowicz would be a good example of it. Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz's prose and poetry helped him to understand himself as a person and the parts of his letters touched (Kosofsky-Sedgwick "Touching Feeling") him and changed him as a writer. Those effects not only provoked his personal change, but also led him to express his social and political outlook. From the fragments, parts, and – sometimes – ashes of Iwaszkiewicz's love letters, he created his own political manifest, shared an intimate story and provoked the next generation to think about freedom of expression (emotional, wordly and personal). Reading Iwaszkiewicz changed Karpowicz both as a person and as a writer, and provided him with the tool to express what they had in common: congruent imagination, shaped by queer-coded literature, similar experiences and traumas, and empathy for the repressed.

Epistolography and the Expressed

Are the letters of Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz part of literature, or are they too determined by their purposefulness? His letters definitely are poetic, with plenty of intertextual relations to different literary works, mainly French (Colette, André Gide, Thomas Mann, Françoise Sagan, Arthur Rimbaud). They are associated with various genres ranging from dedication, fairytales (about the ideal future of men that could not have been possible) to lamentations and elegies. Iwaszkiewicz's epistolography has characters (Jarosław – the narrator, and Jerzy – the absent listener, instigator of communication), plot and climax, if one should describe it through categories of prose writing. But it is still impossible to figure out whether it falls under the category of non-fiction literature or private documents. When it comes to privacy, in *Wszystko jak chcesz...* Iwaszkiewicz once said to his lover: "And I won't bother you unnecessarily. But do you read my letters? Do you read them until the end? Do you hide them? Remember that in a few years Piotruś will be able to sell them at a good price" (Król 153). Hence, the reader can assume that Iwaszkiewicz treated his letters as an investment for future generations – the abovementioned "Piotruś" was Jerzy Błeszyński's son.

Epistolography hides many effects, unsaid stories, troubled biographies and feelings. Contrary to the artist's published works, letters contain intimate feelings of solitude and isolation, keeping a dialogue with someone trusted (or maybe a monolog with one's self on paper). This literary genre – often diminished by being unspecified and undefined – is a field full of artistic potential for future readers and writers, and specifically it is vulnerable because of both the subject-matter concerned and the means by which it is communicated (sheets of paper).

Until his last days Iwaszkiewicz kept an eye on epistolography. Even though he wrote many letters per day to plenty of his friends and co-workers, the letters to Błeszyński were kept in a special coffer. The writer's family never liked his younger lover. That was not because of the homosexual relation between them (for the closest of Iwaszkiewicz it was not anything surprising, since his wife and kids knew about Jarosław's orientation). Błeszyński was even called "the devil" by the family's friends, for they saw how much he abused Iwaszkiewicz's courtesy (and finances). Besides the social prejudices, unfriendliness and political system they were living in, the writer and his lover wrote in letters an impressive love story. Their epistolography, found after years, is now becoming a material belonging to the younger artists' work. Previous affective readers – like Karpowicz – are creating their own stories, writing their experiences and joining post-Iwaszkiewicz's heritage. All things considered, the meaning of letters is invaluable. So, what are the possible perspectives that can be taken when reading them? What can we expect for the future of epistolography? We can let the letters speak for themselves, just as Lucyna Marzec did:

> What else do the letters desire? They desire to be read many times, strive to save, store and make them public (despite the writers' demands for their destruction), they want to evoke emotions and leave a trace (effect) of "life" in their readers (correspondents and the wider public). They want to shake the stable sense of presence/ of absence, the division into art (literature) and everyday practice. They strongly demand inter –and transdisciplinary work that would comprehensively create a satisfying theory for them. (10)

Conclusion

Letters provide an opportunity to get to know the writer better, in terms of his/her biography, history and works (like it is for Dąbrowska, Włast and Iwaszkiewicz). To learn about a writer as a literary figure is especially important for readers. Thanks to "emotionality" contained in the epistolography, they are able to observe changes in the writer's professional atelier, perceive him as a person (emotional, vulnerable), instead of an institution (who provides literary text, without any inclination to his/her private life). Moreover, due to their complicated and undetermined genology,

letters can be read as a place full of affects, inspiring for subsequent writers. In fact, as the present study renders, this is the case for Ignacy Karpowicz: his example shows how epistolography encourages the repressed to speak and create their own places of polemics, creating manifests (about politics) and expressing their own emotions. Additional value of reading letters is the experience of reparative reading (which is also revealed in the analysis of Karpowicz's prose) – while reading Iwaszkiewicz's letters, the reader works through his own traumas of repression and finds his/her own traits in epistolography, where any otherness is not suppressed.

In conclusion, we deem it meaningful to ask what would be the importance of letters, read as a place of expression of the repressed. Based on the case of Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, who writes the letters, and Ignacy Karpowicz, who reads them, it can be treated as a cross-generational process of interpretation, self-discovering and self-acceptance. Epistolography, read affectively, can shape writers, change literary tradition, and serve to re-discover what was already discovered (and sealed). This suggests the transforming power of letter's reading and – maybe even – re-shaping the way we think about the history of literature.

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Locating Sancho through Westminster: A Topographical Reading of *The Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho, an African*

Ignatius Sancho'nun *The Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho, an African* Eseri Üzerine Topografik Bir Okuma

Banjo Olaleye
University of Saskatchewan, Canada

Abstract

A topographical reading of Ignatius Sancho's letters, especially as it relates to his detailed account of the Gordon riots of 1780, remains a gap in Sancho's studies. Most of the earlier studies have only mentioned his account of the riots briefly. His account of the riots spans across four letters addressed to banker John Spink, which have all been, along with several other letters he wrote, posthumously published in the collection, *Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho, an African*. As part of my discussion, I will show how a mapping of the spaces described in Sancho's Letters reveals the unlikelihood of his account being solely eyewitness. Here, however, I aim to follow Sancho's movement through the disrupted spaces where the riots took place and examine his reactions to these spaces. My conclusion here is that Sancho associates with the largely unscathed spaces of Westminster, where he lived, an indication of the social wellness of the area, and himself.

Keywords: Space, 18th Century London, Identity, Topography, Blacks.

Öz

Ignatius Sancho üzerine yapılan çalışmalarda *The Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho, an African* adlı eserinin topografik okuması, özellikle 1780 Gordon Ayaklanması bağlamında irdelenmemiş bir konu olarak kalmıştır. Yapılan çalışmaların çoğu bu ayaklanmadan kısaca bahseder. Sancho'nun ayaklanmaya dair anlatıları Banker John Spink'le olan mektuplaşmalarında yer almaktadır. Bu mektuplar *Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho, an African* başlığıyla daha sonra kitap olarak basılmıştır. Bu çalışma, Sancho'nun mektuplarında konu edindiği mekanların haritasını oluşturarak ayaklanma hakkında aktardıklarında yalnızca bir gözlemci olmadığını ortaya koymaktır. Sancho'nun ayaklanmanın yer aldığı mekanlardaki izlerini sürerek anlatısında bu mekanlara karşı verdiği tepkiler incelenmektedir. Kendisini yaşadığı yer olan Westminster'la ilişkilendirdiği ve bu bölgeyi sosyal refahı yüksek olarak gördüğü anlaşılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mekan, 18. yy Londra, kimlik, topograf, siyahiler.

Introduction

The question of race and identity has been an unresolved issue among Ignatius Sancho's scholars for many decades. Sancho has been categorized either as an example of assimilation of British values, or a radically charged anti-slavery /empire critic (Ellis 2001). One thing these critics have in common is that they barely do a close reading of his work, The Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho, an

African. Most of their analyses have been based on Joseph Jekyll's short biography of Sancho's life, "The Life of Ignatius Sancho." Sancho's letters have not been given the close readings that they deserve. The problematic in reading Sancho's Letters as a footnote to Jekyll's biography, like Brycchan Carey accuses Sancho's critics of, is that, "many of the 'facts' of Sancho's early life, as narrated by Jekyll, are almost certainly untrue" (Carrey 113). Vincent Carretta, in his article, "Three West Indian Writers of the 1780s Revisited and Revised," has cautioned against reading Letters as purely the writings of Sancho. Carretta insists that Frances Crew, the collector, and editor of Sancho's posthumously published Letters, "may have censored some of Sancho's views' about slavery and racial discrimination in Letters (81). In Carretta's opinion, Crew edited Sancho's Letters to serve a purpose: "Her motives for laying them [Letters] before the publick were, the desire of shewing that an untutored African may possess abilities equal to an European" (Letters 47). Recent discoveries of some manuscripts of Sancho's Letters prove Carretta's point. How then do we resolve the question of Sancho's identity when the two primary texts have been either diluted or simply unverifiable? Carey suggests we read both Letters and "Life" side by side. The problematics of Carey's approach is obvious, especially if we aim for a more accurate reading of Sancho and his works. In this paper, I will be focusing on an uncontended part of Sancho's Letters that have not been edited, censored, and is, verifiable through other available resources from Sancho's time, his identification and relationship with spaces in London, and particularly Westminster. It is my aim that a spatial reading of Sancho's Letters would potentially put to rest the debate on Sancho's identity.

Identity in terms of race, class, and gender is a complex phenomenon that cuts across various aspects of human life. Space, on the other hand, represents a locale of different possibilities for understanding power dynamics within class structures, race, and gender. Through the theoretical framework of Henri Lefebvre and Michel Foucault's spatial theories, this paper will examine Ignatius Sancho's spatial representation of eighteenth-century London and neighborhoods as a reflection of his quest for recasting his Africanness. In one of my previous papers, "Recasting Africanness: Ignatius Sancho and the Question of Identity," I have described Africanness as the "predominant ideology in eighteenth-century Britain that blacks are immoral and unrefined people who lack mental abilities" (Olaleye 51). While it can be argued that applying contemporary theories to an earlier time is anachronistic, Lefebvre's notion of space as a social construct and Foucault's concept of heterotopia can and should be used to explain spatial relations in Sancho's Letters. Using applicable parts, rather than all proponents of these theories would be effective in interrogating Sancho's relationship with space. Space as a social phenomenon is as relevant in the eighteenth century as is now, and so also is the dynamics of heterotopic spaces. In examining Sancho's identity through a spatial reading of his posthumously published collection of letters, The Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho, an African, my argument is that rather than an exclusive example of total

assimilation or anti-empire radicalism (Ellis 2001), Sancho is best identified as occupying a space of alterity, an otherness characterized by his search for validation and the need to douse or recast Africanness.

Lefebvre and Foucault: Social Spaces and Heterotopias

Michel Foucault's theory of spaces unveils the dynamicity of topography as a tool of identity negotiation. Foucault mentions that Galileo's work instigated the agency of space as a performance of "extension" (and evolving into one of "arrangement") rather than localization (Foucault 22). Foucault explains spatial extension as the realization that "the location of a thing, in fact, was no longer anything more than a point in its movement, its rest nothing but its movement slowed down infinitely" (22). In other words, space is transient as its existence is time-bound. The temporality of space makes the definition of any space a snapshot of moments in time. However, space remains dynamic in that it "is saturated with [...] intrinsic qualities [...] in a set of relationships that define positions which cannot be equated or in any way superimposed" (Foucault 23). In the context of eighteenth-century London, Foucault's definition of space begs the need to examine snapshots of moments captured in the writings of blacks, however, few they are (in comparison with writings by whites in the same period), who, in their attempt to navigate the intrinsic qualities that define their physical location, find themselves defined by such attempts. These attempts, as is the case in Sancho's account of the Gordon Riots, point to London as an extension of the space of slavery, empire, and unveils the underlying set of relationships that define positions within it. Foucault categorizes space in two forms: utopia and heterotopia. Utopias are unreal spaces that "have a general relationship of direct or inverse analogy with the real space of society" (24). Heterotopias, on the other hand, are "other" (real) spaces that reflect reality in its "represented, challenged, and overturned" forms (24). While the idea of situating an enslaved African man in London, the center of Christian values and civilization, and granting him his economic and social freedom is utopian, Ignatius Sancho's experiences in London represent challenges and overturns this ideal society in its entirety. Hence, his otherness reverberates through London as a heterotopic space.

Foucault's concept of space is parallel to Lefebvre's notion of social space. While Foucault's theory of space is focused on why spaces are the way they are perceived, Lefebvre is more concerned with how these spaces came to be in the first place. Lefebvre's approach to space can be succinctly summarized thus: "social space is produced and reproduced in connection with the forces of production (and with the relations of production). And these forces, as they develop, are not taking over a pre-existing, empty or neutral space, or a space determined solely by geography, climate, anthropology, or some other comparable consideration" (Lefebvre 77). Lefebvre's concept of space is one of the economic power relations which in effect determines everything else in the society, including the literature such society produces: "the benefit to be derived from this conclusion is that it leaves us some prospect of discovering a dialectical

relationship in which works are in a sense inherent in products, while products do not press all creativity into the service of repetition" (77). To Lefebvre, space is "at once a precondition and a result of social superstructures" (85). Slavery as a precondition of an ex-slave like Ignatius Sancho can thus be regarded as the product of the British Empire as a social superstructure which itself emanated to meet an economic end. In this sense, neither Sancho's experiences as a slave nor his Letters are void of the influence of the social superstructures that produced them. The materialism Lefebvre attaches to the production of space informs his description of the role of the state as organizers of spaces per "property relationships (especially the ownership of the earth, of land) and also closely bound up with the forces of production (which impose a form on that earth or land)" (85). Space as a tool of the state is therefore not only "a product to be used" but also "a means of production" (85). Slavery as a product of empire is in this line of thought a social-economic space used by the British Empire to organize, produce social relations between not only the rich and the poor but also between slavers and the enslaved. The social spaces produced, however, "interpenetrate one another and/or superimpose themselves upon one another. They are not things which have mutually limiting boundaries, and which collide because of their contours or as a result of inertia" (86-7). The fluidity of such social products like slavery thus typifies the literary product of a former slave like Sancho who, throughout his Letters, will oscillate between praises for the empire and sharp criticisms.

Ignatius Sancho: A Biographical Snapshot

Sancho's biography, though not entirely verifiable, is an appropriate background for discussing his physical, social, and mental locale within London. The account we have of Sancho's life is majorly from the short posthumously published biography written by Joseph Jekyll in 1782, "The Life of Ignatius Sancho," details of which, unfortunately, and according to Carretta, cannot be corroborated (Letters 13), especially because some of Sancho's own words contradict Jekyll's account. Charles Ignatius Sancho, according to Jekyll, was born in 1729 on a slave ship crossing the Atlantic Ocean to the West Indies. Sancho tells one of his correspondents that he was "born in Afric," (Letters 272). Jekyll tells us Sancho's mother died of the disease in the Spanish colony of New Grenada where a bishop named her son Ignatius after baptizing him. Sancho's father, Jekyll tells us, committed suicide rather than endure slavery. Sancho's owner, whose name remains unknown, then took this two-year-old orphaned slave to England and handed him over to three unmarried sisters in Greenwich. The sisters gave Ignatius the name Sancho because they thought he resembled the fictional Don Quixote's squire, Sancho Panza. The sisters were not very keen on educating Sancho, whom they thought will no longer be submissive if schooled. However, Sancho won the favor of John, second Duke of Montagu, who had a house in nearby Blackheath, where he met Sancho accidentally. Montagu, impressed by Sancho's intelligence, brought him home frequently and encouraged him to read

by giving him books. Sancho fled from his owners to seek freedom under the protection of the Duchess of Montagu shortly after John, the duke, died in 1749. Initially reluctant, the duchess hired Sancho as her butler. Sancho was promoted to the position of a valet, under the authority of Ralph, son-in-law of the late duke who, in honor of the late duke's will, changed his family name to Montagu and became the new duke. Sancho married Anne in 1758 and fathered seven children through this marriage. From his birth to his death, Sancho's life is defined with slavery as a social product of the state. Even after his freedom, and centuries after his death, he continues to be identified by the product marker: slave, an ex-slave. The superstructure of slavery is in this regard transcendental. Foucault suspects the transcendence of spaces of localization when he submits that "it may be that contemporary space has not yet lost those sacred characteristics (which time certainly lost in the nineteenth century), in spite of all the techniques that assail it and the web of knowledge that allows it to be defined and formalized" (Foucault 23). Sancho's experience of slavery continues to be localized in the language of empire codified in the words slave and ex-slave, among other similar appellations.

Sancho's education helped elevate his social status. Sancho's exposure to the highest levels of British science and politics, is in part, due to the influence of Montagu's household. The Montagu was the governor and captain of Windsor Castle, and later governor of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York. The Montagu was a member of the Royal Society, the Privy Council, and the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacturers, and Commerce. Many of the aristocrats and artisans Sancho later wrote to and about in his letters, were members of these societies. The Montagu, when Sancho became overweight, helped Sancho establish a grocery shop, near his London house in Privy Gardens, Whitehall, in early 1774 at 19 Charles Street, just next to Sancho's new house at 20 Charles Street. Charles Street, Westminster, is sandwiched directly in between two centers of power: The Prime Minister's house in Downing Street and the Houses of Parliament, both just a few minutes' walk away. Sancho's loss of physical mobility is one of the reasons why, Carey, in "The worse than Negro barbarity of the populace,' claims, it is unlikely that he physically visited all the places he mentioned were affected by the Gordon riots of 1780 (156). In Lefebvre's mode of thinking, Sancho's education "masks not just one social relationship but a host of them that analysis can potentially disclose" (Lefebvre 88). Sancho's correspondents reflect the diversity in the age, class, and race of his social circle—an assortment that makes him uniquely positioned in the center of them all.

Ignatius Sancho's life gives an insight into the struggle of blacks in eighteenth-century England faced in navigating social-economic spaces that are in themselves fluid at best. A quick review of the way Sancho is perceived even by modern scholars, especially in his narration of the Gordon Riots, indicates layers of "intrinsic qualities" (Foucault 23) that are as dynamic as the space the man inhabited. Brycchan Carey, in his article "'The worse than Negro barbarity of the populace': Ignatius Sancho Witnesses the Gordon Riots," notes that Sancho's supposed eye-witness account of the Gordon Riots was probably a literary

construct, based on reading in the newspapers (145). Similarly, Vincent Carretta has noted Sancho's efforts as a social critic, and generally, a man of the arts, who was as much a music composer as he was an actor and a man of letters. Carretta also noted that Sancho's account of the Gordon riots is a combination of both his experiences and contemporaneous press reports (Letters 273). Carretta and Carey's conclusion about Sancho's reliance on experience and knowledge of current affairs in his narration of the Gordon Riots underline a bigger question of space and identity: why would a man who saw first-hand how the riots unfolded depend on press reports at all? There are multiple answers to this question. First, his audience, or in this regard, the recipient of his letters. Second, his need to project his currency for reading both classical literature and current affairs. Third, the need to reference established sources in his adoption of spaces as an identity marker. Fourth, he did it because he could.

First, Sancho wrote most of his letters after he opened his shop and to people of different classes, races, and sex. Amongst his correspondents and friends were Duchess of Queensberry and Northumberland, artists like William Stevenson and authors like Laurence Sterne. Sancho also wrote to his former fellow servants, James Kisbee, Charles Browne, and other black Britons like Charles Lincoln, Juius Soubise, and so on. While Sancho corresponded with people all over the British Empire, from India to the Caribbean, most of his letters were addressed to people within England. The four letters where he accounts for the Gordon Riots were written between June 6 and June 13, 1780, to John Spink. John Spink (1729-94) was a draper and a banker in Buttermarket, Bury. Spink was a partner to John Scotchmer (1716-86) from about 1770 to 1775 when Scotchmer retired and Spink was left in control of the bank. Spink married Margaret Gough in March 1778, about seven years after he was elected Common Councilman of Bury Corporation. A wealthy and generous man, who donated hundreds of pounds to religious and medical charities as well as to individuals, Spink was the Receiver General for the Eastern Division of the County, County Treasurer, and founder of the Bury Sunday Schools. Spink, his wife, Margaret, and sister, Ann, all subscribed to Sancho's Letters (Letters 303). The four letters Sancho wrote to Spink were, like a piece of journalism, Sancho's careful attempt to present events as intellectually striking as possible.

William Stevenson, Sancho's friend, and a subscriber to Letters commenting on the level of Sancho's exposure to people across social strata notes that "few men had seen more of life, in all its varieties, from the Prince to the Beggar; and no one…ever made a better use than he did, of the knowledge resulting from his observations" (Letters 358). Stevenson's words highlight the social description of enlightened men in eighteenth-century Britain as people who are well versed in both the knowledge of classical literature and contemporary literature, including journals. Sancho's reliance on news reports would have very much signaled to his readers (Spink and anyone he shares the letters with) that he is not only educated but also an avid reader of news articles who deserves the serious attention of elitists like Spink. Second, his reference of lines from poet

laureates like Colley Cibber, and how he does this, projects his knowledge of literature as superior. Sancho quotes Colley Cibber's adaptation of Shakespeare's Richard III: "Off with his head—so much—for Buckingham" in the middle of one of his letters to Spink (Letters 277), just like he quotes other well-known writers (classical and contemporary) in his other letters. Third, his reference to political figures all through these letters presents him as a man who is very aware of the political climate of his time. Indeed, Sancho is the first known black man to have voted in a British election. While Sancho's intentions for writing these letters the way he did cannot be verified, he, however, and to my fourth point, enjoyed the benefits that came with his ability to read and write. He is the first black man to have his correspondence published. His posthumously published letters played a critical role, as an evidence of the intellectual abilities of Africans, in the Abolitionist movement that started shortly after his death. He became known as the "extraordinary Negro", a designation first used by Joseph Jekyll in "The Life of Ignatius Sancho." By 1780, the year he wrote the letters detailing the Gordon Riots, also the year of his death, Sancho was already a property-owning resident of Westminster. He died on 14 December 1780.

The Gordon Riots: Ignatius Sancho and the Politics of Space

The Gordon Riots of 1780 started on June 2 as a peaceful an anti-Catholic protest in London against the Papists Act of 1778—an act designed to officially reduce discrimination against British Catholics. The act granted Roman Catholics minor relief from legal restrictions which were earlier imposed on them through the Popery Act of 1698. Lord George Gordon, the President of The Protestant Association of London and a member of parliament for Ludgershall, with his strong propagandist speeches, led several protestants in London to believe having Catholics in the military might cause them to join forces with co-religionists across Europe and attack Britain. He incited in these Protestants the fear of Papism and the likelihood of a return to absolute monarchical rule. His words were so inflammatory that it sparked up a movement of about 60,000 Protestants who marched on the Houses of Parliament to deliver a petition demanding the repeal of the Act. The protest soon degenerated into full-blown riots that led to the destruction of several properties, among which were houses of influential people, Catholics, and Catholic sympathizers; Catholic churches, and several others. Prisons were attacked with several prisoners freed, and the death of at least one thousand people, with several more injured, was recorded. The army eventually intervened in the riots, after they were given the order, on June 7, to fire upon any groups of four or more who refused to disperse. About 285 people were shot dead, with another 200 wounded. Around 450 of the rioters were arrested. Of those arrested, about twenty or thirty were later tried and executed. Gordon was arrested and charged with high treason but was found not guilty (Babington 27). Nicholas Rogers considers the Gordon riots the most destructive riot in the history of London (Rogers 152).

Sancho's description of the riots reveals the identity he associates with spaces in London. Although by June 1780, Sancho was already terribly suffering from gout that would eventually claim his life six months later, and his mobility greatly reduced, the location of his house at Charles Street, meant that he most likely would have experienced first-hand the initial events that led to the riots. Sancho's house, as stated earlier, is sandwiched directly in between the Prime Minister's house in Downing Street and the Houses of Parliament. The protests that led to the riots took place at the front of these Houses. The debate over the Papists Acts also started here. Considering Sancho's knowledge of the current political affairs in London, as evident through the comments all through his Letters, he most likely must have been following the issue right from its onset. Sancho states, in Letters that the protest began at the Palace-yard, a few blocks away from his house at Charles Street, at around eleven (Letters 271). Sancho described the mob "of at least a hundred thousand poor, miserable, ragged, rabble, from twelve to sixty years of age thus" (271):

> I was obliged to leave off—the shouts of the mob—the horrid clashing of swords—and the clutter of a multitude in swiftest motion—drew me to the door—when every one in the street was employed in shutting up shop [...] Lord S[andwic]h narrowly escaped with life about an hour since;—the mob seized his chariot going to the house, broke his glasses, and, in struggling to get his lordship out, they somehow have cut his face;—the guards flew to his assistance [...], and guarded him bleeding very fast home. This—this—is liberty! genuine British liberty! [...]. About two this afternoon, a large party took it into their heads to visit the King and Queen, and entered the Park for that purpose—but found the guard too numerous to be forced, and after some useless attempts gave it up. (271-2)

Sancho's words here suggest the posh identity he ascribes with the space in and around Westminster. Sancho considers Westminster space of and for class, royalty, social and political success—a space for the ruling class. Westminster is meant to be a space for all that is the opposite "of the maddest people—that the maddest times ever plagued with," the "Negro barbarity of the populace" [of other spaces in London]. It is certainly not a space for the "poor, miserable, ragged, rabble...ready for any and every mischief." It's a space of serenity, not "shouts;" a site for order, not "the clutter of a multitude," nor "anarchy" (270-2). Lord George Gordon, a member of this space of grace and class, must have certainly been consumed with "insanity" to desecrate a space marked with the fashionable House of Lords, House of Commons, state-of-the art Westminster Bridge, the haven called St. James' Park, the one-of-a-kind Palace, and all the other paragons of architectural designs home to men of noble and refined character, with his "deluded wretches." Therefore, Sancho would rather have the parliament immediately "expel him the house—commit him to the Tower [the Tower being the most secure prison in London—the protesters would later unsuccessfully attempt to break into it]—and then prosecute him at leisure—by

which means he will lose the opportunity of getting a seat in the next parliament—and have decent leisure to repent him of the heavy evils he has occasioned" (271). Gordon's evils were not that he opposes the Papists Act of 1778, of which Sancho, all through the four letters refused to comment on; Gordon's evils were that he brought "Foul Discord and her cursed train" near Sancho's "blessed abode!" (272). The location of Sancho's house, I argue, influenced his lifestyle, writing, and identity. His narration of the Gordon riots shows a bias for Westminster.

Westminster validates Sancho's social status as a man of refined character just as much as Sancho validates the space. In Lefebvre's view, space is produced per a representation in which users only experience passively in as much as it has been thoroughly inserted into, or justified by their representational space (Lefebvre 43). Westminster is a representational space: It represents royalty, the elite, and the site for refined people—it was socially organized by the state for this. The architecture and the social functions of the infrastructure in Westminster, from the Parks to the Palace, all lend credence to the production of the space as such. The caliber of people who live in this area, Kings, members of the parliament, rich and learned people, all contribute to the production of Westminster as a representational space for the ruling class and the elite. For Sancho to cross from slavery into this class, there must be a revolutionary social transformation. In Lefebvre's words, "a social transformation, to be truly revolutionary in character, must manifest a creative capacity in its effects on daily life, on language and space—though its impact need not occur at the same rate, or with equal force, in each of these areas" (54). Sancho's social transformation from the lowest rung of the social hierarchy, slavery, into the highest order of the elite, is manifested through its mental effect on his daily life, his language, and the space he inhabits. Sancho runs a shop and owns a house at Charles Street—a space most slaves can only dream of inhabiting. He engages himself, like the average elite does, in social commentaries, reading, going to the theatre, and sometimes performing there. He also composes musical pieces. His knowledge of literature, his writing skills, his gentle-man-gestures and his knack for writing carefully drafted letters to members of the elite class all reveal how much he has mentally constructed Westminster as a space for the social validation of his social transformation. He does not just live in Westminster; he acts like people from Westminster. The movement in Sancho's social transformation is "slowed down infinitely" (Foucault 22), but active. He relies on the space as a certification of his new identity.

Even after Gordon and his mob disturb the stateliness of Westminster with their noise and an unruly attitude, Sancho's Westminster must be left unscathed. Sancho tells Spink, "about two this afternoon, a large party took it into their heads to visit the King and Queen, and entered the Park for that purpose—but found the guard too numerous to be forced, and after some useless attempts gave it up" (Letters 272). In another letter, he continues: "We have a Coxheath and Warley of our own; Hyde Park has a grand encampment, with artillery, Park, &c. &c. St. James's Park has ditto—upon a smaller scale. The Parks, and our West end of the town, exhibit the features of French government" (Letters 276).

Vincent Carretta, the editor of Letters, in his notes to this letter explains that Sancho is here alluding to the military camps the French set up in Cavenham, Coxheath, and Warley after they formed a military alliance with the American colonists against the British in 1778. When Sancho writes about Westminster exhibiting the features of French government, he is referring to the professional police force of France; Britain did not have one—most Britons saw this as a threat to individual liberty (227). The Gordon riots, among other things, would on March 27, 1782 influence British government to establish the Home Department—the ministerial department responsible for immigration, security, and law and order in Britain—and introduce an armed and salaried foot patrol. Sancho, a staunch patriot, does not mind the French-like policing of Westminster if only because it helps preserve the social identity of the area—his area, the one that validates his identity.

Sancho's choice of the personal pronoun "we" reveals his association with the social identity of the people and places in Westminster. Sancho creates a "we" against "them" narrative that sets the people of Westminster (including members of the Houses) against the wider populace of London. Sancho is irritated "to hear the execrable nonsense that is industriously circulated amongst the credulous mob—who are told his M[ajest]y regularly goes to mass at Ld. P[et]re's chaple—and they believe it, and that he pays out of his privy purse Peter-pence to Rome. Such is the temper of the times—from too relaxed a government; and a King and Queen on the throne who possess every virtue" (275). Robert Petre, ninth Baron Petre, the man whose name is used to designate the chapel referred to above, according to Carretta, was a leading Roman Catholic whom the George III and Queen Charlotte visited at Thorndon, Essex, on October 19-21 1778, shortly after the passage of the Catholic Relief Act of 1778. The rumor among the rioters was that King George III resumed the tradition of paying the annual penny (Peter's pence) tribute to the pope at the feast of St. Peter, an action which had been abolished by Henry VIII as far back as 1534. Sancho dispels this rumor in favor of the King. Even though he knows the riots erupted because the government failed to settle issues within its Houses, Sancho, unlike what he said of the rioters, would not directly insult the government, some members of which are residents of Westminster. His choice of words here shows he is sympathetic toward them. When he, therefore, uses "we" as he speaks of the efforts of the government to curb the riots, he is signaling his identity with the space and people of Westminster, the ruling class: "We have taken this day numbers of the poor wretches, in so much we know not where to place them. Blessed be the Lord! we trust this affair is pretty well concluded" (277). This is the same attitude he displays when he talks about the rioters from the third-person perspective. They are the "poor wretches" (277), "the credulous mob," "the insurgents [who] visited the Tower, but it would not do" (275). Sancho is Westminster embodied just as much as Westminster defines the nature of the man.

Sancho's definition of people by the space they inhabit speaks to the nexus between the identities of space and humans within his letters. Sancho writes about Caen Wood, the country house of William Murray, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, at Highgate: "Lord M [ansfield]'s house in town suffered martyrdom; and his sweet box at Caen Wood escaped almost miraculously, for the mob had just arrived, and were beginning with it—when a strong detachment from the guards and light-horse came most critically to its rescue— the library, and, what is of more consequence, papers and deeds of vast value, were all cruelly consumed in the flames" (274). Here, Sancho personifies Caen Wood as escaping the riot, as though Caen Wood is Lord Mansfield depersonalized. Similarly, he writes: "Ld. N[orth]'s house was attacked; but they had previous notice, and were ready for them." Here, not only does the house become a metaphor for the household of Lord North, but also an insignia of the social identity of Lord North—a symbol of wealth, power and good education. Another example is "Langdale's spirits" which Sancho claims have "decently knocked on the head" and "half-killed" "about fourscore or an hundred of the reformers" (276). Thomas Langdale, according to Carretta, was a Roman Catholic who owned one of the largest distilleries in London. "Langdale lost more than £100,000 when the mob set fire to his distillery. Many rioters were poisoned by drinking the unrectified gin released into the streets by the heat of the flames" (Letters 277). Sancho claims "the greatest losses have fallen upon [Langdale] the great distiller near Holborn-bridge" (276). "Langdale's spirits," rendered in the plural form, are arguable, the inseparable but distinct spirits of both the physical man and his space, the distillery. The space of Langdale's distillery is thus as much alive, even though in the ethereal world, as is the man that owns it.

The riots that took place across the spaces of London is appropriated as a tool for Sancho's attempt at re-negotiating the intrinsic qualities of Westminster as an indication of the wellness of all its residents (Whites, Blacks, Jews), rather than the elitists alone. Lefebvre argues that in "the illusion of transparency [...] space appears as luminous, as intelligible, as giving action free rein. What happens in space lends a miraculous quality to thought, which becomes incarnate through design (in both senses of the word). The design serves as a mediator -- itself of great fidelity - between mental activity (invention) and social activity (realization); and it is deployed in space" (Lefebvre 27-8). Elsewhere, I have argued Sancho's Letters is a revelation of his struggle for identity, for himself as well as other blacks in Britain (Olaleye 51). Drawing from these two arguments, it is my opinion that the events of the Gordon riots that took place on the physical space of Westminster serve as illumination into the encrypted reality of Sancho's thoughts—his struggle to recast Africanness ("the predominant ideology in eighteenth-century Britain that blacks are immoral and unrefined people who lack mental abilities" (Olaleye 51)). Even though Sancho lives and acts like a man from Westminster, this has not stopped the racial discrimination he faces from people like the white man who called him "Smoke Othello!" (359). Hence, his outburst in the first of the four letters, "I am not sorry I was born in Afric" (272). The four letters were written to explain "the worse

than Negro barbarity of the populace" (271). Lefebvre's assertion succinctly describes Sancho's struggle for identity: "In the realm of becoming, but standing against the flux of time, every defined form, whether physical, mental or social, struggles to establish and maintain itself" (22). Sancho is here trying to show that a black man, like himself, can and does possess all the qualities, mental, physical, and social, associated with the class of people in Westminster.

My mapping of spaces mentioned in Sancho's account of the Gordon riots shows a bias for Westminster. Even though the events that led to the riots started at Westminster, Sancho mentions just one place in Westminster that was successfully attacked by the rioters, Tothill Fields (Bridewell) Prison, a place spatially and literally for community's outcast (Tothill Fields is located towards the extreme South of Westminster). Similarly, the formidable spaces he mentions, St. James' Park, House of Lords, and Hyde Park, are all spaces within the space he identifies with—Westminster. Regarding the riot actions in Westminster, my mapping of Sancho's account stands in contrast to the map used by the Quarter Master General who was responsible for sending troops to the affected areas (Map of the Gordon Riots). In Sancho's account, the most affected spaces were outside Westminster; however, the Quarter Master General's map indicates there may have been more sites within Westminster than Sancho acknowledges (Map of the Gordon Riots). For the Grub Street Project, I have mapped spaces outside of Westminster that Sancho mentions (spaces which, with his dilapidating health, he could not have all experienced the events that took place there, and most likely relied on press reports for his narration like Carrey has argued) are like those on the Quarter Master General's map (Olaleye 2017). Sancho's Westminster is left unscathed because, unlike "the worse than Negro barbarity of the [larger] populace" (271), Westminster stands for the civilization Sancho identifies with but struggles to be socially accepted for.

It is in this chain of thought, that I consider Westminster a heterotopic space. Michel Foucault describes heterotopias as "real places—places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society—which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about" (24). Sancho's Westminster is a real space, but also an unreal space. It is real in the sense that it is a physical space, an effectively enacted utopia, the dream space of every slave in London. Within Westminster as a heterotopic space, the cultures of slavery, empire, colonialism, wealth, politics, power structures, and education are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted. The culture of slavery, for instance, is simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted by Sancho's presence within the space. Westminster symbolizes the center of the British Empire. It is the space within which decisions on slavery are made. Slavery

thrives on the notion of Africanness. However, Africanness is contested by Sancho's abilities to read and write and inverted by his presence as a property-owning member of that society. Westminster as Sancho's other space is a placeless place—a heterotopia that embodies all the qualities that Sancho needs to recast the notion of Africanness associated with his race. Foucault describes such "mixed experience" that exist in reality and imagination through his example of a mirror: The mirror is a utopia in that "it is a place without a place […] a sort of shadow that makes my appearance visible to myself, allowing me to look at myself where I do not exist", but it is as well heterotopia because it "really exists and has a kind of comeback effect on the place that I occupy" from where I "find myself absent from the place where I am, in that I see myself in there" (24). Like Foucault's mirror, from the standpoint of Westminster, Sancho discovers his absence from the place that he is (the physical space) since he sees himself over there—the mental space, a place he needs to validate his identity as a man of refined qualities.

Conclusion

The heterotopic nature of Westminster as a real social space as well as a representational space positions Sancho in a position of alterity. Even though Sancho associates himself with Westminster, relying on the space to validate his identity, his experiences within the space, and his intentional placement as an outsider of Westminster, particularly when he is about to pass a critical comment, makes his claim to the insider-Westminsterian identity neither cohesive nor consistent. Sancho, throughout his lifetime, and even after his death, faced episodes of racial discrimination within Westminster from people like the white man who called him "Smoke Othello!" or "the haughty Creole" who eyed him disdainfully for delivering a message on behalf of his master (359). Hence, his outburst in one of his letters, "I am not sorry I was born in Afric" (272). Sancho conveniently situates himself as an outsider to address the ignorance and hypocrisy of whites in the belief in Africanness. In several of his letters, Sancho uses the words, "your country (88, 147, 188)," especially when he is writing a critical comment about Britain to a white man. One such, which reveals his state of alterity is in his letter to Jack Wingrave. Sancho writes:

> I am sorry to observe that the practice of your country (which as a resident I love—and for its freedom—and for the many blessings I enjoy in it—shall ever have my warmest wishes—prayers—and blessings); I say it is with reluctance, that I must observe your country's conduct has been unifromly wicked in the East—West-Indies—and even on the coast of Guinea. (188)

Sancho's alterity makes him a better critic of power structures globally and locally. He can switch at will between the positions of outsider and insider of Britain and Africa. Sancho condemns the "petty Kings" (188) of Africa for their "hellish means of killing and kidnapping" "the poor wretched natives", just as much as he condemns the British empire for their involvement in the slave trade (188). He is, however, not against a globalized trade. He claims, "Commerce

attended with strict honesty—and with Religion for its companion—would be a blessing to every shore it touched at" (188). Sancho could effortlessly relate, at a personal level, with people and discourse concerning those of the middle and lowest economic class, slaves, just as much as he could engage and relate with people of the upper and ruling class. He could engage with global discourses about the politics and economics of British colonies and other European countries, just as much as he participates in the discourse on local politics and economy. This kind of balanced criticism is made possible because of his peculiar identity, his otherness.

 From his comments on slavery, his switch between insider and outsider positions, and his physical and mental locations, Sancho shows that he is not a victim to total assimilation, neither is he completely against the British empire. He is in a position of alterity, a space in itself, marked by the struggle to recast Africanness.

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Decolonization of Policy Process and not the Policy of Decolonization
Politik Süreci Sömürgecilikten Kurtarmak

Samuel O. Okafor
University of Nigeria, Nigeria

Abstract

Colonialism and neo-colonialism as socioeconomic and political realities among the third world nations were designed to operate through the logic of socioeconomic thinking and activities of the indigenous people. Ignorance of this has made the colonized vulnerable to the complex and fluid networks of colonialism, and neo-colonialism programs as designed by the colonialists and neo-colonialists. Most of these nations have put forward policy of decolonization without thinking about decolonization of their domestic and international policy postures. By so doing, most of these nations have become more vulnerable to their former colonialists as well as the entrant neo-colonialists. Nigeria, as one of the nations operating in the raiders of their former colonial masters and the entrant neo-colonialists, has been subjected to perpetual dependency and failure due to the ignorance of the fluid structure and networks of neo-colonialism. The fact, as this paper specifically aims to prove, is that there is no way socioeconomic logical framework on the platform of imperialism paradigm will produce genuine and sustainable development. As such, the paper modelled the colonialists' socioeconomic policy logical framework, neo-colonialists' socioeconomic policy logical framework, and the decolonization of socioeconomic policy logical framework in Nigeria for sustainable development.

Keywords: Colonialism, neo-colonialism, socioeconomic logical framework, policy of decolonization, decolonization of policy process.

Öz

Üçüncü dünya ülkelerinde sosyoekonomik ve politik bir gerçeklik olarak kolonileşme ve neo-kolonileşmenin "sosyoekonomik mantıksal çerçeve yaklaşımıyla" ve yerli halkın eylemleri sayesinde etkin olması planlanmıştır. Bu durumun göz ardı edilmesi sömürgeciliğe maruz kalmış ülkeleri, (neo)kolonileşmenin istikrarsızlaştırma politikalarına karşı kırılganlaştırmaktadır. Bu ülkelerin çoğu, kendi iç ve dış politikalarına dair duruşlarını hesaba katmadan sömürgecilik karşıtı politikalar öne sürmektedir. Bu nedenle, ülkelerinde önceden sömürgeci güç olan uluslara karşı daha savunmasız hale gelirler. Tarihteki önceki sömürgecilerine ve neo-kolonileşmeye karşı bir duruş içerisinde olan diğer ülkeler gibi Nijerya da günümüz sömürgeciliğinin istikrarsızlaştırma politikasını göz ardı ettiği için sürekli dışa-bağımlı durumdadır. Bu çalışma, sürdürülebilir gelişme elde etmek için (yeni)sömürgeci gücün sosyoekonomik mantıksal çerçeve politikasına karşın sömürgecilik karşıtı sosyoekonomik mantıksal çerçeve yaklaşımını modellemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kolonileşme, neo-kolonileşme, sosyoekonomik mantıksal çerçeve yaklaşımı, sömürgecilikten kurtulma, sömürge karşıtı politika.

Introduction

Among other phenomena that have shaped the history of man, colonialism appeared to be outstanding among the African nations. While the phenomenon at the surface appeared to have been fizzled away in the history of man, empirical indices show the phenomenon appearing and reappearing among the developing nations in different packages and forms. This is not far from the original nature and character of the phenomenon from the earlier appearance from Europe.

While the economic expansionism opened the door for the Euro-American slave trade, the missionaries surveyed and softened the ground for the colonialists who were determined to expand their empires for economic exploitation (Adetoro 43). For the Europeans to succeed in their slave trade in Africa, superior weapon was of great importance so that communities will surrender and also use the weapons sold to them in capturing their neighbours to sell to the slave traders (Equiano 13). In the case of colonialism, which required occupation of territories, psychological inducement was necessary and was achieved through the missionaries and merchants who established schools, churches and made treaty on behalf of the empire builders (Rodney 161). The 14th century mission of the Portuguese economic adventurers ostensibly to capture and economically enslave the people of the South Pole, majorly characterized as the blacks, originated the hard-to-dismantle socio-political and economic domination strategy of the people of the North Pole ... a situation that was latter conceptualized as colonialism (Chinweizu 35). While the Portuguese claimed to be exploring Africa for missionary work and civilization via the Roman catholic mission, the outcome of the 1884 Berlin conference was soon captioned the move to civilize Africans by the Europeans. In any case, the colonialism agenda simply started with hypocrisy and had been sustained as such. While the Portuguese pseudo missionary work and civilization peaked with slavery business involving Spain, America and other European nations, the participants in the 1884 Berlin conference started with pseudo protection of the local territories in Africa and peaked with neo-colonialism, which is currently ravaging most African nations.

The covert socioeconomic and political agenda encapsulated in civilization jingle from European nations to African nation soon turned to chronic disease, which the erstwhile economically sufficient small-scale societies are managing today across African continent. While the slavery business originally from the Portuguese grew to become the chronic disease of brain drain in Africa and quest for migration, colonialism, which originated at the 1884 Berlin conference, had grown to become neo-colonialism and permanent enslavement of the African nations into the common wretched of the nations [a term ostensibly presented as *Common Wealth of Nations*] (Okafor 46). While the chronic disease of slavery is embedded in the constant socioeconomic and political instability of the African nations to force the inhabitants to seek for access into European and American nations where they are considered based

on their economic viability, the chronic disease of colonialism was embedded into the policy making processes directly influenced from the metropolis and the pseudo global organizations. In Nigeria, the aforementioned situation has permanently subjected the nation to international begging and recipient of Socioeconomic Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (SAIDS) from America, Europe, Asia, and other nations interested in the business of neo-colonialism.

The main effects of the European assault on Nigeria, Africa and other parts of the world via colonialism and neo-colonialism, remains a multidimensional issue, which only surfaces with time and area of interest to whoever observes it (Ziltener, Künzler and Walter 156). For example, the present chaos in the Middle East regarding the Islamic State and the multifaceted rebel groups is traceable to the colonialists' intervention, which destroyed the Ottoman Empire and offered Middle East as colonial subjects to Britain and France. Initially, finding it difficult to defeat the Ottoman Empire which, spanned across Middle East, Britain and France lured Iraq and Syria into sabotaging the Ottoman Empire in exchange for independence. At the end what Iraq and Syria received was subjugation by their pseudo friends [Britain, France] hence the popular Sykes-Picot agreement, which was responsible for the agitations by Islamic State, Kurds and the rest of the Arab world (Barker 86; Hughes 78).

Whichever way the phenomenon of colonialism appeared to the common masses and the elite class of the affected societies, especially as it concerns Nigeria, there is a need for evaluation of the origin, characteristics and resilience of colonialism and neo-colonialism. This can be done through the understanding of the logical policy framework of the colonial metropolis and the neo-colonialism, with focus on the essence of populism in the process of decolonizing socioeconomic policies of the affected nations. The present paper is interested in the issues of neo-colonialism, the quest for decolonization and sustainable development in Nigeria, which is anchored on the logical socioeconomic policy framework in Nigeria.

Concept clarification

For many centuries now after the contact between the North Pole (Euro-America) and the South Pole (Africa and other third world nations), certain concepts and phenomena have become a common popular discuss among the developing nations. Among them are colonialism and neo-colonialism, which are proxy administrative strategy to control socioeconomic policies and social institutions among the developing nations. As such, the colonized and the neo-colonized at best are now making a move for decolonization.

Colonialism is more or less the journey, which Portugal started in Africa around 14th century, that focused on the intimidation, threats, indirect and forceful domination of the overpowered territories in the quest of building business empires in African continent in some cases, other places in Asia and Latin America (Shokpeka and Nwaokocha 57). Nwanunobi was of the opinion that "colonialism appeared as social institution of a kind through which other

socioeconomic activities in the society were realized both in the colonizers' territory and in the territory of the colonized" (194). Formally, colonialism was set on motion by the 1884 Berlin conference in Germany empowering, the European nations in the so-called civilization mission. This took a form of empire building by the European nations as well as proxy administration of the colonized territories from the colonialists' abode. In the interest of the present paper, colonialism is operationalised as the politico-economic mission in Africa [with the situation in Nigeria as evidence], by the European nations aimed at facilitating the network of capitalism and exploitation in their modified forms among the so called third world societies. These were aroused by the scarcity of needed natural and human resources for industrial productions, and were powered by political will mustered by the industrialists via the political networks of the European nations.

Similarly, neo-colonialism, have been viewed as the modified form of colonialism. According to Osman,

> China is a neo-colonialist entity devoid of unbridled territorial control and direct political and economic control of African nations; this stems from the appearance of China on the stage of African continents with numerous gifts and encouragements ostensibly to trap the nations of Africa in the web of insincere and permanent vertical relationship. (190)

Much like it, Arukwe has commented on the phenomenon of neo-colonialism as "the indirect route of domination of the developing nations especially the African nations" (196). For operational purpose, neo-colonialism is viewed in its comprehensibility with regard to perfecting the invisible web of continuing colonialism among the colonized. As such, neo-colonialism is the covert socioeconomic and political domination of the developing and under developed nations by their colonizers and emerging colonialists looking for territories. This is actualized through economic and political influence via the global network of power equations such as the United Nations, regional organizations such as the African Union and Economic Community of West African States (in the case of Nigeria). Indices of this include foreign aids, political cum economic advice and other vertical bilateral relationships. The symptoms include inability to make critical domestic and international decisions without the covert or overt approval from the developed nations in this relationship, domestic policy structure of the developing nations being subjected to the interest of their developed nations' allies, etc.

Public policy from where we derived the concept of socioeconomic policy can be viewed as definite course or method of action selected from among available alternatives and in the light of prevailing circumstances to guide and determine present and future decisions and actions intended to deal with particular situations or problems (Jega 58). In extension, socioeconomic policy is the sum of the method of actions selected from numerous alternatives of

actions and strategies in determining the direction and control of socioeconomic phenomenon in the society within a geographical territory.

In view of the present paper, socioeconomic policies are those decisions appearing as quasi statutory statements and documentations specific to timeframe, with regard to the numerous situations of the different social institutions of the society such as political, economic, family, education, religious and cultural institutions; putting to consideration, the availability and scarcity of resources at the disposal of the nation in question. Much like it, social institutions in the sociological and anthropological parlance is presented as the generic concept, capturing the dominant understanding of the aspects of human social existence, that covers the bunch of rules on how we survive (economy), how we relate with each other (involving the microcosm [family] and the macrocosm [the society in general]), how we learn (education), what we believe in (religion) and how we acquire and exercise power (politics).

In the 21st century era of socio-political activities of the modern society, the monologist approach to political decisions as it involves policy making process has been overtaken by the event of common masses (the electorates) constructively involving in the process. This has been captured by the ongoing intellectual exercise as populism. Populism according to Covan is "a redemptive politics for the manifestation of the sovereignty of the masses" (14). For more practical purposes of the concept of populism in the understanding of socioeconomic and political realities of our time, Laurijssen and Spruyt maintained that "populism is the theoretical and empirical option for the hapless masses in the face of ever growing selfish and group induced interests among the elites" (626). Populism is the concept capturing the activity instead of passivity of the concerned masses in the society in the face of the elite class dominating the decision-making affairs in the society.

Logical framework of socioeconomic policies as it was coined in this paper captures the covert sum of cause-effect action analogy of the basic interest, principle and agenda, guiding the initiation, making and implementations of socioeconomic policies. This usually is classified before the public but open to the originators and manipulators of the policy model in question. Policy-decolonization as it was coined in the interest of this paper captures the processes involved in decolonizing policy orientation among the colonized. Contrary to the popular concept of "policy of decolonization" among the majority of the colonized nations across Africa and Latin America, policy-decolonization focuses on changing the policy orientation, whose logical framework anchors on the colonialists' covert intensions and strategies in exploiting the colonized during the colonial era.

Postures of Colonialism and Neo-colonialism in Nigeria

The appearance of the Euro-American adventurers in what is known today as Nigeria was with some level of hypocrisy that lured the indigenous people of the small-scale societies in the region into undesired relationship. Even though

what turned today as colonialism appeared initially as uncoordinated from the look of things, colonialism in its totality was a chain of political, economic and social agenda designed by the Euro-American empire builders and capitalists who saw Africa as the home of the majority of the world natural and human resources for the aforementioned phenomena (political, economic and social) (Rodney 169).

The illicit trade on human beings, which came back as colonialism in the foil of pseudo civilization of African small-scale societies originated on the platform of articles of trade by batter with the Europeans, who appeared from the southern axis (Niger Delta Area) of what is known today as Nigeria (Adetoro 25). As a comprehensive agenda, which was designed for economic, political and sociocultural purposes, colonialism followed the heels of slave trade, which ostensibly softened the ground for the colonial agenda. At first, missionaries appeared to be attending to the indigenous people for the purpose of salvation of their souls with some level of independence (by the missionaries) from the home government, however, it later appeared that these missionaries were faithful subjects of the home government that compelled them to psychological induce obedience and submission to the foreigners among the indigenous people such that, when the home government of the missionaries wanted to penetrate any territory of the small-scale societies the indigenous people saw it as a welcome development. This was the covert strategy used by Portugal, Spain, Italy, France and Britain. This strategy acknowledged by the home government of the missionaries created the furrow for the government sponsored merchants of different articles to wriggle into the domestic economy of these small-scale societies located across Nigeria such as the Igbo, Yoruba, Ibibio, Ijaw, Uhurbo, Hausa, Nupe, etc, with the hidden interest of devastating them for their home economy (Okafor 87).

While the missionaries literally fulfilled their religious obligation of spreading the gospel with or without the knowledge of the implication of their relationship posture with the indigenous people to the future and destiny of the indigenous people in the face of covert political, economic and socio-cultural agenda of their home country, the merchants and industrialists from Europe and America were exploiting the opportunity to enrich themselves with the available articles of commercial values and human resources while the home governments were benefiting from taxation of the industrialists, the merchants and domestic industrialization at home (Chinweizu 85). The fluid connectivity of the missionaries, merchant and the Euro-American home government in the contact with the small-scale societies in Nigeria before the legitimization of colonialism in 1884 in Germany, sustained Portugal, Spain, Italy and their indirect allies in the illicit business before the legalization of colonialism. For instance, while the missionaries via the missionary schools and proselytizing the indigenous people psychologically conditioned the indigenous people for the soon to appear full blown colonialism, the merchants who gained domination over the domestic economy via the pseudo religious

evangelism by the missionaries became, the platform for quasi protectorate administration of the fragments of the small-scale societies at the onset of the colonial administration in Nigeria (Adetoro 55). As a matter of fact, the missionary schools, which gave birth to other platforms of western education in Nigeria, were originally designed to cater for the needed human resources for the colonial administration while, the merchants via the domestic market structures were to enter into treaty with the colonialists for the administration of the hard-to-coordinate disintegrated small-scale societies especially in the southern protectorate.

After perfecting the structure of the network of colonial administration such that the colony could be easily controlled from the metropolis, the colonialists set up a network of unprecedented exploitation of the human and natural resources via the domestic socioeconomic policies. Specifically, the utilization of the available human resources and the type of economic activities in the system were permanently designed to feed the administration and industrialization interests of the metropolis while, the colonized were left to the mercy of the colonizers as well as degenerating socioeconomic situation (Shokpeka and Nwaokocha 57).

At the onset of independence agitation by the indigenous people, the colonialists set up a framework to capture the colonized into perpetual socioeconomic slavery, which reflected in the pattern of decision making by the ruling class hence the neo-colonialism. The occurrence of the neo-colonialism followed the trajectory of the already designed socioeconomic policy pattern among the colonized by the colonialists. For instance, while the pseudo independence in Nigeria presented the nation as a sovereign nation before the United Nations and allied bodies, the Nigerian government still operate at the whims and caprices of the former colonial master such that no single socioeconomic policy in the country has existed without considering the interest of the United Kingdom. Equally, by the wisdom of the colonialists, Nigeria was designed to run on borrowing and receiving of foreign aids from the west and other interested nations who are in the business of impoverishing other nations via borrowing and aids (Okafor 46).

For Britain to run Nigeria successfully during the colonial era, the missionary schools have to train *adhoc* staffs for clerical duties. These staffs unlike education for its essence were simply trained as robots to implement every stringent measure by the colonial administration even where such may be to their detriment. The policy of *adhoc* education for the clerical tools in the hand of the colonizers continued in the form of appointment of the overseas trained fellows in the key positions, which eventually subject these fellows to run the country in the borrowed pattern from the west and by implication, become the tool of the neo-colonialists in impoverishing the country. Almost all the government and multinational sponsored scholarships currently have been streamlined into overseas studies and these has helped the former colonialist and the neo-colonialists to pattern the understanding of the youth trapped into

such scholarship into self-deprecation, self-hatred and potential sabotage to indigenous development efforts.

The policy of the indirect rule plotted in the British colonial territories, of which Nigeria is one of them, has continued in the neo-colonial strategy by both the United Kingdom and the host of neo-colonialists who studied and mastered the strategy. This is injected into the system via policy logical framework in Nigeria. The socioeconomic policies in the colonial Nigeria were designed to follow the trajectory of the "metropolis," which is the British policy blue print. This is reflected in the types of education, natural resources extraction, production and consumption in the colony. For instance, in the colonial policy template, agricultural activities for food production among the colonized were put to a halt in so many places for rubber plantation, palm plantation and other cash crops for the needs of industrializing Europe (Shokpeka and Nwaokocha 57).

The psychology of consumption among the indigenous people was twisted to follow the taste of imported goods from Europe in order to ensure the disposal of leftover and excess goods from the European colonialists' network. Tools, dressing and even foods that negatively changed the epidemiological history of the indigenous people were imposed on the people making the geographical setting a dumping ground for leftover and excess consumer goods. The central value of education was subverted to appreciate the European culture such that, every single knowledge and skill was to be acknowledged if it followed the European cultural orientation. To sustain this, the British colonialists simply subjected the process of serving in the administrative capacities, to mission school training and if possible, those who were privileged to have been trained overseas. In the current dispensation, production, consumption, government administration and other socioeconomic activities have followed the British laid down patterns of self-deprecation among the indigenous people. Currently in Nigeria, production activities are following the globally designated interests of which America and Europe stand at the centre of the needs, consumption in Nigeria at best is still anchoring hugely on imported goods while, government administration is dependent on mostly foreign trained experts as well as advice from oversea.

In the neo-colonialism era at which Nigeria is, the vestiges of indirect rule, that occurred during the colonial era are still visible but in a more sophisticated manner. While the "metropolis" (which was Britain alone) gave direct order via the colonial agents and the merchants on the ground, controlling the socioeconomic activities of the neo-colonized (Nigeria) in the present dispensation comes through a more diverse pattern and channels such as the British government, the United States of America and majorly the United Nations and allied bodies where the entrant neo-colonialists find easy access into the neo-colonial territories. As it stands in Nigeria currently, the policy logical framework of the country is permanently designed to consider first, the

Euro-American interest in all ramifications and merely project the indigenous people's interest as the second degree of interest. In the educational sector, Nigeria is yet to think about a policy framework, which can accommodate indigenous education and the underlying challenges of the indigenous people instead, overseas certificates are valued as "supernatural" solution to the challenges of the indigenous people. This is the fallout of the psychological war against the "third world" nations via the United Nations where education is rated not on the platform of the improvised approach to the challenges of the indigenous people of a particular region but on the platform of Euro-American dominated global rating of educational institutions with special consideration to the host countries. Our economic policies, which control our production and consumption via the importation and exportation activities, are being edited by Britain and Saudi Arabia (one of the new entrants into the neo-colonialist business) currently, with special consideration of American and other European nations' interests. This is being perfected on the platform of the United Nations (covertly controlled by America and Western Europe) with so called millennium development goals and the likes, which is always initiated by America and their European allies. In all ramifications, the policy logical framework for the Nigerian government is constantly teleguided by the neo-colonialists to permanently project their interest against the indigenous people using all available networks and this has resulted to the movement of the more you look, the less you see.

Decolonization of Policy Process for Sustainable Development

The concept of decolonization imbues in the scholarly thought, the understanding of the existence of colonialism, neo-colonialism and the need for their reversal and total eradication. While holding constant, the fact that total eradication ideally can be difficult, there is the common denominator for sincere pursuit of the agenda of decolonization anywhere in the world. The common denominator here is the socioeconomic policies. The understanding of the trajectory of socioeconomic policies in the process of colonialism and neo-colonialism, and following the trajectory in reverse order, will establish unprecedented breakthrough in restoring the dignity and development aspirations of the colonized.

Although colonialism and neo-colonialism at the surface appeared as conquest and imposition by the "superior nations," an empirical evaluation of the program and the process of colonialism and the current neo-colonialism has shown that this is a written code by men being implemented through a versed and complicated protocols. As such, military altercation, compromise and begging with cap in hand cannot really solve the problem rather, may initiate another variant of neo-colonialism. The written code of colonialism and neo-colonialism are anchored on the social, cultural, political, and religio-psychology of the colonized and these, were captured in the sum total of policy initiation, implementation and regular evaluation. In the case of Nigeria, colonialism and neo-colonialism could have failed if they were mere imposition

in view of diverse ethnic groups and multifaceted socioeconomic interests of the indigenous people. But due to the stringent and covert nature of socioeconomic policy measures from the process of initiation, implementation to evaluation, the indigenous people remained unconscious of the happenings and lived their lives at the whims and dictates of the colonialists and neo-colonialists.

In the interest of decolonization of socioeconomic policies to achieve decolonization of the colonized and neo-colonized, the socioeconomic policies, which were initiated from the "metropolis" with the interest of the colonizers at the base, during the colonial and neo-colonial era, ought to be reversed to bring the interest of the indigenous people at the base in the decolonization era. This can be done by following the stringent and complicated protocols observed by the former colonialists and the neo-colonialists in floating colonialism and neo-colonialism. Specifically, the logical policy framework and institutional frameworks of colonialism and neo-colonialism must be put into perspectives and subject to transformations.

Currently, the logical policy framework of the "third world nations" such as Nigeria follows the Euro-America covert policy agenda encapsulated with the seasonal United Nations socioeconomic policy framework for the developing nations. This was mildly and confusedly implemented through the United Nations allied bodies, dimensionally and regionally. The logical policy framework of the colonialists in Nigeria during the colonial era followed the trajectory of the Queen of England (focusing instruction on the socioeconomic necessities of the colonial metropolis), the colonial agents (such as the governor general and his subordinates receiving order from the queen and compelling the merchants and the local institutions to implement same), the merchants (who compelled the colonized to focus on the extraction and production activities important to the metropolitan government), and the colonized (the indigenous people who abandon their socioeconomic needs to work for externally imposed socioeconomic interests).

 In the present neo-colonial era, the trajectory of colonialism includes the following and is maintained thus: the United Nations via the allied bodies (carrying the covert socioeconomic interests of the neo-colonialists as expert policy suggestions and recommendations), the leaders of the third world nations (who are externally imposed on the people through pseudo democracy and corrupted election processes), the multinational corporations and socioeconomic aids (while the multinational corporations operate as agents for the actualization of the covert policy agenda of the neo-colonialists, socioeconomic aids are designed to perpetually condition the neo-colonized as dependent on the neo-colonialists), the local ministries/institutions (these include what we know today as ministries of petroleum resources, agriculture, foreign affairs, health, etc., through which the indices of neo-colonialists' socioeconomic policy agenda are actualized), and the common masses (the

indigenous people who simply act the script of the neo-colonialists in their everyday socioeconomic activities).

In view of the trajectory of colonialism and neo-colonialism, decolonization of the socioeconomic policies of the colonized should follow the trajectory but in a reversed order such that, instead of the neo-colonialists' interest at the base of the socioeconomic policy template, that of the colonized should be placed at the base. Thus, the policy logical framework in Nigeria for the purpose of decolonization should be: the aspirations of the indigenous people (captured as the dominant and emerging socioeconomic necessities of the population), the local ministries/institutions generating policy components (here the banking institution, public and other private institutions managing the different sectors of the economy are expected to bring forward policy suggestions based on overtime observations), summation of the policy indices as gathered into structured policy design (here, the filtered and compelling socioeconomic indices worthy of attention as well as empirically substantive are formulated into policy template in various sectors), the policy implementation and implementation agents (at this point, the individuals, groups and organizations/institutions operating in the system are strictly guided and guarded to operate by the policy principles for different sectors as obtainable from the policy making body), the production and other socioeconomic activities among the indigenous people, the engagement with the external world via exportation and importation by the indigenous people guided by the dominant socioeconomic activities and necessity of the local population, and the policy relationship between the indigenous people and the global organizations with cognizance of policy inputs from the indigenous people.

Conclusion

Colonial and neo-colonial programs as they were developed, appeared as a systematic structure capturing the life stream of the colonized into socioeconomic policy framework. This made colonialism and neo-colonialism a somewhat self-regulatory framework, only changing postures to capture and be captured by the ongoing global system. Many colonized societies have put some strategies in place to deal with colonialism and neo-colonialism with little or no encouraging outcome. The problem as such is embedded in the structure and complex nature of colonialism and neo-colonialism anchored on the socioeconomic policy logical framework. In some colonized nations such as Nigeria, certain efforts have been put in place to decolonize the nation; efforts such as renaming foreign owned institutions, rebranding the relationship with the former colonialists, building more networks of allies and the host of other efforts. However, it is yet to occur to Nigeria as an entity that the onus of the matter lies with the everyday implemented socioeconomic policy logical framework. At best, what Nigerian government had been rehearsing is, policy of decolonization, which in its entirety is limited to mere political campaign vulnerable to neo-colonialism. As a matter of fact, from 1960 when Nigerian

government was given pseudo political independence till date, what had been taking place in the name of decolonization is simply an act of increasing the number of colonialists within the realm of available neo-colonialists, which included America, Western Europe, china, Saudi Arabia and the host of other emerging neo-colonialists. For the true intent of freedom from colonial and neocolonial yoke among the colonized to take place, there is a need for decolonization of socioeconomic policy logical framework as this paper has proposed in Nigeria and other nations with similar experience.

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Contributors to the Current Issue

Anna Maria Karczewska (ORCID: 0000-0002-8644-4723) is a graduate in English Philology at the University of Białystok where she teaches at the Center for Literary Studies. She has a Ph.D. in cultural studies from the University of Social Sciences and Humanities (SWPS) in Warsaw. She has written a monograph *New Journalism as a Window onto the 1960s Counterculture* (2017). She has also published articles on the works of Edwidge Danticat and articles related to Latin American culture and literature. Her current research interests revolve around Latin American culture and Latin American literature in the United States.

Aroa Orrequia-Barea graduated in English Philology at the University of Cádiz in 2011, where she also got her PhD in English Philology in 2017 with a thesis on attitude verbs and clause embedding. She previously worked as a research assistant at the Institute for Research in Applied Linguistics at the University of Cádiz. She currently works as a supply teacher at the University of Jaén, where she teaches a number of courses in the English Studies Degree and in the Online Master of English Studies (OMiES). Her research interests include Digital Humanities, particularly Corpus and Computational Linguistics.

Banjo Olaleye is an Academic Advisor at the University of Saskatchewan, Canada where he is also currently completing his Ph.D. program in English. He holds an MA in English from the same university and a BA in English and International Studies from Osun State University, Nigeria. His dissertation focuses on a social reading of space and identity in eighteenth-century London through the perspective of Ignatius Sancho.

Encarnación Almazán-Ruiz holds a PhD in English Linguistics from University of Granada since 2005. She obtained teaching experience in various centres of Secondary Education and working as a freelance teacher with secondary, university and adult students. She is currently a member of the Department of English Philology at the University of Jaén, teaching a number of courses in the English Studies Degree and in the Online Master of English Studies (OMiES). Her research interests include Corpus Linguistics and the possibilities of different and innovative teaching approaches in the classroom.

Hasan Baktır received his MA in English Language and Literature and his PhD in English literature. He previously worked as a research assistant in the Department of Foreign Language Education at Middle East Technical University. He completed his postdoctoral research at Minnesota University, English Department. Currently he works at Erciyes University, English Language and Literature Department. His research interests include Orientalism, comparative literature and early modern Anglo-Ottoman interactions.

Hüseyin Altındiş is an Assistant Professor of English at Selcuk University, Turkey. He is a Fulbright Scholar and received his Ph.D. from the University of Arkansas in 2015 with his dissertation on Immigrant Labor in Contemporary Southern Literature. His research interests are Southern literature, African American literature, Globalization and Multiculturalism, Ecocriticism, Modern American Novel, and Ethnic American literature. He has published a number of articles and book chapters and presents at CEA conferences in the USA regularly. He received several awards and fellowships.

Kuğu Tekin has been an Assistant Professor at Atılım university since 2001, specializing in postcolonial literature, migration literature and city studies. She has completed her PhD studies at Middle East Technical University. Courses designed and taught by Dr. Tekin include Literature and the City, Humour in British Film and TV Series, Film Studies and 20th century and Contemporary Novel. Her research appeared in both national and international peer-reviewed publications such as *Wasafiri* in the U.K., *Arcadia* in Germany, *Folklore and Literature* in Cyprus, *Uludağ University Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* in Turkey.

Magdalena Płotała is a PhD candidate at the Faculty of Literary Studies at University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland. Her interests are focusing around the theory of literature, especially in terms of affective reading, reader-response criticism, theory of influence (and contr-theories), minority and queer studies. She is also interested in reading literature with the tools provided by modern archiving (affective archives). Her research is mainly about Polish writers from 20th century. She is publishing in journals from the field of philology and taking part in international conferences about exclusion and literature.

Nodhar Hammami Ben Fradj is an Assistant Professor of English and researcher in the English Department at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of Kairouan, University of Kairouan, Tunisia. She holds a PhD in English language and literature. She specializes in American literature and feminist literary criticism. Her research interests are gender studies, nineteenth-century American literature, Afro-American literature, Anglo-American and French feminisms, cultural studies and critical theory. She is on the reviewing boards of academic journals like *The International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies*, *The Letters of Kairouan*, *Modawana Journal*, and other conference proceedings and books. She contributed to national and international conferences and published numerous articles in scholarly journals, proceedings and compilations.

Samuel O. Okafor is a PhD student in the department of Sociology/Anthropology, University of Nigeria, Nsukka. He is a promising scholar with multi methodological research skills in the areas of social sciences and humanities. His research interests include political sociology, policy studies, demography, medical sociology and environmental studies. He has published a number of articles, books and book chapters and has presented research papers in number of international conferences and workshops.

Sıla Şenlen Güvenç is currently Associate Professor in the Department of English Language and Literature at Ankara University. Her research interests include Early Modern English Drama, Twentieth Century and Contemporary British Drama. She is the author of two books, *'Words as Swords': Verbal Violence as a Construction of Authority in Renaissance and Contemporary English Drama* (2009) and *'The World is a Stage, but the Play is Badly Cast': British Political Satire in the Neo-Classical Period* (in Turkish, 2014), and various articles published in journals including *Scottish Literary Review* and *New Theatre Quarterly*.

Yasemin Ayan graduated from English Language and Literature Department at Erciyes University. She completed her MA in English Language and Literature Program. She works as English teacher.