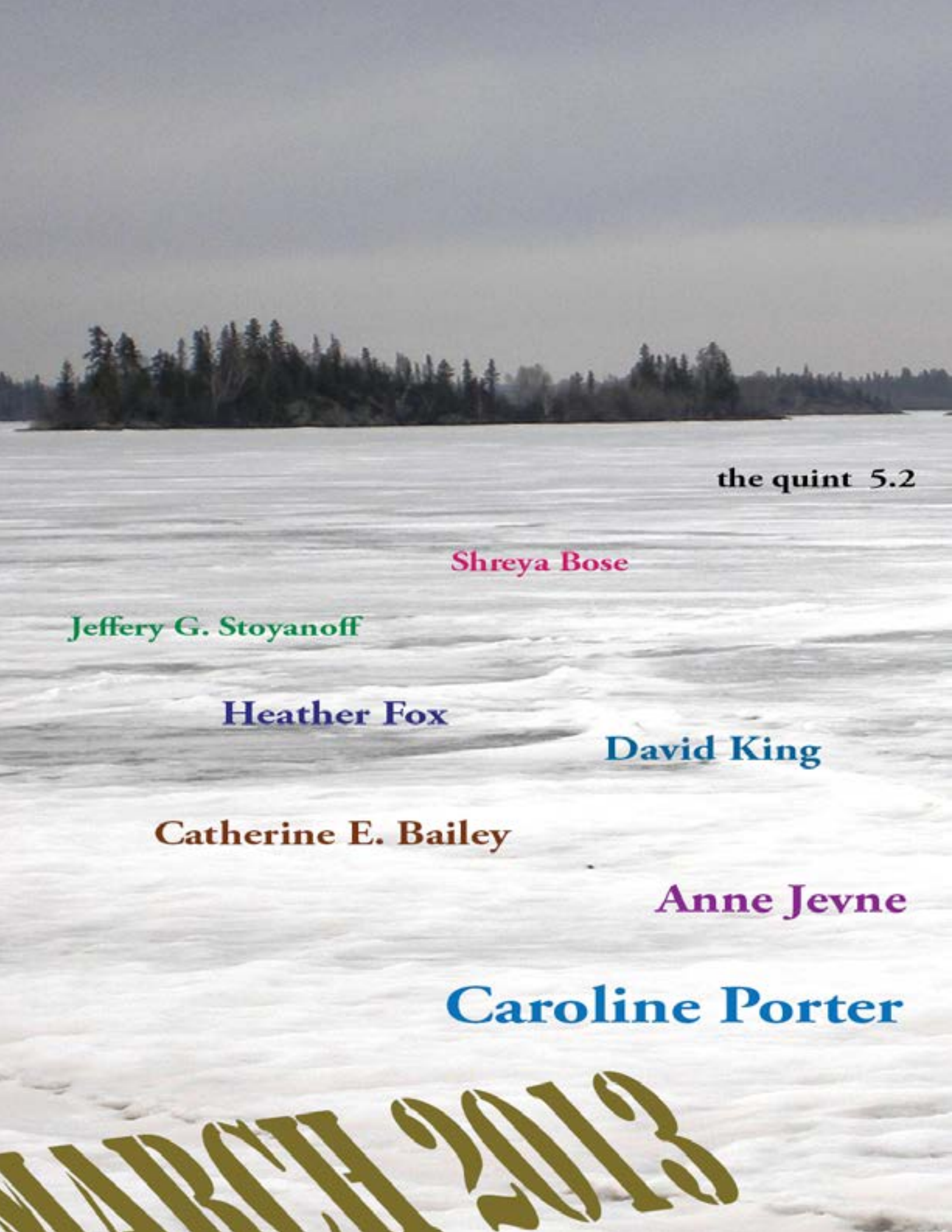
the quint 5.2
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contents

EDITORIAL

It's almost Easter....the light is growing longer (the sun sets around 6 pm now) and the days are warmer. Temperatures hover at minus twenty during the night and bounce up to minus 6 in the day. Spring is arriving in northern Manitoba. Or is it, as Bob Kroestsch would have said, winter slowly ending? Greetings again from *the quint*. We find ourselves halfway through our fifth volume. This, the fifth volume's second issue, celebrates the Humanities and welcomes bright new lights in North America and India to our circle. This *quint* promises to have something for everyone who is interested in cultures past and present--there are papers from specialists in History, Literature, Religion, and Film. This eighteenth *quint* begins with a superbly researched article from independent scholar David King who unearths the shocking history of aboriginal body snatching that went on in Canada and the United States. We then move to examinations of the feminine. Heather Fox's fascinating examination of eighteenth century women's responses to ideas of the self and archetype in Francois Fenelon's *The Adventures of Telemachus* and Charlotte Dacre's *Zofloya* follows. For those interested in the medieval (and who secretl isn't?), Jeffery G. Stanoyoff offers you his thoughts about Margery Kempe's body. Kempe, a controversial figure is my favorite mystic among all the outrageous personalities populating medieval Europe and Britain. John and I were absolutely delighted to receive a paper on her and are excited to share it with you. Next, changing centuries, Caroline Porter's interesting examination of gender questions and crossdressing in Louisa May Alcott's fiction takes us into an equally interesting discussion of the feminine in the nineteenth century. My article about W.C. Fields playing with nothern stereotypes in *The Fatal Glass of Beer* (1933) gives us a change of place, pace, and time. Bringing you back to the North via Hollywood in 1933, this paper sidesplitting movie that all of Denmark watches every New Year's Eve reminds us of the lighter side of life. *quint's* sixth and final offering takes us abroad: Catherine E. Bailey's discussion of feminism and magic realism in *Daytripper* examines questions of magic, genre, and the feminine in Latin America.

In this issue, *quint's* creative complement completes our international travels, showcasing Shreya Bose's startlingly direct minimalist poetry from India. Our visual offerings take you north to Scandinavia. A northern Manitoban, Anne Jevene has kindly offered to take you mushrooming in Sweden.

Here's to good reading and the arrival of an early, warm, and sunny Spring! The sandhill cranes and the Canadas will be back in a few weeks--filling the air with light and life and wings and whatever else e.e. cummings thought should overflow our days. *the quint* will be back in June with more offerings just in time for the summer holidays. Until then, may many mushrooms come your way.

Sue Matheson
Co-Editor

Toxic Magic
Anne Jevne 2008

"My Grandfather Is Not An Artifact": Repatriation and the Collecting of Native Bodies, Funerary Objects and Religious Paraphernalia

David King, Ottawa, Ontario

"For as long as anyone can remember, the larger culture of North America has discussed native culture in the past tense. Native culture is assumed to be something that once was, is no longer, and therefore can be commemorated in museum displays depicting past ways of life...For many years natives (sic) have argued that museums use native cultures carelessly, even to the point of exhibiting the bones of their ancestors. 'My Grandfather is not an Artifact' was the theme of a recent [1992] conference in Hull on archaeology and native issues."[1]

In 1990, the federal government of the United States passed Public Law 101-601 which established the *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act*. This Act specifically was aimed at federal agencies (including universities) and federally funded institutions and museums, other than the Smithsonian Institution, that held in their possession Native remains, funerary objects and religions paraphernalia. Under the new Act, institutions are required to repatriated human remains, objects and artifacts taken illegally. The Act also established further protection of Native burial grounds on tribal and federal land and made the commercial traffic of Native remains and funerary objects

1 [1]Robert Fulford, "Let's Bury the Noble Savage." *Rotunda* 25, 2 (Fall 1992): 34.

illegal. In addition, under "certain conditions" sacred objects of cultural patrimony were also legislated for repatriation where it can be historically proven that the religious objects hold a shared cultural identity with the Native Nation that they were appropriated from. Native organizations were in "absolute unanimity" concerning repatriation and demonstrated that they will never agree to anything less, particularly in regards to the human bodies and funerary objects robbed from their ancestors graves.[2]

The need for Congress to pass an Act of law, legislating museums and universities to repatriate to Native peoples raises some critical questions that must be asked, and those questions are: what led western society, in particular the United States, to amass collections of Native bodies, funerary and religious objects and artifacts? Second, since the passing of the Repatriation Act, what changes have occurred? For the purpose of analysis, this inquiry is divided into two sections: first, the collecting of Native bodies, funerary objects and religious paraphernalia, and second, repatriation.

The collecting of Native remains, funerary objects and religious paraphernalia took place for the most part in the 1800's, fuelled by two phenomenons; the myth of the vanishing Indian and the rise of Natural History amongst popular culture. From as early as 1634, American collectors were guided by the myth of the vanishing Indian, this was greatly intensified after 1800. Objects made before Contact were collected as traditional, while objects made after trade links with American and European cultures were rejected as they were not considered ethnographic.[3]

As Fath Davis Ruffins contends, while it is essential to the American sense of self and history to acknowledge that Native peoples were in America, it is also essential for the Natives to have vanished in order for other Americans to lay full claim of inheritance to the lands and resources. It is for these reasons that Ruffins believes that Americans developed the myth of the vanishing Natives.[4]

The rise of natural history in popular culture is linked to the Victorian era. Natural history was detested prior to the beginning of the 19 century when it became a national obsession.[5] It was written as entertainment for Victorian ages while claiming to be scientific. Therefore, it was perceived as rational and meaningful, not time wasting.[6] It was not studied in school but was taught at home by parents.[7] "In fact it seems more likely that it was the lack of serious scientific advance that made the popular addiction to natural history possible, since it is always easier for the layman to follow a subject when it is not undergoing any revolutions."[8]

It was here, however, where the American cultural interpretation of natural history differed from that of the European. American culture appropriated "Indianness,"[99] while categorizing Natives within the realm of natural history. By comparison, museums in both Paris and Geneva placed Native Americans within the museums of man with all the

2 [2]Ibid., 544. Also see Fath Davis Ruffins, "Culture Wars Won and Lost: Ethnic Museums on the Mall, Part I: The National Holocaust Museum and the National Museum of the American Indian" in *Radical History Review* 68 (1997): 96-8. Also see William A. Lovis, "Native American Grave Protection And Repatriation Act (P.L. 101-601)" in *Michigan Archaeologist* 37 3 (1991): 179-181. The Repatriation Act of 1990 was not aimed at the Smithsonian because the Smithsonian was already under federal authority.

3 [3]Fowler and Fowler, 131-2. Also see Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble For Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1985): 2-3. Cole holds that on the Northwest Coast, collections of curiosities began when Cook initially made contact with the Nootkan in 1792; however, collecting did not intensify for nearly a decade.

4 [4]Davis Ruffins, 94.

5 [5]Lynn Barber., *The Heyday of Natural History* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd.,1980): 14. The study of natural history involved the study of plant life, insects, dinosaurs, fossils and nature in general.

6 [6]Ibid., 19.

7 [7]Ibid., 15.

8 [8]Ibid., 15.

9 [9]Indianness as used in this essay is the stereotyping of Natives and Native culture as warlike and masculine by nature.

various peoples of the world, including Europeans. European museums also showcased Native American art in the same museums as Asian, African and American art. European museums did not place Native Americans in Natural history museums.[10] This was not a minor occurrence in American history. The quantity of the collections presently held by museums is significant, which is a testament to the amount of collecting that occurred. In 1994, estimates were that the skeletal remains of 600,000 Natives indigenous to the modern-day United States and the Northwest Coast were held in American museums, universities, historical societies and private collections. Worldwide the number rose to two million; hundreds more are unearthed every year along with artifacts that were buried with them.[11] In addition, there are presently about ten million ethnographic objects in American museums.[12] [12]As late as 1988, American museums maintained a policy of displaying Native skeletal remains in natural history museums alongside mastodons, dinosaurs, other extinct animals and plants and insects.[13]

It was not until the sixteenth century that European royalty and upper-class society began to amass large quantities of objects from Native Americans for their museums.

10 Davis Ruffins, 94-5. Davis Ruffins contends that in order for Americans to inherit the land legitimately and remove any knowledge of their direct involvement in genocide it was necessary for Natives to disappear. In the process, "concerned" white Americans could preserve and study their bodies, cultural artifacts and cultures. As Native Americans continued to be faced with genocide at the hands of the American military and milia, American museums, universities and private collectors were stockpiling Native bodies and body parts, artifacts, religious paraphernalia, legends, photos and songs in order to preserve them for aesthetic purposes. Also Cromley, 275.

11 Mary B. Davis, "Repatriation of Human Remains And Artifacts" in Berman, Graham and Mitten eds., *Native America In The Twentieth Century* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1994): 542. Also see Andrew Gulliford, "Bones of Contention: The Repatriation of Native American Human Remains" in *The Public Historian* 18, 4 (Fall 1996): 120. According to Gulliford, in 1988, the American Association of Museums reported that there were 43, 306 Native American bodies in 163 American museums, 18, 600 at the Smithsonian alone.

12 Catherine S. Fowler and Don D. Fowler, "Formation Processes of Ethnographic Collections Examples from the Great Basin of Western North America." in W. David Kingery eds., *Learning From Things: Method and Theory of Material Culture Studies* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute Press,1996): 129. Also see Janet Catherine Berlo, *The Early Years of Native American Art History* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press,1992). Ethnographic means objects made by living peoples who are defined by museum curators as native, tribal or folk.

13 Gulliford, 120.

According to Guida, these collections were created for five reasons: "(1) to procure evidence of what had been discovered and conquered, (2) to illustrate the usefulness of exportation, (3) to promote continued interest in exploration, (4) to document the need for missionary work, and (5) to illustrate rare works by humans from around the globe."[14]

It was the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that saw the dramatic shift in museums from private to public. This was directly connected to the change in European social values that were interested in the development of scientific inquiry and the natural environment. As early as 1656, Oxford University had placed Native artifacts in Natural history displays, albeit a rather small one and it did not include human bodies.[15]

The first anthropological collections have been traced to the mid-1700's. It was in museums where anthropologists first displayed visual images to the public in regards to their theories of Native intellectual inferiority and European superiority. One of the most prominent in the mid-1700's was the Three Age System where cultures were measured through what was displayed as human evolution from stone age to bronze age to the iron age. Native Americans were depicted as representing the earliest form of evolution while Europeans were the most advanced.[16]

Collections of natural and cultural material began in the United States as private collections of the wealthy in the form of trophies, curiosities and booty.[17] As was customary

14 Ibid., 164.

15 Ibid., 164.

16 Ibid., 165. Also see Ronald Wright, *Stolen Continents* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1992): 4-8. Also see Alan D. McMillan, *Native Peoples and Cultures of Canada* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd.,1988). Wright dismisses many of these assumptions such as the myth that the lack of the wheel or the plough amongst Native cultures is evidence of both technological and intellectual inferiority. Without the presence of the horse or the oxen to pull such objects, there was no practical purpose that would have facilitated their invention.

17 Ibid., 2.

in Europe, in the United States access was also granted only by permission of the owner.[18] Michael Ames however, asserts that the large museums did not begin to turn to the general public as a market until the 1960's. As a result, the museums became user-driven, reflecting the "...values and images of the wider society." One example of this is that as recent as the mid-1970's, museums had been studying how they could make exhibits more appealing to the public. In 1986, Ames refers to the transfer of private collections to public museums as the "democratization" of museums.[19]

When analyzing any museum exhibit, one must acknowledge that museum collections are never random and always reflect the ethnocentrism of the collector and the culture doing the collecting. Catherine S. Fowler and Don Fowler provide ten insightful elements of collecting that one should be conscious of when viewing a museum collection: "(1) the purpose of a collecting trip, (2) the status of the trip, (3) the theoretical orientation of the collector, (4) the collector's view of the native culture and its future, (5) practical considerations, (6) historical considerations, (7) methods of collecting, (8) native views of collectors and their activities, (9) the field records on objects collected, and (10) the basic perspective on why the collection is made. As these factors have been scrutinized, the data on formation processes have become clearer, and the interpretations of the collections richer."[20]

The Charleston Library Society, opened in the early 1700's, is believed to be

18 Ibid., 2-3.
19 Michael Ames, "Report from the Field: The Democratization of Anthropology and Museums" in *Culture* 6, 1 (1986): 63.
20 Fowler and Fowler, 132.

the first museum in the United States. It had displayed Native bodies and artifacts as natural history specimens as did every museum in the United States that was to follow. Some of the first displays were by such prominent clubs in American history as the Philosophical Society (founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1743) and the American Antiquarian Society (founded in 1812 by scientists and intellectuals). The latter played a key role in the emergence of anthropology between 1830 to 1880. Their collection was eventually distributed amongst the Smithsonian, the Peabody Museum and other smaller institutions.[21]

The largest American museum and university collections (the American Museum of Natural History in New York, the Field Museum in Chicago, the National Museum of Natural History in Washington, Harvard University and the University of Pennsylvania) all stored their collections of Native bodies and artifacts in Natural History Museums alongside dinosaurs, insects, botanical gardens, stuffed animals, gems and various other wonders of nature. This practice reflected the American myth of the Native as primitive and savage and therefore part of nature, even though Natives may have produced objects that were considered art. It also coincided with the American myth that Natives were technologically, socially and biologically inferior and were destined to give way to American advances; hence, the vanishing Indian.[22]

In the United States during the nineteenth century, the collecting of anything identified with Native Americans by whites became an important element in the American

21 Guida, 165. Also see Davis, 542. Davis states that one of the first famed grave robbers was Thomas Jefferson who has been referred to as the father of Archaeology. Jefferson estimated that he unearthed approximately a thousand bodies on his Virginia property.
22 Davis Ruffins, 94-5. Also Cromley, 275.

cultural fabric that still exists today:

> In a cultural world emerging from the Victorian assumption of separate spheres for men and women, domesticity and containment were still aligned with the feminine while public life, adventure, and exploration were masculine prerogatives. Representations of Indian and the use of Indian goods accompanied the realignment of those separate spheres in the early twentieth century. The representation of Indians as warlike focused on masculine tools and acts.[23]

As Elizabeth Cromley succinctly demonstrates, during the Victorian era Euroamerican society began to appropriate "Indianness" with all its inherent western stereo-types in order to fulfil its own needs. The collecting of Native imagery and anything deemed to represent a piece of Native American culture was a function used by white Americans to socially engineer masculine gender identities; thus, preserving a masculine safe-haven for males from an ever-encroaching feminity in western culture. Everything from scalps to arrowheads in men's dens to placing Indian rugs in boys' rooms, to creating outdoor clubs became part of the cultural fabric of the dominant society.

> As the clarity of gender assignments was challenged by modernity, Indianness and Indian goods provided a screen on which new gender associations were projected. The gendered features that played across these categories of Indians showed the complexity of the masculine and the feminine and paralleled a realignment of the old separate spheres.[24]

23 Cromley, 265-66..

24 Ibid., 266. Masculine gender engineering using western myths of "Indianness" represents a formidable obstacle for Native people in their ability to control their own identity. Even today, it is virtually impossible to find a white adult north American male who did not kill thousands of Natives in effigy playing cowboys and Indians as a child. Plastic cowboy and Indian figures can still be purchased at any toy store, as can Indian Halloween costumes. "Indianness" is still used in pro-sports such as football's Washington Redskins and baseball Atlanta Braves, whose fans employ what they call the "Tomahawk Chop" as a ritualistic form to rally their team; further, in contemporary times, the American military has gone as far as to name military assault equipment, such as the Apache Helicopters and the Tomahawk Cruise Missiles, after Native peoples and their cultural tools.

While American society held both a need and a desire to collect, America's leading academics provided the necessary moral justification. In 1823, Samuel Morton founded physical anthropology. Morton, who solicited for Native skulls, published a report entitled "Crania Americana" in 1839. Morton concluded that Caucasians had a brain capacity of 87 cubic inches while Native Americans had a brain capacity of 82 cubic inches (using a sample of 147 skulls). Morton incorrectly assumed that this was evidence of intellectual inferiority. Unfortunately, Morton's assumptions were accepted as fact for well over a century.[25]

By the 1840's, collecting Native skulls was a hobby for those deemed gentlemen. In one such example, a clergyman by the name of Orsan S. Fowler of New York boasted a large library of skulls. When amateur intellectuals took up the hobby, Native skulls were deemed to hold a cash value. Andrew Gulliford compares this popular hobby to that of butterfly hunting. "Indian graverobbing became a fashion gentleman's avocation in the pursuit of knowledge. Enthusiasts exchanged letters, field notes, and even skulls."[26]

25 Gulliford, 122. Also see Robert E. Bieder's "The Representation Of Indian Bodies In Nineteenth-Century American Anthropology" in *American Indian Quarterly* 20, 2 (1996): 165-179. Bieder states that Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Morton, Henry Schoolcraft and Lewis Henry Morgan all collected Native bodies with the intent to prove that Natives were racially inferior to whites. The "scientific theories" developed by such prominent Americans and displayed in their museums in the nineteenth century had a negative impact on Aboriginal peoples. While Aboriginal people objected to the loss of their lands, the robbing of their dead and related atrocities, it was morally justified by "scientific research" such as craniology studies. With these perceived proofs of non-white inferiority provided by the most educated doctors, anthropologists and academics within western society, the politics of colonial exploitation was not only justifiable to the average white American, it was inevitable. It was a common belief of Americans that Natives were not capable of "progressing" beyond an inferior mentality; therefore, extermination or allowing them to become extinct was a natural phenomenon as western civilization advanced beyond the capabilities of Native Americans. As a result of such propaganda, Native Americans were denied their humanity.

26 Gulliford, 123.

It reached the point where the collecting of Native skulls became what Gulliford calls "a cottage industry" at frontier posts. Decapitating the dead during American military invasions into the plains became commonplace. Competition in the nineteenth century pitted the Harvard Peabody Museum against the Smithsonian, while other museums fought for jurisdiction over burial mounds. The Field Museum and New York's Museum of Natural History engaged in heated competition over access to Northwest Coast bodies and artifacts. "These had become highly profitable to collectors, with skulls fetching $5 each and complete skeletons $20 apiece." Even Franz Boas (the founder of cultural anthropology) stole and sold skulls as well as full skeletons from the Northwest Coast. Eventually, museums began to stake out claims to geographical regions in order to establish jurisdiction when collecting their "scientific trophies."[27]

In 1846, the federal government of the United States officially entered into collecting when the Smithsonian Institute was opened through an Act of Congress. Although the institute operated independently through an endowment left by James Smithson, the United States government acted as trustees and appointed Regents to conduct its management.[28]

Sixteen years later, on May 21, 1862, Surgeon General William A. Hammond founded the Army Medical Museum. Hammond ordered military medical personal to collect all bodies of Native Americans (mostly those killed during American territorial invasions) that they could obtain for scientific research. As an incentive, Hammond proposed to attach the name of the attending medical officer to the bodies forwarded. Two

27 Ibid., 125.

28 Davis, 542. Also see Gulliford, 129. Also see Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble For Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1985): 2-3.

years after Hammond's request, the now infamous Sand Creek massacre of an innocent and unarmed Band of Cheyenne occurred under Colonel John M. Chivington. While every human atrocity that could be imagined occurred at the hands of Chivington's drunken troops, the heads of men, women and children were severed in order that they be sent to Washington D.C.[29]

The opening of the Army Medical Museum and its ever-growing collection of bodies of Natives killed on the expanding frontier created competition for the Smithsonian. Unlike the Army Medical Museum, the Smithsonian had no agents on the plains. As a result, the Smithsonian had to look elsewhere. In 1862-1873, the Smithsonian collected massive quantities of Northwest Coast objects, being motivated by two major misconceptions. First, as has been previously established, Americans believed that the Native people were a primitive form of humans. Second, as a result of continued American encroachment under the guise of the advancement of civilization, the Smithsonian shared in the perception that Native people were a dying race that would soon be extinct.[30]

The Smithsonian itself was essential to the development of American Archeology. In 1868, the American Surgeon General (in an admitted attempt to prove that Native Americans were inferior to other Americans) ordered that a collection of Native American crania be put together. As a result, over 4,000 Native skulls were pillaged from burial

29 Gulliford, 123. The city of Denver later cheered as soldiers paraded through the streets flamboyantly displaying the body parts of Cheyenne elders, men, women, children and infants. One of the many events in "honour" of this massacre took place in a theatre house. The audience cheered as scalps were displayed and women's pubic hair was spread across the stage during intermission.

30 Nancy J. Parezo, "Now Is The Time To Collect." *Masterkey* 59, 4 (1986): 11-18. Also see Douglas Cole's *Captured Heritage: The Scramble For Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre,1985): 6-77. Cole argues that during this time, the Canadian museums were not nearly as competitive as American or European museums. Canadian collectors barely existed and were not perceived by the Smithsonian as a threat. The Montreal museum on St. James street was the only federal museum that acquired artifacts stolen from Native graves.

scaffolds, graves, and once again, the dead killed from invading American armies. The skulls were originally shipped to the Army Medical Museum where they were later shipped to the Smithsonian's Museum of Natural History and added to a collection of 14,500 other Native American bodies. This constituted what is estimated to be the largest such collection in the United States. The Tennesse Valley Authority and the University of California at Berkeley are believed to be next, holding approximately 11,000 bodies each. The bodies at Berkeley are kept mostly at its famed Berkeley campus. Other prominent museums such as the American Museum of Natural History and the Field Museum of Chicago also played a significant role in the "collecting" of Native American remains.[31] It was in this era (1870) that Museum curators first began perpetuating their views of Native Americans in displays at fairs. This type of exhibit remained a popular option with curators until roughly 1940.[32]

The first "commissioned and organized collecting" took place in 1875 when Spencer Baird, secretary of the Smithsonian Institute, hired James Swan, a school teacher in Port Townsend, to assemble a collection of Northwest Coast objects and artifacts for the United States Centennial Exposition.[33] By this date in history, the "scientific" theories developed by anthropologists and used in their museums to demonstrate Euroamerican racial superiority offered only two solutions to the "Indian question,": extermination or assimilation.[34]

By 1880, wide-open competition from museums and private collectors for Northwest Coast objects began. This resulted in increased grave-robbing and theft. The Smithsonian had successfully enlisted the help of various people who were in the Northwest Coast area for other reasons. These ranged from missionaries to military and other government personnel (both Canadian and American) to Swan. Swan in particular had become an expert in the process, in part due to his association with Native people. Swan, however, was not always in accordance with the collecting methods of the Smithsonian. He was distressed by the "unsystematic methods" that were followed by many of the people the Smithsonian enlisted to collect.[35]

Although Natives had no legal recourse to prohibit such injustices, Native people had clearly demonstrated their disapproval. One of the first recorded records of Native protest against collecting was the Cowichan lawsuit against one of Franz Boas' collectors, James Hutton, who in 1888 had looted and robbed the graves and bodies of Cowichan ancestors on the Northwest Coast. The Cowichan were unsuccessful in their lawsuit.[36]

Regardless of Native protests, American attitudes of Natives as racially inferior did not change. In 1896, six Greenland Inuit were brought to the Museum of Natural History as living specimens for Ales Hrdlicka to study. To the elation of the museum

31 Davis, 542.
32 Fowler and Fowler, 131-2.
33 Douglas Cole, "Tricks of the Trade: Northwest Coast Artifact Collecting, 1875-1925" in *Canadian Historical Review* LXIII, 4 (1982): 439.
34 Gulliford, 44-45. Gulliford pin-points the origins of this question precisely to the years 1879-93.
35 Douglas Cole. *Captured Heritage: The Scramble For Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre,1985): 6-77.
36 Gulliford, 129. Also see Douglas Cole's "Tricks of the Trade: Northwest Coast Artifact Collecting, 1875-1925" in *Canadian Historical Review* LXIII, 4 (1982): 445-8. According to Cole, although Northwest Coast Natives did at times engage in trade for their own economic reasons, they did not advocate the museum trade in the bodies of their ancestors. This, combined with the demand that museums placed on Native skulls for crania study encouraged collectors to resort to grave robbing. As Cole demonstrates succinctly, prominent collector Johan Adrian Jacobsen stated, "I had already seen that I could buy none of these from the Indians, so I thought the rule here is : 'Help Yourself.'" In one of innumerable examples, Cole provides a dramatic illustration as described by a Rev. J.H. Keen, "The Indians, Keen wrote, had found almost every grave in the neighbourhood of Virgo Sound and North Island rifled and the coffin boxes strewn about. In one case some hair, recognized as having belonged to an Indian doctor, and a box which had contained a body, were found floating in the sea." According to Cole, many of the people who had committed these acts worked for the Smithsonian Institute.

personnel, four of the Inuit died of tuberculosis while in their care. It was perceived as an "unparalleled opportunity" to study Inuit in postmortem. Hrdlicka ordered that the four bodies "...be macerated, boiled and reduced to skeletons..." Hrdlicka then had the skeletons added to the museums' collections where they could be further studied at his leisure.[37]

In 1885, the Smithsonian adopted the use of waxworks from London, England, a process which had been invented a few decades earlier, for its display at the Cotton Exposition in Atlanta. In the same year following the Smithsonian display, American museums began to create what they perceived to be authentic Native villages. Two of the first such displays were designed by Franz Boas for the American Museum of Natural History and the New York State Museum. Boas himself, a German citizen who was not a product of American society, did not support the views of many of his contemporaries who believed that human cultures had progressed from primitive to technologically advanced civilizations. Boas believed that western cultures were not "... the only carriers of civilization, but that the human mind has been creative everywhere." As a direct result of Boas' stance and his influence with the Smithsonian and the American Museum of Natural History, the two conflicting theories were evident in the exhibits at both museums.[38]

The closing of the nineteenth century brought with it an end to open genocide of Native people and as such, the process of collecting changed accordingly. In the twentieth century, Native peoples were predominantly subdued and relegated to reserves. Without military assaults against Natives, collecting was greatly lessened, and, for the most part, limited to sporadic discoveries of burial grounds.

By the 1930's, entrepreneurs began excavating Native grave yards in order to attract tourists. Many of the bodies were left in the graves while others were removed and displayed above ground in various positions. In some cases the bones were varnished in order to preserve them. Not all these tourists sites were privately owned. One such example is the state of Illinois Dickson Mounds state park, which, by 1945, was widely recognized as a popular tourist site. Every year this park boasted some 80,000 tourists, groups of school children on school trips amongst them, looking to see excavated dead Natives.[39]

The changes in attitude towards the representation of Natives began in the 1960's with the rise of the Native rights movement. Following the Vietnam War, American society began to question the morality towards its treatment and views of other cultures. The Native rights movement emerged from this era along side the labour and women's rights movements. The late sixties and 1970's were for the most part an era of confrontation for the Native rights movement. Often perceived as radicals by the Anglo-white dominated establishment, it was not until the 1980's when Native's began to receive some empathy for the way in which they were denigrated. Nonetheless, it was not until the passing of the Repatriation Act in 1990 that Natives had any significant recourse to halt what they perceived as injustice to both their ancestors and their present and future generations.[40]

37 Gulliford, 126.
38 Guida, 167-8.
39 Gulliford, 127. This type of outdoor museum display is particularly disturbing in light of the fact that in 1945, the world was beginning to come to grips with the horrifying details of the Holocaust.
40 Vine Deloria. *God Is Red* (Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing, 1994).

There were still "Indian Burial Pits" open for tourism virtually up until 1990. In February 1989, the Native American Human Rights Fund was able to persuade the state of Kansas and the Kansas State Historical Society to finally close its display near Salina. In March of the same year, *National Geographic* published photographs of commercial looting on a site in Kentucky. In the mid-1980's, looters excavated 800-1,200 Native American bodies over a two-year period for a $10,000 treasure hunters' fee.[4141] Skulls that were too decayed to be sold for ashtrays or candle holders were smashed and strewn about on the ground. In Colorado, the author of the burial bill in that state that prohibited such acts received a parcel in the mail containing a thousand year old Native body with a letter proclaiming "...this is none of your business." In New Mexico, looters used a bulldozer to work around the clock right up until the stroke of midnight on the day when such practices became illegal. In their haste, the grave robbers destroyed many bodies and funerary objects of the Mimbres Natives buried there.[42]

Even after the passing of the Repatriation Act, the black market for sacred objects from Aboriginal cultures continues to thrive:

> ...it is being additionally stimulated by the spiritual quests of New Age movement followers, many of whom are 'Wannabe Indians.' Until collecting others' sacred objects becomes devalued and such markets are shut down, American Indian spiritual beliefs, practices, and objects will continue to be subjected to defamation, imitation, appropriation, and abuse by outsiders.[43]

41 Ibid., 130-31.
42 Ibid., 130-31.
43 William L. Merrill, Edmund J. Ladd and T. J. Ferguson, "The Return of the Ahayu:da. Lessons for Repatriation from Zuni Pueblo and the Smithsonian Institute" in *Current Anthropology* 34, 1 (February 1993): 563.

Repatriation after the Repatriation Act of 1990

Nonetheless, the Repatriation Act has been received by the overwhelming majority of Native Americans as a victory for human rights.[44]Proclaiming the Smithsonian's Natural History Museum a mausoleum for dead Indians, Native Americans were able to attract enough national attention from the media to pressure the Smithsonian and other museums to amend their practices.[45]Near the end of the 1980's, when it was evident that repatriation would soon be legally mandated, museum directors, curators, and anthropologists avowed that they held a propriety right to their collections while American citizens insisted on their right to visit excavated Native burials.[46]

The most celebrated argument against repatriation is that skeletal remains provide one of the few means by which to study "prehistoric" Native cultures as biomedical technology continues to improve.[47] According to Rayna Green of the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History, this argument is flawed:

> ...most Indian remains 'have no scientific value [because] a mere fraction

44 Gulliford, 121. Also see Merrill, Ladd and Ferguson, 536-44.National events in American history such as the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War had a profound effect in changing attitudes towards anthropology, museums, and the use of Native Americans by society in general. Although not all museums were keen on repatriation, prior to the legislation of the Act, some museums were beginning to at least attempt to improve their relationship with Native Nations. One such example of this unfolded in 1978. The Smithsonian staff contacted the Zuni Nation to inform them of two impeding auctions. In one was a Zuni religious alter. In the other a "... prehistoric Anasazi mummy that reportedly had been taken from a cliff dwelling in Dove Springs, Arizona, on the Navajo Indian Reservation." A Zuni representative was able to enlist an anonymous donor to purchase the alter and return it to them. With the help of a Smithsonian senior staff member, the District Attorney of Santa Fe County was persuaded to declare the mummy an unclaimed human body. The Zuni then contacted the Navajo Nation. The two parties agreed that the body would be put to rest in a cemetery in Gallup New Mexico..
45 Gulliford, 50. Also see Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "Relations Between Indians and Anthropologists" in Wilcombe E. Washburn eds., *History of Indian-White Relations* 4. (1988): 555. In the 1980's, there were anthropologists who engaged in archeological digs and helped in the establishment of Native operated museums at the request of Natives such as the Museum of Iroquois in New York.
46 Gulliford, 128.
47 Merrill, Ladd and Ferguson, 563.

> of remains has ever been studied, period.' She explained, 'These are human remains, not study specimens. There should not be endless research to benefit scholars without a compelling reason.' Most skeletal remains are now studied for biochemical and genetic analysis to trace the evolution of diseases and changes in diet, but then the remains are reburied.[48]

Another highly acclaimed argument against repatriation is that Native culture has long since been lost and that Natives are making their culture up, or re-inventing it, aided by reading anthropological texts about their ancestors. This rather arrogant opinion by certain anthropologists is in stark contrast to reality. Natives vehemently criticize texts written about them. More often then not, Native people complain, sometimes quite bitterly, about "half-truths" and outright mistakes in writings about their culture and history by non-Natives. This problem is shared by all Aboriginal tribes and Nations in North America. One such example is the work of Alfred Kroeber who incorrectly documented California tribal groupings and places. Another California example is John P. Harrington (a linguist and ethnographer) who, according to Native elders, never succeeded in recording more than half a story.[49] Aboriginal people are acutely aware of the impact inaccurate research has had on their people. Western society views the work of its university-trained academics as legitimate. In contrast, Aboriginal elders are not even remotely accorded similar respect. Western society repeatedly has failed to recognize that in most Aboriginal societies, the role of historian is an honoured position that is bestowed onto the elders. Aboriginal peoples do recognize a value in much of the academic work on their history; however, they believe that there are areas that need to be corrected and

48 Gulliford, 131.

49 From Diana Drake Wilson's "California Indian Participation in Repatriation: Working Toward Recognition" in *American Indian Culture And Research Journal* 21, 3, (1997): 202-203.

that they should at least be consulted.[50]

Regardless of the history that led to the need for repatriation, anthropologists and other academics from other disciplines still have not taken responsibility for the role academia has played in reiterating and perpetuating the myths that denied Natives their humanity. In 1988, Nancy Oestreich Lurie wrote a paper defending the role of anthropologists which was published by the Smithsonian and edited by the renowned, historian Wilcombe E. Washburn, considered by non-Native academics to be an expert in the field. While conceding that even after World War II, anthropologists continued to depend on the Native community in order to forward the interests of their discipline, Oestreich Lurie claims that it was not until the 1950's, when anthropologists began to teach their students to be "more sensitive," and published texts along the same lines, that Natives complained about having their ancestors disturbed. "Yet it was only then that Indians expressed their resentment!"[51]

Oestreich Lurie is of the opinion that while everyone else who came into contact with Natives, such as the missionaries, traders, government agents for the state apparatus etc., (at one point she complains of being placed in the same category as "these sinners") viewed Natives as Savage and pagan and wished to either assimilate or annihilate them, the anthropologists respected the Natives and wanted to learn, know and understand them. To further her point of the "close" relationship anthropologists sought with Natives, she cites a couple of Natives (out of hundreds of thousands) who actually were recruited

50 Ibid., 202-203. It is later demonstrated in this paper that anthropology has been used to help re-teach past cultural practices such Northwest Coast totem pole carving; however, this activity is by no means to be interpreted as a universal, pan-Indian experience.

51 Oestreich Lurie, 548.

to join the ranks.[52]

In fairness to Oestreich Lurie, she is correct in arguing that some Native cultures have benefitted by the fact that anthropologists have stored in their museums cultural artifacts and recordings of ceremonies that can now be repatriated. It is, however, hypocritical not to acknowledge the dual role played by anthropologists and museums. It is debatable as to how successful the missionaries and others would have been in appropriating these objects without the help of the museums and anthropologists who were largely responsible for initially creating the market for them.[53]

Oestreich Lurie lays the blame for the negative relationship Natives associate with anthropologists with Native historian Vine Deloria Jr. Deloria published a book in 1969 entitled "Custer Died for your Sins." Oestreich Lurie asserts that anthropologists were "offended by Deloria's biting wit and also appalled…[that Deloria placed them in the same category as missionaries, congress and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.]" Deloria further infuriated anthropologists, according to Oestreich Lurie, by writing that "anthropology's association with Indian people was as insensitive and self-serving as that of other White-dominated institutions."[54] She then credits Deloria with spurring a movement that saw Natives "striking-out" at all aspects of the discipline, disrupting archeological work, "decrying it as 'grave-robbing' and 'desecrating of our ancestors' bones…'" and targeting museums with angry demonstrations demanding the repatriation of objects.[55]

The Smithsonian Institute and other museums have since returned some human remains as well as funerary and religious objects but much of the repatriation that needs to be done has not yet been completed. The largest repatriation of human remains has been to Larson Bay, Alaska, where 756 Native bodies were returned, although they were not "necessarily whole skeletons." These bodies were acquired as part of an "expedition" by the Smithsonian physical anthropologists Ales Hrdlicka who stole them from their place of rest between 1932-36. This theft alone produced over 5000 artifacts and several hundred human bodies from Kodiak Island.[56]

Among the most famous and publicly highlighted repatriation stories was that of the Zuni from the south-western American-Mexican border. The Ayayu:da were communally owned religious figures that were carved from wood and used in tribal ceremonies. Different clans were responsible for a different portion of the carving. Every year a new pair replaced the previous years. The old Ayayu:da were well cared for and allowed to be received back into the earth. Different clans were responsible for

52 Ibid., 549.
53 Ibid., 550.
54 Ibid., 552.

55 Ibid., 555. Unfortunately for Oestreich Lurie and her like-minded colleagues, her unwarranted credit bestowed on Deloria is yet another demonstration of the academic community's continued failure to acknowledge Native concerns. Deloria was never a cult-like figure, corrupting the minds of the flock as described by Oestreich Lurie. Deloria merely became an academic (thus learning how to teach history by western standards) and wrote what most Native people had always felt. The reason why Deloria is so highly respected by Native people is because he was one of their first people to confront non-Natives with Native concerns by using western societies own criteria for recording history against them. Many of the events that Oestreich Lurie credits Deloria for creating were actually carried out by groups such as the American Indian Movement and had nothing to do with Deloria.

56 Davis, 544. Also see Gulliford, 48-49. Gulliford states that in the community of Qikertarmiut Alaska, Native elders still hold bitter memories of the Smithsonian scientists Ales Hrdlicka. Among the 756 bodies unearthed were 144 mortuary items and countless other artifacts, all of which were brought back to the Smithsonian Institute. In May 1987, The Natives of this community formerly requested the return of their dead. The Smithsonian (as was common amongst museums) originally refused, holding to the usual claims such as "…trust relationship" and "…the institution's responsibility to hold its collection in trust for the benefit of all people, not just discrete interest groups."

a different portion of the carving. The Zuni placed a high value on their physical and spiritual wellbeing with the Ayayu:da. Many of the Ayayu:da had been stolen from the Zuni reserve and placed on display in museums and private collections. The Zuni considered this extremely inappropriate as the Ayayu:da were not supposed to leave the community or be treated disrespectfully by such practices as putting them on display and not allowing them to re-enter the earth. Although repatriation was a process that took the Zuni over two decades, (1970-92) by the end of 1992 they recovered all 69 Ayayu:da that were known to be in private collections and museums. The process of negotiations that developed between the Zuni and the Smithsonian has been held-up as an ideal that can make repatriation beneficial for both Natives and the Museums.[57]

Not all repatriation stories have been marked by feelings of elation. On July 10, 1993, eighteen of the Cheyenne who were massacred at Sand Creek by Chivington and his drunken troops were buried in a cemetery in Concho Oklahoma, more than 125 years after they were first put on display at the Army Medical Museum and later at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History. This helped bring some closure to the Cheyenne people.[58]

On a smaller scale, the Smithsonian has repatriated sets of human remains to Sisseton-Wahpeton Dakota (Sioux), as well as human remains to the Pawnee and Cheyenne-Arapaho. They are presently in the process of "considering" repatriating to

57 Merrill, Ladd and Ferguson, 525. It should be noted that the Zuni had rejected an FBI offer to confiscate museum held Ayayu:da on their behalf. The Zuni wished to reach a conclusion that would create a viable relationship for all parties. Not everything has worked to the Zuni's benefit. Due to publicity, three Ayayu:da have since been stolen from their reserve. All remaining Ayayu:da are now placed under security.

58 Gulliford, 137. These Cheyenne are members of the same group whose murders (along with the reaction of Denver citizens) were previously mentioned.

Nevada Native groups. Other museums, institutions and private collectors, such as the Catholic church (which repatriated remains to California Natives) and the State of Nebraska (which repatriated remains to the Pawnee and the Omaha) have also engaged in the process;[59] further:

> Various cultural and sacred objects have also been returned, by the Smithsonian and other museums, institutions, and private individuals. For example, wampum belts have been returned to the Iroquois, medicine bundles and prayer boards have been returned to the Navajo, Hopi, and Mohawk, a Sacred Pole has been returned to the Omaha, as have the skeletal remains and burial offerings of almost one hundred Omaha held by the University of Nebraska.[60]

Gulliford provides additional incentive for historians to assist in repatriation:

> For public historians, the issue of Native American repatriation of human remains provides excellent opportunities to work with tribes and to seek the return of human remains and tribal artifacts. Within the last few years, ghost dance shirts stolen from Indians massacred at Wounded Knee, South Dakota in 1890 have been found in museums in Massachusetts.[61]

It is interesting to note that thirty-three religious objects confiscated by Indian agent, W. M. Halliday, a zealous proponent in favour of evangelizing Natives, from Canadian Westcoast Natives (as punishment for practising their religion) are presently

59 Davis, 544.

60 Ibid., 543-44. For more information on the repatriation of Iroquois wampum belts, see Martin Sullivan's "Return Of The Sacred Wampum Belts Of The Iroquois." in *History Teacher* 26, 1 (1992): 7-14.

61 Gulliford, 141.

in the Museum of the American Indian in New York. As of 1991, the museum had still refused to repatriate.[62]This raises some serious questions as to whether or not the museums would have repatriated had they not been legislated to do so. If these particular Natives had been American instead of Canadian, the Museum would have been legally obligated to repatriate. Given that they are Canadian, the Repatriation Act does not apply as the Act is limited to lands and Natives within United States jurisdiction. Are the museums merely repatriating to Native Americans because they now are legally obligated?[63]

In some cases, Native Bands and museums have agreed to terms other than full repatriation. For example, the Santa Ynez Band of Mission Indians (Chumash) and the University of California at Santa Barbara have come up with their own agreement concerning repatriation. A specially-constructed mausoleum has been made on the campus to hold Native human remains held by the university. The Chumash view the mausoleum as a respectable means of treating their dead while also providing some assurance that they will not just be dug-up again by grave robbers. Most Chumash do concede, however, that some day their ancestors will be placed back into the earth, perhaps when society's attitudes have changed and it will be safe. The academic community is also supportive of the mausoleum as it allows for future scientific study. The Chumash themselves have expressed that they benefit in the scientific research of

62 James Clifford, "Four Northwest Coast Museums: Travel Reflections." in Karp and Lavine eds., *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1991): 243.

63 In a similar situation, the Otago Museum in Dunedin, New Zealand, presently holds Native American objects that were obtained through the Peabody Museum, the Harvard Museum, the New York Museum of Natural History and Plateau material from the 1905 Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition. See Wendy J. Harsant, "The Otago Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand: The North American Indian Collection" in *American Indian Art Magazine* 13, 2 (1988): 38-45.

their ancestors remains.[64]

The most ironic result of the Repatriation Act is that it has inadvertently forced anthropologists to establish a scientific relationship, using sources ranging from anthropological documentation, interviewing elders to DNA testing, between past and contemporary Natives as a pre-requisite for repatriation. This is no doubt going to dramatically affect, in many cases it all ready has, every facet of academia, the legal system and the American social fabric itself that has conveniently held steadfast to the misconception that most Native peoples and many of their Nations are extinct. With documentation and biological evidence supporting Native oral history, anthropologists, sociologists, historians and governments are going to be confronted with evidence that

64 Drake Wilson, 198-9. Also see Gulliford, 133-35. According to Gulliford, scientists are discovering to their amazement that most Natives are not opposed to the scientific study of their ancestors, provided they are reburied within a reasonable time and the bones are not destroyed or treated with disrespect. What they are opposed to is the unnecessary storage of their ancestors' remains in museum warehouses. Although Natives have demonstrated that they are co-operative, not all anthropologists appreciate having to now consider and abide by Native wishes. In 1989, a Native body carbon-dated as being 10, 765 years old was found in a gravel pit near Buhl, Idaho. It was one of the oldest skeletons ever found in North America. The Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Council agreed to the scientific testing provided the body was respected and afterwards put back to rest. UCLA anthropology professor Emeritus Clement Meighan accused the Shoshone of throwing away one of the major finds of the new world. Meighan proclaimed that the body was 5,000 years older then the Egyptian pyramids and that in the future it would be greatly regretted that such policies were enacted. Meighan concluded that the Shoshone did not own the body and never did. In fairness to modern anthropologists, Gulliford adds, "Clement Meighan represents a small group of archaeologists opposed to any and all reburials."

will force them to radically transform their present convictions.[65]

The major stumbling block for Natives in repatriation is that the act itself applies only to federally recognized tribes and Nations, while it excludes those who are not federally recognized. For example, in California, the Bureau of Indian Affairs recognizes approximately 30,000 people as legally Indian. There are approximately 90,000 California Natives who are not recognized as legally Indian due to Congress's failure to ratify eighteen treaties from 1851 to 1852. What has occurred is that recognized groups are claiming bodies and funerary objects and repatriating them to non-recognized groups that are close or distantly related.[66]Without being federally recognized, Native Nations are not entitled to repatriation. In some instances, such as in California, the state and various institutions, have taken it upon themselves to recognize Native Nations and have repatriated.[67]

65 Guida, 71. Also see James Clifford. *The Predicament of Culture* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1988). Also see Carole Goldberg's "Acknowledging the Repatriation Claims of Unacknowledged California Tribes." in *American Indian Culture And Research Journal* 21, 3 (1997): 183-191. The myth of extinction associated with various Nations developed for several reasons. Most common is that there are few Natives who have chosen to become historians as recognized by western society. As a result, the various academic fields are almost exclusively non-Native. Few of these academics ever cite evidence that came from a Native source. A simple examination of their footnotes quickly reveals that all their primary citations come from non-Natives. Often non-Natives had in the past assumed whole societies of Natives were extinct when they had relocated or sought the safety of a more dominant Nation as a result of American aggression. Another reason is that some tribes, such as the Wamponoag, were not recognized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs because the Bureau felt that they accepted too many Blacks into their tribe, thus thinning-out their blood lines. Many other Nations did not get their treaties ratified by congress (such as the unrecognized Nations of California). In addition, in order to avoid suffering genocide, California Natives often hid their identity from even their own grandchildren, professing to be Mexicans. Fortunately, due to the existence of the unratified treaties, it is not a formidable task to prove their ancestry. Many other Nations have had their recognition as a Native Nation systematically extinguished by the Bureau of Indian Affairs so as to facilitate assimilation into the dominant society.

66 Drake Wilson, 196-7.

67 Goldberg, 187-191. According to Goldberg, in California, a lower federal court has already ruled against the Bureau of Indian Affairs concerning unrecognized Native claims to tribal identity and rights. In the case of Laughing Coyote v. United States Fish and Wildlife Service in 1994, the Department of the Interior charged a California Native from an unrecognized Nation with taking eagle parts. Recognized tribes are permitted to take eagle parts for ceremonial purposes as long as the eagle population is not threatened. Permits are only given to recognized tribes. The federal court ruled that "...this restriction was 'arbitrary and capricious' in relation to the language and intent of the Eagle Protection Act."

There are presently over 500 federally recognized tribes in the United States. Not all are interested in repatriation. The Eastern Shoshone of the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming for example, do not trust that the records of museums concerning the bones of the dead are accurate. They believe the possibility of having the bones of their ancient enemies buried on their lands is too dangerous to their Nation's spiritual wellbeing. The Zuni, on the other hand, are not interested as they believe the bones have lost their cultural identity since they have been away from home. In some cases, medicine men have expressed that they no longer wish to handle the remains of the dead. The community members are shunning these medicine men and treat them as someone from the spirit world rather than someone among the living, although they do go through cleansing ceremonies. In other instances, reminders of their Nation's past frontier experiences, such as the Sand Creek massacre, have caused emotional and psychological damage. Among the most graphic examples are the skulls of women and children that were collected by the U. S. Army surgeons. These human skulls have bullet holes in them and other evidence of physical trauma.[68]

If colonial history has taught Native Americans anything, it is the importance of both the right and ability to control their own identity. Native people have interpreted museums that have been created to portray them by non-Natives without their involvement as yet another means by which to separate them from their cultures while objectifying them. Natives have also raised serious questions as to the legitimacy of museums that are entirely operated by a dominant culture purporting to teach the history of a culture that is not only foreign to them but that they had historically suppressed. It has not

68 Gulliford, 139-41.

gone unnoticed that this phenomenon is an experience in America that is unique to Indigenous peoples.[69]

On a positive note, America finally appears to have taken notice. The federal government of the United States has provided Native Americans with a museum within the Smithsonian. The Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian with the Holocaust Memorial Museum are the two largest and most culturally oriented museums established in Washington in the 1990's.[70] The museum was approved by congress and signed into law under President George Bush in 1989. The museum will be officially opened in 2002 and will be located in the middle of the National Air and Space Museum. In the meantime, two smaller satellite museums were scheduled to be opened: the George Heye Center in lower Manhattan in 1994 and the Cultural Resources Centre in Suiltland Maryland (which was for storage and research) in 1998.[71] [71]

Unlike the Holocaust Memorial Museum, the opening of the National Museum of the American Indian produced much debate in congress, some of which was generated by Natives themselves over their concern for the repatriation of human remains and sacred objects and the methods by which the Smithsonian came to appropriate them in the first place.[72] By 1997, the Smithsonian still held many artifacts that were obtained through grave robbing and looting as well as other morally questionable means that were then and are today illegal:

> Within the larger discursive context, the Smithsonian Institution is specifically implicated in the symbolic rape of Indian lands and the actual desecration of Indian grave sites, burial grounds, and other goods and properties of Indian peoples. These museums are literally the storehouses of treasures essentially looted from Indian peoples over hundreds of years.[73]

Considering the role that the Smithsonian enthusiastically chose to undertake, along with governments and missionaries in attempting to eradicate Native cultures, the very idea of the Smithsonian being responsible for a museum dedicated to Native culture has raised moral concerns. Further, "These collections are literally the 'objective correlative' of the ways in which the mythos of Indian peoples has been incorporated into that of America."[74]

One of the consequences of the creation of Native-managed museums in contemporary times was that many of the scientists and academics who were opposed to repatriation (some believed that Natives would demand the repatriation of absolutely everything) were in general quick to convert to this concept. The reasoning was that this insured many artifacts would continue to be maintained in museums; thus, the public will still be able to view the artifacts and Native Nations, groups and organizations will be involved in the exhibitions. As Ruffins states, the New York Museum and the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington will serve a purpose similar to that of

69 Guida, 169-70.
70 Davis Ruffins, 79.
71 Ibid., 90-91. Also see Guida, 175-77. George Heye was a wealthy American collector who was in part responsible for the anguish perpetuated onto Native people. California Natives in particular have expressed several demands of museums. They want museums to teach the value of honour that is in their culture, that is, being responsible for one's acts. Another important demand is that they would like the museums to educate the public on the laws concerning grave robbing and the punishments as well as the impact of these acts on Native peoples. The California Natives have also observed that Native artifacts are often dusty and left unclean. They perceive this as a sign of disrespect. California Natives stress that it would be considered a sign of respect if non-Native museum staff would at least be aware of the same history and realities that are common knowledge amongst Natives.
72 Davis Ruffins, 92.
73 Ibid., 92.
74 Ibid., 92-3.

the Holocaust Museum in Washington; it will negate the negated. The new museum versions are to demonstrate that Native peoples experienced genocide at the hands of the Americans and Europeans. At the same time, the museums will emphasize that Natives are still here today while insuring that their ancestors are not forgotten.[75]

Although the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington is a public museum, it still was left with the responsibility of raising $60 to $100 million in funds from the private sector. It was believed that much of this would come from wealthy individuals who formerly held collections and those who were concerned with Native issues; however, Native communities themselves have been making Band-sponsored donations. The largest donation has come from the Pequot tribe which donated $10 million from casino revenue. This donation to a museum that is to represent Natives, partially managed my Natives, is the epitome of the difference between the Native version of their history and the non-Native version of Native history. Virtually every prominent non-Native historian, with the exception of Daniel R. Mandell in his book *Behind the Frontier*, has held that the Pequot are extinct.[76]

In addition to the National Museum of the American Indian, the Smithsonian assisted in setting-up the programs that were to help Native Bands establish their own tribal museums. Many of the Smithsonian's staff considered this a pre-requisite for repatriation. The Smithsonian wanted to insure that the artifacts were properly preserved using modern museum technology, and, in the event that a Native museum should be closed, the Smithsonian could have the artifacts returned for safe-keeping.[77]

As of 1997, there were 53 tribal museums in the United States. In these museums, visitors learn the Native perspective of their history. One of the key values taught in Native managed museums is that Natives living in the present maintain a connection with their past and future; further, innumerable Nations across the United States (those who have been presumed extinct) have been using tribal museums to educate the public that they are still here. As an added bonus, Native communities for the first time actually receive the economic capital that their cultures generate through tourism.[78]

On the Northwest Coast, museum anthropologists have assisted B. C. Natives in reviving such spiritual traditions as totempole carving. This was accomplished by using the extremely precise details that Franz Boas had recorded during his observations before missionaries and governments had succeeded in suppressing these practices. Many of these recently crafted pieces are designed especially for the museums and are treated as fine art.[79]

As James Clifford notes, treating artifacts as fine art has been an effective means

75 Ibid., 97.

76 Ibid., 99. Also see *Daniel R. Mandell. Behind the Frontier* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996). Mandell provides an excellent review of the consensus amongst historians who continue to perpetuate the myth of the Pequot extinction.

77 Merrill, Ladd and Ferguson, 545. There were occasions when Native-operated museums on reserves did shut down. There are various reason for this that the authors do not address. First, some did not receive or generate enough revenue to operate. This inevitably placed a cash-drain on many communities that were already operating on inadequate budgets. Second, although a museum on a reserve near an urban or tourist area presented an excellent business and political opportunity, the down-side was that the reserve not only became overrun with tourists, but the Band members themselves, their houses and their community became part of the exhibit. Tourists all too often have filmed Natives, Métis and Inuit with Cam-Corders and taken their pictures through car windows, creating a Zoo-like atmosphere. An example of the magnitude of this problem is provided by Iqaluit, Nunavut where a bar has gone so far as to post signs banning cameras from the premises.

78 Guida, 169-70. An example of the Native belief in continuity is provided by the Anishnebe [Ojibway]. The Anishnebe believe that each generation is responsible for the next seven generations when making important decisions for their people. By the same custom, each of the past seven generations made decisions for the present generations. Contrary to the belief of many non-Native academics, rather then being entirely extinct, many Native religions survived by going underground.

79 Michael M. Ames, "Museums, Anthropologists and the Arts of Acculturation on the Northwest Coast." *B. C. Studies* 49 (1981): 3-9.

by which to demonstrate across cultural barriers that Native art has quality meaning and importance. Another stark contrast that Clifford observes between Native-operated museums and non-Native museums was the manner in which displays are presented. Non-Native displays demonstrate a tendency to label artifacts and pictures as those of Native tribes in general, while the Native-operated museums label displays by stating who the individuals are in the photos and who or which families and/or clans objects belonged too.[80]

The obsession of academics with Natives as peoples of the past has greatly limited public knowledge of Natives in the present. Diana Drake Wilson sums up this predicament best:

> Anthropologists know very little about the details of indigenous uses of spiritual practices and medicinal knowledge in the present day, or how these knowledge submerge, reemerge, and/or change or how they may or may not relate to groups and practices of the past. And for obvious reasons, we are not going to learn much starting from the assumption that all 'authentic' traditional, indigenous practices have been lost.[81]

The present and the future provide a vast improvement over the past for Native people. This however, should not be interpreted to mean that everything has been resolved, but rather it is a reflection as to how far Native people have come within the social frameworks of western society. Although Americans are no longer actively pursuing the genocide of Native Americans, the Bureau of Indian Affairs still maintains policy designed to assimilate Natives; further, this paper is only a colloquial as to what is taking place in the museums surrounding the issue of repatriation. The repatriation of the majority of artifacts and remains has not yet occurred and debates continue to be raised as more and more degrading evidence as to the treatment and lack of respect given to Native bodies by museums becomes public. The museums and the discipline of Anthropology could provide Natives with a great service if they would publicly acknowledge the role they played in this legacy; however, it appears to have become something that museums and their anthropologists would rather not discuss.

The museums are not the only concern for Native people. Grave robbing and the black-market for Native body parts, as well as funerary objects and religious artifacts, is still a problem. Due to the fact that the repatriation of Native bodies, funerary objects and religious paraphernalia is still an ongoing process, it is not possible at this time to adequately assess the success or failure of the Repatriation Act of 1990. While the relationship between Native Americans and the dominant American society has improved significantly since the Victorian era, there is still much that need be done in order to bring closure to the issues addressed in this article.

80 James Clifford, "Four Northwest Coast Museums: Travel Reflections." in Karp and Lavine eds., *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display (*Washington and London: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1991): 225-27.

81 Drake Wilson, 201.

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Acrylic Rhyme

Pink-socked girl
Trotting by my invalid peephole
May a sucking candy choke you.

Rabbi-bearded pilgrim
Begging bread from my festering bowl
May scripture pages burn your eye.

Satin-skirted lover
Washing remains of the moment in my blackened brook
May maggots nest between your lips.

Sun-headed man
Resting insomniac decisions on my crumbling promise
May your blood purge only the absolved.

—Shreya Bose

Fly Agaric
Anne Jevne 2008

The View from the Depth of the Frightful Abyss: Challenging Archetype in François Fénelon's *The Adventures of Telemachus* and Charlotte Dacre's *Zofloya*

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In *An Essay on Man,* Alexander Pope argues that the individual is defined by his relationship to the whole and that humanity, therefore, is best examined "by attending to the large, open, and perceptible parts than by studying too much such finer nerves and vessels" (3). Each man's performance of his part gives the universe its order. However this definition, as illustrated by Eve's creation from one of Adam's ribs in John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, is problematic for eighteenth century women who are not part of the whole but derived from the part. As part of the part, women are positioned even further from Providence and, hence, are inherently destined to fall. Eighteenth century narratives endeavor to "protect" and preemptively correct this imperfection in women with conduct books and master narratives, such as François Fénelon's *The Adventures of Telemachus*. However, since these models are based on mythical and binary constructs, only the appearance of archetype (as a result of complete self-repression) has the possibility of

attainability. In 1798, Mary Hays writes in *Appeal to the Men of Great Britain in Behalf of Women*, "What a chaos! What a mixture of strength and weakness, of greatness and littleness, of sense and folly, of exquisite feeling and total insensibility, have [men] jumbled together in their imaginations, and then given to their pretty darling the name of woman!" (Jones 231). Notably, gothic representations of women are an attempt to respond to this chaos. However, as suggested by Victoria's fate in Charlotte Dacre's *Zofloya,* challenging the archetype only succeeds in a temporary inversion of the construct before literally being flung into hell. Therefore, not only is the eighteenth century model for women founded on an unattainable archetype as in Antiope[1] and the classical depiction of female virtue in François Fénelon's *The Adventures of Telemachus*; but, as demonstrated by Victoria in Charlotte Dacre's *Zofloya*, when eighteenth century women challenge this archetype the result is a progressive recession of self into the abyss of non-existence.

Significantly, Antiope and her role as a model of virtue are disseminated through myth and not reality. In *The Adventures of Telemachus*, Telemachus likens Antiope to Minerva in "human form" (Fénelon 521); and in *Athenian Letters: or, The Epistolary Correspondence of an Agent of the King of Persia*, she is actually formed by the gods: "the Gods themselves had, as it were, designedly formed the charms of Antiope" (190). However, even though she is constructed from deity, she falls short of the eighteenth century definition of perfection in her human form. For instance, when Telemachus presents her with the wild boar's head, she first consults her father's eyes for permission before addressing him: "'I received from you, with gratitude, a more valuable gift; for I am indebted to you for my life'" (Fénelon 530). However, after she speaks, she fears that she has "said too much, and fix[es] her eyes on the ground" (Fénelon 530). By indebting her life to Telemachus, she inadvertently and inappropriately supersedes her father's authority. In *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society: Women and the Elite Family*, Judith Hallett explains that Roman fathers demand deference from their daughters. Daughters were to depend on them for protection and support without ever displaying self-assertiveness or independence (136-143). While the modern reader might not define Antiope's reaction as self-assertive, Antiope clearly recognizes her mistake and subsequently fixes her eyes on the ground in a display of subordinate submission to her father. *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines virtue, in part, as abstention; and, in this way, Antiope's virtue is at stake because she should have stopped short of indebtedness while conveying her gratitude to Telemachus. Antiope's flawed response is a reflection of her inherently flawed role as an archetype. It is impossible to be both deity (or above man) as created in the likeness of Minerva and subordinate (or below man) as a Roman daughter in a patriarchal society. Since she is supposedly a construct of both, she must negotiate between her two selves.

The negotiation between two selves also plagues Victoria in Charlotte Dacre's *Zofloya*. Victoria can neither fully embody the archetype nor fully reverse its influence on her identity. For instance, her father idolizes her and positions her as "the deity to which the house looked up" (Dacre 48); and yet as the narrator suggests, her "own violent and overbearing disposition" renders her incapable of managing the household (Dacre 59). In addition, physically, she is not like the "fair and beautiful Lilla, with her long flaxen tressesses almost veiling her fairy form" (Dacre 170) who seems "like an aerial spirit, . . . scarcely appearing in its delicate movements to touch the ground" (Dacre 173). Instead she is "not the countenance of a Madona . . . not of angelic mould . . . but a

1 The idea of Antiope as an archetypal signature was developed by Rivka Swenson, Assistant Professor of English at Virginia Commonwealth University..

beautiful fierceness—dark, noble, strongly expressive, every lineament bespoke the mind which animated it" (Dacre 96). As Cynthia Murillo asserts in "Haunted Spaces and Powerful Places: Reconfiguring the *Doppelganger* in Charlotte Dacre's *Zofloya*," Lilla (the Antiope-like archetype) is "an aesthetic perfection humanly impossible to achieve" (80). Her presence, as well as Henriquez's preference for her, serves as a constant reminder to Victoria of how she falls short of the ideal.

Like Victoria, Antiope's identity is defined by role and its relationship to the concept of virtue. For instance, when Telemachus kills the wild boar and saves Antiope's life, he is demonstrating his virtus, or as Myles McDonnell defines in *Roman Manliness*: Virtus and the Roman Republic, his "steadfastness in the face of danger" (62). Virtus is a public display of courage and while it is regarded as a divine power, it cannot, as McDonnell points out, be possessed by women, children, slaves, or even deities but is representative of "hegemonic masculinity" (167). Notably, virtue is different from virtus. Feminine virtue indicates chastity; and, as Wetenhall Wilkes describes in *A Letter of Genteel and Moral Advice to a Young Lady in 1740*, chastity is the "suppression of all irregular desires, voluntary pollutions, sinful concupiscence, and of an immoderate use of all sensual, or carnal pleasures. Its purity consists in abstinence or continence" (Jones 30). Virtue, therefore, is private, referring to not only physical virginity but, most significantly, to complete submission through suppression of desire. In *The Adventures of Telemachus*, Antiope is the first to wound the wild boar during the hunt: "Antiope, who in the course, was swifter than the wind, came up and attacked him. She threw a javelin at him, which wounded him in the shoulder. The blood gushed out it a torrent" (Fénelon 529). However, when she is thrown from her horse, Telemachus positions himself "between her and the boar . . . instantly plung[ing] a hunting spear into his body" (Fénelon 530). This positioning is significant. As a model of virtue, Antiope cannot kill the boar. If she had killed it, she would have assumed a public, masculine role versus a private, feminine role. Not only is this inversion impossible by definition of virtus, it would also usurp Telemachus's position as the head of reason. When Telemachus decapitates the boar's head and presents it to Antiope, it is symbolic of both his position as master of the hunt and as his future position as master of Antiope's head (or reason). Thus, in the same way that the boar cannot function without its head, Antiope must position herself as dependent on Telemachus in order to retain her virtue.

In contrast, Victoria does complete the kill and, therefore, is not virtuous because she does not suppress her desires. In fact, when Zofloya asks, "'Are you of a firm and persevering spirit,'" Victoria responds, "'this heart knows not to shrink . . . even to destruction!'" (Dacre 159). Her response indicates her willingness to overturn the archetype. Clearly, Victoria does not assume an Antiope-like restraint when she tests poison on the aged Signora, methodically poisons Berenza, drugs Henriquez to consummate her sexual desire, or violently murders Lilla. It seems, as Zofloya points out, that "unrestrained passions of [her] soul precipitate [her] fate" (Dacre 223). However, she does repress herself when playing the part of the archetype helps her obtain her desire. For example, when imprisoned by Signora di Modena, the narrator describes how Victoria imposed a "violent restraint . . . upon her feelings and natural disposition, scarcely ever suffering herself to be provoked, for an instant, from the cool and systematic conduct she prescribed herself" (Dacre 79). Additionally, when she discovers that Berenza questions her love for him, she convincingly performs the role of female lover: "her eyes, no longer

full of a wild and beautiful animation, were taught to languish, or to fix for hours with musing air upon the ground; her gait, no longer firm and elevated, became hesitating and despondent. She no longer engrossed the conversation; she became silent, apparently absent and plunged in thought" (Dacre 98). In many ways, Victoria's self-positioning is similar to Antiope's performance during the hunt; and yet, Victoria cannot be an Antiope because she is not modeled from deity but from a corrupted construct. As Diane Long Hoeveler explains in "Charlotte Dacre's *Zofloya*: A Case Study in Miscegenation as Sexual and Racial Nausea," "the ideology goes something like this: if women fail to be effectively educated by their mothers, if they fail to embrace their proper feminine roles as docile, passive, and dependent on the rightful claims of patriarchy, then we will witness women as monstrous as Victoria—masculine and destructive of both men and women" (192). Victoria's identity is both further from deity than Antiope and already associated with the fall by her mother's indiscretions. Her fate is inescapably predictable.

In order to enact the role of female virtue like Antiope, one must be a mythical binary who can be both present and absent at the same time. As Judith Butler suggests in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, gender is "a construction that regularly conceals its genesis" (177) and its performance "suggests an openness to resignification and recontextualization" (176). In *The Adventures of Telemachus*, Mentor commends Antiope for speaking "only when it is improper to refrain, and in her speech there is an artless grace, a soft but irresistible persuasion. All listen in silence when she speaks, and she blushes with confusion; the deference and attention with which she is heard make it difficult for her modesty not to suppress what she intended to say" (Fénelon 523). Her performance relies on the ability (or strength) to suppress (or appear

weak) defined by self-censoring moderation, control, and, most poignantly, silence. This silence, as Christine Roulston posits in *Virtue, Gender, and the Authentic Self in Eighteenth-Century Fiction: Richardson, Rousseau, and Laclos*, is paradoxical, requiring Antiope to be present and absent at the same time. For instance, when she is summoned to assuage her father's anger she "spoke, but said no more than was just necessary to appease his anger. At first she seemed to take part in his resentment; she then softened it by insensible degrees; at last she insinuated an apology for the offender, . . . [and] kindled in his bosom sentiments of justice and compassion" (Fénelon 523). François Fénelon writes in *Treatise on the Education of Daughters*, "Consider, it is women who ruin or uphold families; who regulate the minutiae of domestic affairs; and who consequently decide upon some of the dearest and tenderest points which affect the happiness of Man" (Jones 102-103). Like Minerva who disguises herself as Mentor while instructing Telemachus but disappears once she reveals her true identity, Antiope attends her father with her face covered by a long veil in order to appear submissive while enacting a didactic role. She transforms her appearance in order to enact a form (albeit, domestic) of power.

Counterintuitively, instead of concealing her identity to become less visible, Victoria disguises herself to gain visibility. In *Zofloya*, it is significant that Victoria's dream of the "beautiful and luxurious" (145) garden initially only includes Lilla and Henriquez. Victoria is an observer looking from the outside-in. When she does appear in her dream, the scene diminishes to sublimity and terror. In fact, even when she becomes the archetype, or Lilla, in the dream, the scene (and Lilla) deteriorate into "no longer the blooming maid, but a pallid spectre, fled shrieking through the aisles of the church . . . .she attempted to take the hand of Henriquez; but casting her eyes upon him, she

beheld him changed to a frightful skeleton" (Dacre 146). It is an understatement to point out that Victoria's presence (or visibility) spoils the scene. Significantly, as Roulston describes, authenticity is "closely linked to visibility, in the sense of the self being revealed and laid bare" (xvii). In the first volume, Victoria is rarely visible until Berenza offers her the possibility of being seen: "she then discovered that her sentiments were those of envy, and of an ardent consuming desire to be situated like that unhappy mother—like her, to receive the attentions, listen to the tenderness, and sink beneath the ardent glances of a lover" (Dacre 60). The reader, of course, recognizes that Berenza's "ardent glances," or his gaze, actually objectify Victoria so that she becomes less visible. It is significant, then, that after Victoria escapes Signora di Modena in search of Berenza and is finally able to see and to be seen, everyone in Venice is masked. Moreover, when Berenza recognizes her, he does not come to her in that moment but returns to "encircle her waist," tell her to "'hush,'" and blindfold her (Dacre 88). He says to "fear not" (Dacre 88), but she should fear him since he now masters her sight. In fact, he not only controls how she sees but how she is seen: "it is not enough for me that my mistress should be admired by men; they must envy me in their hearts the possession of her . . . .others may gaze and sigh for her, but must not dare approach" (Dacre 95). Thus, from the moment she recognizes Berenza amongst the masked faces, her vision becomes his sight and not her own. He must "new model" (Dacre 92) her in order to look at her, and she must "look upon thee as I love thee" (Dacre 139) in order to recognize herself through his perception. Subsequently, she cannot see or be seen as she actually appears so that when she disguises herself as Lilla to ensnare Henriquez's love, she only renders herself more invisible. While Henriquez sees her as Lilla, he loves her; but, as soon as he recognizes her as Victoria, he prefers to kill himself instead of love what he sees. Thus, recognition makes her invisible.

Consequently, it is difficult to determine truth when visibility is impaired. In *The Adventures of Telemachus,* Mentor explains to Telemachus that it is "a secret to you but known to me" (Fénelon 522). The secret, of course, is that Mentor (Telemachus's master) is actually Minerva. However, since Mentor is not who he/she appears to be, Telemachus's recognition of "truth" (Fénelon 515) cannot be actual truth because it is based on a false representation of that truth. Likewise in *Zofloya*, representative truth makes it difficult to separate master from slave. The narrator describes Victoria's smile as "fascination itself; and in her large dark eyes, which sparkled with incomparable radiance, you read the traces of a strong and resolute mind, . . . Her figure, though above the middle height, was symmetry itself; she was as the tall and graceful antelope" (Dacre 96). Zofloya is also described as "the most attractive and symmetrical, though of superior height . . . His eyes, brilliant and large, sparkled with inexpressible fire; his nose and mouth were elegantly formed, and when he smiled, the assemblage of his features displayed a beauty that delighted and surprised" (Dacre 153). Their similar features—large eyes, fascinating smile, symmetrical form—indelibly link their identities. So while Victoria performs the role of Zofloya's master and Zofloya performs the role of Victoria's slave, their performances are representations of truth and not actual truth.

Actual truth is not what is seen but what cannot be seen or, for Victoria, what (or who) she cannot escape: Lilla and Zofloya. Zofloya tells Victoria that "to remedy an evil, it is necessary to strike at the root. Nothing is to be gained by lopping the branches which arise therefrom" (Dacre 161). And yet the narrator asserts from the beginning that Victoria's mind is overgrown with haughtiness, cruelty, and implacability (Dacre 49).

Like looking at the beautiful garden but being unable to enter it without corrupting it, Victoria is too distanced from the archetype to have enough access to strike at its roots. Instead, she futilely attempts to hack at its overgrown branches by violently murdering Lilla: "Victoria, no longer mistress of her actions, nor desiring to be so, seized by her streaming tresses the fragile Lilla, and held her back.—With her poignard she stabbed her in the bosom, in the shoulder, and other parts . . . she covered her fairy body with innumerable wounds, then dashed her headlong over the edge of the stoop" (Dacre 220). Even after multiple stabbings and heaving her body over a cliff, Lilla will not completely die. Instead, her apparition pursues Victoria "at every turn" (Dacre 221). Even the most violent death cannot erase Lilla because she is a representation like the Antiope archetype, or the "puppet . . . [that] hast already done [Victoria] more ill than the sacrifice of thy worthless life can repay" (Dacre 219). She is embedded in Victoria's mind. While others in the novel—the Marchese who wants her to be like a deity and replace Laurina, Ardolph who imprisons her at Signora di Modena's home in order to teach her piety, and Berenza who works to "new model" her (Dacre 92) into the old model of the Antiope archetype—attempt to possess her, Zofloya is the only one who completely masters her because he enters through her mind instead of her body. Because he both appears different (as described in the novel) and is different (as Satan), he, like Victoria, is an outsider looking-in and, therefore, is best positioned to not only become Victoria's master but to completely possess her. Like his instructions on how to best poison Berenza, his mastery is slow and not easily detected. At first, Zofloya approaches Victoria through her dreams, and then presents her with a rose in his servant form. As she becomes increasingly more dependent on him for his advice, he forces her to come to him: "the cool and haughty conduct of Zofloya, who, instead of proceeding rapidly to meet her, had contented himself with awaiting her arrival at the spot where he stood" (Dacre 171). By slowly repositioning himself, her "fierté" (Dacre 90) diminishes until "her proud rage subsided, her eyes were cast on the earth and she trembled at what she had suffered to escape her lips" (Dacre 176). Zofloya masters her from the inside-out so that Victoria can no longer speak for herself. Therefore, Victoria has already become his slave even before he reminds her that "independently of me, though canst not even breathe" (Dacre 221). Like Minerva as Mentor, appearance disguises actual truth. Consequently, as Zofloya warned, murdering Lilla does not eliminate Lilla; instead it only serves to remind Victoria that she is inescapably enslaved by representation.

Ultimately, then, the eighteenth century model of virtue is both unattainable and irrevocable because it is constructed as a mythical binary without access to the root. In *The Adventures of Telemachus*, Antiope follows the prescribed model, suppressing desire and relying on male reason. Her semblance of power resides in the private domestic sphere, but she must appear submissive in order to enact this "power." Moreover, since she is modeled from Minerva, she is a representation and not an actual truth. Therefore, it seems appropriate to challenge this inherently flawed archetype; but, as Victoria in Zofloya reveals, it is impossible to escape its influence. In "Domesticity and the Female Demon in Charlotte Dacre's *Zofloya* and Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*," Jennifer Beauvais argues that "domestication is [Victoria's] undoing." But, clearly, she was undone from the beginning. She can only perform but cannot enact the archetype because she does not look like Lilla (or Antiope), and she cannot become the anti-archetype because, as a woman, the archetype lives within her and, despite her efforts, will not die. Thus,

because she is incapable of possessing her own head, she must become a slave of man's reason and, as Roulston describes, progressively recede into "a space so private that it is no longer representable in language or recuperable through the gaze mark[ing] a final inversion as well as a logical extension" (136). Significantly, Zofloya concludes, "'thou, in reality, [are] mine already'" (Dacre 234). Like Eve in *Paradise Lost*, Victoria was always destined to fall. Her objectification complete, she becomes so diminutive that it only takes one push to "[whirl] her headlong down the dreadful abyss" (Dacre 254). She is and always has been positioned like Antiope—at the mercy of Telemachus and the boar—or, more specifically, looking up from the depths of an abyss.

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Reversion

What I don't understand
Is why you let me brand
Your silence with signs
Of Babelian mimes.

What I couldn't reason
Was your preference for season
That stopped you from burying
The love-laden corpse.

—*Shreya Bose*

Margery Kempe, Christian Materiality, and the Holy Body

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The Booke of Margery Kempe **i**s autobiographical in nature insomuch as Margery Kempe details her mystical experiences via her life. In other words, Margery uses her life and the world in which she lives to make sense of the mystical visions that she receives from God. It is for this reason that readers of Margery both praise and critique her. On the one hand, she is hailed for composing the first autobiography in the English language, but on the other, the content of her Book is more often than not questioned for its validity. Because Margery situates her mystical experiences in a very material world, scholars of mysticism devalue her experiences, as if to say, "No self-respecting mystic would frame her mystical experiences that way – it simply would not do." Mysticism and the material world, apparently, are contradictory if we are to believe these scholars. It is not my prerogative to question the assumptions of these scholars

concerning Margery's validity as a mystic; rather, I would have us reevaluate Margery's experiences as seen in her *Booke* through her own cultural lens. Margery, as a member of Lynn's Middle Class and a former businesswoman herself, lived in a material world that had begun to assign value (outside of use-value) to material objects. She lived in the protocapitalist later Middle Ages[1] when the mercantile class began to flourish. It is interesting to note that the class of which Margery is a part is participating in a type of reading (interpreting) akin to the reading of material objects as holy. Instead of reading material objects as holy, the merchant class began to read material objects as having intrinsic worth outside of their use, which necessitated the epitome of reading worth onto something otherwise worthless: money. It is not my aim to digress into a discussion of money and value, but it is useful to consider this change occurring in a culture that had already been accustomed to reading spiritual meaning onto objects that exhibited no spiritual worth or characteristics in and of themselves. Margery, then, is doubly prone to reading objects for meaning that is not intrinsic as she is both a Christian and a member of the merchant class. It is this position that informs Margery's mysticism in a way so unlike other mystics. To attempt to recover this perspective, I will discuss Christian materiality[2] and how this materiality informs Margery's conception of herself as a mystic. The very materiality of Margery's visions is what makes them unique (and perhaps questionable to critics of more "traditional" mysticism); moreover, it is only in materiality that Margery's visions may be made known to those around her and, through her text, to her reader. Margery, I believe, fashions her body and her visions through her body in such a way to engage the tradition of Christian materiality. Thus, she poses herself as a "living relic"; her contact with Christ through her visions authorizes her body as such in this tradition. In this study, I consider how Margery's fashioning of her body in her *Book* represents this authorization and how her own anxieties of materiality – her body and her world – complicate her ability to fashion her body thus. To do so, I will discuss Christian materiality and its relation to the body, Margery's expression of her body through her clothing and tears, and Margery's positioning of her body as an holy object in relation to other holy objects.

I. Christian Materiality and the Body

Material objects surrounded people of the Middle Ages much in the same way that they surround us today. Additionally, these material objects often took on a symbolic meaning of one sort of of another. In a world that looked to the next life as the release of one's burden or as the paradise to the earthly toil that one endured, the issue of how to connect this world to the next was undoubtedly of constant concern for both religious authorities and laypeople. In other words, the problem of how to realize a spirituality (that often rejects the body) in a world of materiality seems to have been solved by imbuing certain material objects with spiritual meaning. A material object that belonged to or came into contact with a person of renowned holiness became a symbolic representation of that person; however, this practice seems to have led, as it often does, to making the symbolic representation holy in and of itself. (In other words, the signifier is granted the same status as the signified when they clearly are not equal.) What is more, who decides (or, perhaps rather, who proves) what constitutes a holy

1 See Aers, David. *Community, Gender, and Individual Identity: English Writing 1360-1430*. New York: Routledge, 1988. Print.

2 My conception of this term is that of Caroline Walker Bynum's as presented in her latest work, *Christian Materiality*.

object only grew more muddied as the Middle Ages progressed. The Church eventually attempts to reign in what material objects may be deigned holy – relics, as it were. The problem remains, though, that laypeople had already learned to read material objects as symbolic representations of spiritual power, and once this way of reading had begun, it seems that the Church had only ineffective reactionary measures to attempt to mediate it.

The crux of the of issue of holy matter seems to be how matter becomes holy matter; in other words, it is a question of both reading and authorization. Caroline Bynum Walker discusses the difficulty of authorization in regard to holy matter:

> [I]t was almost impossible for church leaders and theologians to avoid the issue of holy matter. The transformed statues, chalices, wafers, cloths, relics, and even mounds of earth to which the faithful made pilgrimage in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries presented a challenge that was theoretical as well as practical for a religion that held that the entire material world was created by and and could therefore manifest God. Secondly – and ironically – Cusanus's[3] approval of supposedly transformed objects rested on the claim to miraculous changelessness: the hosts' supposed resistance the natural processes of decay and fragmentation. Issues of how matter behaved, both ordinarily and miraculously, when in contact with an infinitely powerful and ultimately unknowable God were key to devotion and theology. The God who lay beyond the world in unimaginable and unanalyzable darkness or light was also a God to whom substance (in the Eucharist) and even whose particles (in blood relics) might be present on earth. (Bynum *Christian Materiality* 17)

3 Nicholas of Cusa, a papal legate (Bynum *Christian Materiality* 15).

God's presence on earth in material objects seems to be determined by the transformation of these objects. In other words, for an object to be authorized as holy matter, it must display something out of the ordinary – it cannot simply retain the characteristics of the material(s) of which it is made. Authorization of matter as holy rests in the reading of this matter. When we think of reading, we normally understand this skill as the ability to read the written word, but I want to broaden our conception of reading for the purposes of the study at hand to include reading objects. Immediately, one hopes, we realize the problem of determining (reading) what an object means. The written word is infinitely more precise in meaning than an object. We could bicker for hours on end to determine what "the" really means, but let it suffice to say that we agree, grammatically, that it is an article. Unlike the written word, however, we do not necessarily have agreed upon meanings for objects. Moreover, after people learn to interpret objects on their own, the possibility of imposing an authoritative meaning becomes rather difficult if not impossible. Objects were able to be read by people in the Middle Ages as holy without requiring any authority to tell them it was so or how it was so. The very material itself became holy, indicated an other-worldliness that people read as a means to interact with the other world – heaven. Many men and women may not have been capable (or allowed) to read and to interpret the Bible for themselves, but they were more than capable of interpreting objects to be holy in one way or another.

Before approaching Margery and her *Booke,* I would like to further investigate what Caroline Walker Bynum terms "Christian Materiality" in relation to reading. Although

in our current age we are a culture of concrete categories, the same cannot be said of the Middle Ages – especially the later Middle Ages. Where we are wont to categorize every thing as either/or, in the Middle Ages we would do well to remember that many things (experiences, objects, etc.) were both/and/and/etc. Bynum discusses such categorization:

> In contrast to the modern tendency to draw sharp distinctions between animal, vegetable, and mineral or between animate and inanimate, the natural philosophers of the Middle Ages understood matter as the locus of generation and corruption. Although questions of the difference between living and nonliving and worries about decay and dissolution were common, the basic way of describing matter – the default language, so to speak, into which theorists tended to slip – was to see it as organic, fertile, and in some sense alive. (*Christian Materiality* 30)

This flexibility of categories makes reading an interesting task for the observer. Because an object may be one thing and also another, the interpretive power of the viewer is enhanced – the meaning of an object, ultimately, seems to lie with the person who reads it. Authorization of matter as holy or not holy becomes especially vexed when we consider this dynamic of reading. Margery Kempe seems to work within this flexibility of reading and the difficulty of authorization in the way she fashions her body in her Book. Margery fashions her body within the framework of Christian materiality so that she may take advantage of this tenuous relationship of reading and authorization. Although she was formerly businesswoman and proud member of the upper class of Lynn, she refashions her body as mystic body – what I will come to call a holy body.

She manifests this inward change by changing her clothing – in other words, *she draws attention to the very materiality of her body to show her detractors that she has become something else***.** Bynum notes the need for matter (bodies) to physically transform to be considered holy (*Christian Materiality* 32), and Margery achieves this transformation in her body's presentation through materialities.

II. Clothing and Tears

Clothing functions in a number of ways for Margery. Initially, her clothing depicts her class and her position within that class to those around her in Lynn. Margery notes that despite her vision she did not immediately change her clothing. Her clothing up and to the point of her vision was her way of fashioning her body to represent her position within the town of Lynn:

> Neuyr-þe-lesse, sche wold not leeuyn hir pride ne hir pompows aray þat sche had vysd be-for-tym, neiþyr for hyr husbond ne for noon oþer mannys cownsel. And ȝet sche wyst ful wel þat men seyden hir ful mech velany, for sche weryd gold pypys on hir hevyd & hir hodys wyth þe typpetys were daggyd. Hir clokys also wer daggyd & leyd wyth dyuers colowrs be-twen þe daggys þat it schuld be þe mor staryng to mennys sygth and hir-self þe mor ben worshepd. (Kempe 9)

Margery's emphasis on her fashion in fashioning her body is important because it signals to her reader that she understands her body as a way for others to identify who she is and whence she comes. The intricate description of the jagged edges to her clothing and the

gold pipes that she wears in her hair call our attention to how she has physically marked herself as a member of the upper class in Lynn – as a distinct body from those around her. Margery appeals to this sense of differentiation again when she writes, "Sche had ful greet envye at hir neybowrs þat þei schuld ben arayd so wel as sche" (Kempe 9). In other words, Margery did not want her neighbors to be as well-dressed as she was because they, then, would seem to be fashioned better than she. Fashioning, as far as Margery is concerned at this point, relates to her elite status in the community, but as she progresses through reframing her body as a mystic's body, fashioning will become a means for her to express to the world around her that she has become a mystic.

The female body in the Middle Ages was very much a part of the material culture that surrounded it, and Margery's awareness of the power of the fashioning of her body clearly informs her attempts to fashion her body as a virgin body.[4] Karma Lochrie astutely addresses the construction of the female body:

> The body, particularly the female body, is itself a construct of science, medicine, theology, literature, education, the clothing industry, advertising, and fitness centers. Except for the last two industries, the same is true for the Middle Ages. The female body, simply put, has a history, and that history is determined by social and religious values, institutions, and patriarchal power structures. (3)

The history of the female body, then, that Margery seems to engage is the female body as a mystic body. Her understanding of this type of female body is that it must be a virgin body, but what leads her to this assessment is somewhat unclear within her text other than it is an inherited cultural tradition in the Middle Ages. Margery describes lying in bed with her husband when "sche herd a sownd of melodye so swet & delectable, hir þowt, as sche had ben in Paradyse" (Kempe 11). Her response to this melody is to renounce worldly things and to speak of bliss in Heaven, which may explain her sudden desire to become a virgin body. She notes, "And aftyr þis tyme sche had neuyr desyr to komown fleschly wyth hyre husbonde, for þe dette of matrimony was so abhominabyl to hir þat sche had leuar, hir thowt, etyn or drynkyn þe wose, þe mukke in þe chanel, þan to consentyn to any fleschly comownyng saf only for obedyens" (Kempe 11-12). Margery, here, seems intent on renouncing the flesh because it is a worldly preoccupation, but she must remain obedient to her husband as well. The "debt of matrimony," as she calls it, may refer to simply the sexual act, but I believe this terminology also gestures toward her desire to be free of matrimony – to become a virgin again – so that she may be granted intimacy with Christ.

The virgin body in the Middle Ages was a pure body. Margery's desire for this body stems from its privileged status. Cindy L. Carlson and Angela Jane Weisl discuss the uncorrupted virgin body:

> While the silencing of women through isolation is indeed a part of the history of virgins, the uncorrupted body also allows virgins (both literary and real; the saints and martyrs are matched in their verbal vigor by the female mystics who record their own experiences for posterity) to articulate themselves in ways that women inside the sexual economy of marriage cannot. (4)

Margery clearly remains within the sexual economy, which means that her body is not

4 Margery's body is never actually a *virgin* body, but she conflates the categories of chaste body and virgin body into virgin body.

pure. This lack of purity – its corruption – denies Margery the authorization to speak about her mystical experiences. As a result, Margery continually prays to be allowed to live chaste (Kempe 12). A chaste body and a virgin body are not the same, but this step is framed as a necessary step to virginity. Margery, praying to God to be allowed to be chaste, receives her wish from Christ:

> . . . Cryst seyd to hir mende, "Þow must fastyn þe Fryday boþen from mete & drynke, and þow schalt haue þi desyr er Whitsonday, for I schal sodeynly sle þin husbonde." Þan on þe Wednysday in Estern Woke, aftyr hyr husbond wold haue had knowlach of hir as he was wone be-for, & whan he gan neygh hir, sche seyd, "Ihesus, help me," & he had no power to towche hir at þat tyme in þat wyse, ne neury aftyr wyth no fleschly knowyng. (Kempe 21)

Margery's wish to be chaste has been approved by Christ; he literally stops her husband from touching her. Yet her body still is not virgin. For Margery to be fully satisfied that her chaste body is euqal to (if not the same) as a virgin body requires yet another authorization[5] by Christ.

Never does Christ tell Margery that she has become a virgin again, but he authorizes her to live chaste as she goes on pilgrimages. Margery's authorization becomes troubled when earthly authority opposes the heavenly authority of Christ in her visions. Christ commands her to dress in white: "'And, dowtyr, I sey to þe I wyl þat þu were clothys of whyte & non oþer colowr, for þu xal ben arayd aftyr my wyl'" (Kempe 32). White symbolizes chastity, and by fashioning her body in white, Margery gains the authorization

5 When I speak of Margery's authorization, I refer to the authorization of her body.

of the virgin body.[6] This authorization is problematized because Margery remains with her husband, and Margery says, "'A, der Lord, yf I go arayd on oþer maner þan oþer chast women don, I drede þat þe pepyl wyl slaw[n]dyr me'" (Kempe 32). Margery knows that she has been authorized by Christ, but others might not recognize this authorization. Christ reassures her that she shall dress in white, but Margery and her husband travel to ask Bishop Philip in Lincoln to accept their vows of chastity and to dress Margery in white only for Margery to be denied white clothing at that time (Kempe 34-35). This denial puzzles Margery because she has already been authorized by Christ; however, instead of making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem as the bishop advises (Kempe 35), Margery prays to Christ for guidance only to be authorized yet again, which leads the bishop to advise her to visit the Archbishop of Canterbury so that he might authorize this decision (Kempe 35). Margery succeeds in gaining approval from the Archbishop: "And he fond no defawt þerin but a-prevyd hir maner of leuyng & was ryght glad þat owyr mercyful Lord Cryst Ihesu schewyd swech grace in owry days, blyssed mot he be" (Kempe 37). The authorization of the Archbishop undoes the opposition of earthly authority to that of heavenly authority, and this earthly authorization is later enhanced when the anchor at Friar Preachers, too, acknowledges that Margery "wer a good woman, a louere of God, & hyly inspyred wyth þe Holy Gost" (Kempe 37).

Margery continues worrying over her authorization, believed by some and rebuked by others, until in Chapter 21 Christ speaks explicitly as to how she is as worthy as a virgin. This turn does not make Margery's body virgin, but it allows her to occupy the same category of space as a virgin according to Christ. Christ tells Margery that he loves

6 Margery's body itself cannot become a virgin body again since she has experienced both intercourse and numerous pregnancies; however, the outward fashioning of her body may frame her thus.

her as if she were a virgin, but Margery does not believe that she is worthy of the same love:

> Þan seyd þe creatur, "Lord Ihesu, þis maner of leuyng longyth to thy holy maydens." "Ȝa, dowtyr, trow þow ryght wel þat I lofe wyfes also, and specyal þo wyfys whech woldyn levyn chast, ȝyf þei mygtyn haue her wyl, & don her besynes to plesyn me as þow dost, for, þow þe state of maydenhode be more parfyte & mor holy þan þe state of wedewhode, & þe state of wedewhode mor parfyte þan þe state [of] wedlake, ȝet dowtyr I lofe þe as wel as any mayden in þe world." (Kempe 48-49)

Margery's anxiety that she cannot be loved by Christ the same as he loves maidens is assuaged when Christ tells her that he loves her despite the fact that she is living chaste while married. This authorization works to equate Margery's position with that of the virgin despite the fact that Christ does not say that she is the *same* as a virgin. She has Christ's love the same as any virgin does, which serves to authorize her worthiness to receive these visions and to interpret them. This authorization is also one of the many that Margery will use to frame herself as a holy body; moreover, it is through this authorization that Margery is allowed to dress in white and that her tears symbolize the spiritual contact of Christ with her. Margery, at this point, presents her body as authorized by Christ.

Margery pays less specific attention to her clothing after Christ has equated her to a virgin, but the places in which she does are points at which her authenticity is questioned by others as a result of their misreading of her body. Margery's lack of self-consciousness about her clothing perhaps belies her acceptance of her body as appropriate to be a mystic body, and her attention to her clothing seems now to fully depend upon those around her. She remains concerned, it seems, with how people read her appearance and her actions. Upon arriving in Rome, Margery notes she "was clas al in white liche as sche was comawndyd for to do ȝerys be-forn in hir sowle be reuelacyon," which she directly follows with an account of a priest who slandered her (Kempe 80). The proximity of her description of her dress to the details of being slandered reveal her paranoia that people accept what they see that has been authorized by the unseen – that is, Christ. Upon being advised to resume wearing black clothing by the "Duche preste" (Kempe 84), Margery (still in Rome) encounters this priest who had slandered her: ". . . he enjoyid gretly þat sche was put fro hir wille & seyd vn-to hir, 'I am glad þat ȝe gon in blak clothyng as ȝe wer wont to do." And sche seyd a-ȝen to him, "Ser, owyr Lord wer not displesyd thow I weryd whyte clothys, for he wyl þat I do so'" (Kempe 85). Again, Margery attempts to convince the priest that her clothing signifies Christ's will that she do so, but he remains unconvinced. Margery eventually resumes wearing white clothing at the command of Christ "& so weryd sche white clothys euyr aftyr" (Kempe 92). Margery's attention to clothing wanes at this point, but now I want to focus upon her attention to a second signifier of her contact with Christ – her tears – and the eventual authorization of these tears.

Margery notes numerous times that she bursts into tears thinking about Christ or seeing something that reminds her of Christ, but it is in Chapter 28 when she first sees Christ on the cross in her contemplation that she explains *why* she cries. Margery

argues that it only makes sense that she would cry when she sees people suffering because it reminds her of Christ's sacrifice on the cross, which she relates to compassion for a friend's suffering:

> How meche mor myth þei wepyn, cryen, & roryn ȝyf her most belouyd frendys wer wyth vyolens takyn in her sygth & wyth al maner of reprefe browt be-for þe juge, wrongfully condemnyd to þe deth, & namely so spyteful a deth as owr mercyful Lord suffyrd for owyr sake. How schuld þei suf[fyr y]t? No dowt but þei xulde boþe cry & rore & wrekyn hem ȝyf þei myth, & ellys men wold sey þei wer no frendys. (Kempe 70-71)

In other words, Margery justifies her crying through a compassionate guilt. She frames her outbursts of tears as something one should be expected to do when she thinks of Christ's death upon the cross. Margery's focus on Christ's suffering is typical for female mystics. Lochrie discusses how Margery's tears, like her clothing, signifies her authorization by Christ: "Through her tears, then, Kempe makes a spectacle of her reading of the body of Christ, a reading which she herself embodies and translates into *The Booke of Margery Kempe***.** It is ultimately Christ's body which authorizes and embodies her own speech" (8). Margery fashions her body and the tears from her body to act as physical signs that Christ has visited her; she both proclaims and acts the mystical experience to those around her so that they, too, may think on Christ's Passion. Lochrie agrees, writing, "Kempe's tears become a public spectacle by which others may be reminded of Christ's Passion and their own sins" (196). I will examine more of Margery's outbursts for their nature as signifiers of her connection to and authorization by Christ.

Margery continues her outbursts of tears both on pilgrimages and in churches. Such outbursts are generally viewed with annoyance by those who surround her, but in spite of this response from others, her tears continue until Christ no longer wills her to experience them.[7] Margery's outbursts themselves are spectacles, as Lochrie notes above, that draw others' attention to her, and it is in this attention that Margery begins to situate herself as a holy body, which is something that I will address in the next section of my paper. For now, Margery's tears will be further examined as bodily signifiers of her connection to Christ. In Bristol while waiting for a ship, Margery weeps and wails thinking about Christ, which leads those around her to scorn and to despise her, and she responds by seeking forgiveness from Christ on their behalf: "'Lord, as þy seydyst hangyng on þe Cros for þi crucyfyerys, "Fadyr, forȝeue hem; þei wite not what þei don," so I beseche þe, foȝeue þe pepyl al scorne & slawndrys & al þat þei han trespasyd, ȝyf it be they wille, for I haue deseruyd meche mor & meche more am I worthy'" (Kempe 107). Margery speaks to Christ after she has cried; her speech seems to be authorized through her tears. After she cries, Margery reasserts *how* her tears should be read by those around her when she expresses her intimate relationship with Christ. Margery fashions her body in a position of reception similar to that of Christ crucified to represent this relationship. That is, Margery receives the scorn of those around her, in essence, to remind the very people who scorn her of those who scorned Christ; as Christ granted his detractors forgiveness, she grants hers Christ's forgiveness.

Similar to Margery's attempts to control others' reading of her body through her

7 If I were making an argument about authenticity, I would examine the continuance of her tears despite the terrible treatment that she receives from those around her, but as I am not making such an argument, this footnote will suffice to draw one's attention to it.

dress and the tears that she sheds, Margery seems equally desirous of associating Christ's body with her body. Margery frames her body as place in which Christ's broken body may be seen: "Kempe seeks her own privileged reading of the Christic body in her visions of the Crucifixion at the same time that she longs for inscription of her own life in Christ's body and, hence, his remembrance. By reading his body into the narrative of her life, in turn, Kempe bases her text on that privileged reading of the Christic text" (Lochrie 191-92). Lochrie analyzes this turn as a means in which Margery authorizes her text, too, but I am more concerned with how Margery's reading of Christ's body is in effort to impact others' reading of her own body.[8] The tears that Margery sheds link her to Christ, which in turn validates her actions. A parson defends Margery against those around her by understanding her tears as such:

> Þan þe persun cesyd a lityl of hys prechyng & seyd to þe pepil, "Frendys, beth stille & grutchith not wyth þis woman, for iche of 3ow may synne deedly in hir & sche is nowt þe cawse but 3owr owyn demyng, for, þow þis maner of werkyng may seme boþe good & ylle, 3et awt 3e for to demyn þe best in 3owr hertys, & I dowt it not it is ryth wel. Also I dar wel say it is a ryth gracyows 3yft of God, blissed mote he be." (Kempe 165)

The parson asks the congregation to understand Margery's tears as a gift from God instead of sinning by focusing on her tears rather than the parson's sermon. It would seem that he wants the people to be moved by his words as much as Margery has been moved by them; they ought to take example from her, in other words.

This authorization from the parson functions much in the same way that the Archbishop of Canterbury earlier authorized Margery's clothing. Additional clerical authorization for Margery's tears comes from "a worschepful doctowr whech hite Maistyr Custawns" (Kempe 165) and a second doctor (Kempe 166). The attention that Margery spends upon this authorization of her tears stems from the same anxiety that she had over her authorization as a virgin and to wear white clothing. That is to say, she becomes anxious about her tears only after they are challenged by others. The people around her often scorn her for her outbursts, but when the Grey Friar will not believe that she receives her tears from God, Margery becomes especially upset (Kempe 149). Before the above authorizations from the parson and the two doctors, Margery's tears are taken away for a time, which leads her to be deemed a hypocrite by people:

> Þan meche pepil leuyd þat sche durst no lengar cryen for þe good frer prechyd so a-geyn hir & wold not suffyr hir in no maner. Þan þei heldyn hym an holy man & hir a fals feynyd ypocrite. &, as summe spoke euyl of hir aforn for sche cryed, so sum spoke now euyl of hir for sche cryid not. & so slawndir & bodily angwisch fel to hir on euery syde, & al was encresyng of hir gostly comfort. (Kempe 156)

Margery quite literally is damned if she does and damned if she does not regarding her tears. By removing the signifier of tears that Margery has caused those around her to read as her link to him, Christ causes Margery to suffer the scorn of the people, but he tells her, as usual, that her suffering makes her more loved by him (Kempe 156-57). Margery's tears eventually return, and since they are doubly authorized (spiritually and

8 By allying her body with Christ's body, Margery gestures toward her eventual posturing of herself as a holy object.

earthly), she seems to worry less about whether people will question her legitimacy. Like her waning concern for her clothing, Margery's lessening concern over her tears allows her to progress in her fashioning of her body. Now authorized, Margery is a holy body to be read by others as a way to approach Christ.

III. Margery's Body as a Holy Body

If we look at Margery's conception of the world around her as a world to be read for meaning (or for worth), I think we are able to bring interesting light to her conception of herself as a holy body – as a conduit of mysticism. In other words, Margery positions her body as an object through which Christ speaks. Unlike the relics and holy objects that so many Christians read for meaning in her culture, Margery knows that Christ has contacted her body. Thus, it is clear to her that her body is holy – is of the same category of these holy objects. Caroline Bynum Walker discusses the materiality of holy objects during the later Middle Ages:

> But the stuff of which medieval images were made was not incidental to their form or simply functional, nor indeed was it only an iconography to be decoded. The viewer cannot avoid observing the particular materials employed, and these materials have multiple meanings, again both obvious and subtle. Some are, as current slang puts it, "in your face": others need to be decoded. For example, the crystal on a reliquary was a window to look through, but it mattered that the window was crystal; it encased the bone within in the nondecayable quintessence of heaven. Thereby it not only made a statement about the status of its contents as already glorified, it also raised them to glory. Moreover, late medieval devotional images call attention to themselves not just as materials but also also as specific physical objects. (*Christian Materiality* 28)

If the materiality of things, as Bynum posits, assists in raising them to glory, does it not only make sense that Margery privileges herself as the vessel? Moreover, Margery's allying of the body (flesh) with Christ fits the Christian tradition perfectly. In other words, if God became man to die to save humankind from sin, it reasons that the human body is the most perfect object through which Christ would be found. As a result of such situating, the self-abjection that we see in many other mystics of this period is loudly absent from Margery's Book. Although one may fault her for pride, I would rather have us acknowledge that Margery understands her world – a world of material things – in the manner that Bynum gestures toward. I believe I have shown through Margery's clothing and tears that her mysticism, unlike any other mysticism, participates in the materiality of the world – a materiality that ironically is the only means possible for mysticism to express itself in the mystic herself and, especially, from her outward to others.

Margery's body itself is the vehicle for mystic expression in her Book. Bynum notes, "materials that had been touched to holy objects were thought to have become that with which they had made contact" (*Christian Materiality* 126). Margery's body has been touched, spiritually if not physically, by Christ through her visions, which leads her to believe that her body is a site of holiness. Her body is a type of "contact relic" (*Christian Materiality*136) as a result. Margery's body is not a relic; it remains a body. However, the category of contact relic is something to which her body belongs. Bynum discusses this

category in specific relation to Christ and Mary: "The faithful also revered contact relics of Christ and Mary (for example, pieces of Mary's mantle or straw from the manger at Bethlehem) and effluvial (that is, exuded) relics (such as Mary's milk). Indeed, associated relics were particularly important in the case of Jesus and Mary, because *their actual bodies were assumed to be unavailable***,** having been taken up into heaven" **(***Christian Materiality* 137; emphasis mine). Margery's body's association with Christ – her fashioning of her body to display Christ's contact with it – perhaps acts in a similar manner. Since Christ's body is not available to be seen by people, Margery poses her body as a site in which Christ's body may be read.

Margery's contact with Christ has been indicated through her visions and Christ's words to her, but I want to investigate two specific examples to further show Margery's "physical" contact with Christ, which allow me to situate her body within the category of contact relic that Bynum has defined: Christ's ravishing of her spirit and her marriage to Christ. Early in Margery's *Booke*, Christ ravishes her while she is praying:

> Than on a Fryday beforn Crystmes Day, as þis creatur, knelyng in a chapel of Seynt Iohn wythinne a cherch of Seynt Margrete in N., wept wondir sore, askyng mercy & forȝfnes of hir synnes & hir trespas, owyr mercyful Lord Cryst Ihesu, blyssyd mot he be, rauysched hir spyryt & seyd on-to hir: "Dowtyr, why wepyst þow so sor? I am comyn to þe, Ihesu Cryst, þat deyd on þe Crosse sufferyng byttyr peynes & passyons for þe." (Kempe 16)

The word ravish here may simply mean "To draw forcibly into or to some condition, action, etc." ("ravish, v.," def. 2c), but the word also carries the connotation of "To rape, violate (a woman)" ("ravish, v.," def. 5b). Clearly, Christ is not physically raping Margery, but the imagery of ravishment – spiritual sexual union – was not uncommon for mystics. This bodily imagery in Margery's text suggests spiritual contact with Christ in physical terms; in other words, Margery's body and Christ's body are joined for that moment of spiritual ecstasy. This joining of bodies is further elucidated when God weds Margery:

> "Dowtyr, I wil han þe weddyd to my Godhede, for I schal schewyn þe my preuyteys & my cownselys, for þu xalt wonyn wyth me wyth-owtyn ende." . . . And þan the Fadyr toke hir be þe hand in hir sowle be-for þe Sone & þe Holy Gost & þe Modyr of Ihesu and alle þe xij apostelys & Seynt Kateryn & Seynt Margarete & many oþer seyntys & holy virgynes wyth gret multitude of awngelys, seying to hir sowle, "I take þe, Margery, for my weddyd wyfe, for fayrar, for fowelar, for richar, for powerar, so þat þu be buxom & bonyr to do what I byd þe do. For, dowtyr, þer was neuyr childe so buxom to þe modyr as I xal be to þe boþe in wel & in wo, - to help þe and comfort þe. And þerto I make þe suyrte." (Kempe 86-87)

Again, it is clear that this is not a physical, earthly marriage, but the way in which Margery describes it to her reader is in the physical description of a real marriage. God not only contacts Margery, he binds himself to her in a spiritual marriage. What is more, Margery's marriage to God is a heavenly spectacle – notice all of the holy bodies in attendance to bear witness. Margery's body participates in this spiritual spectacle; thus, she uses her body in similar manners in earthly spectacles to express this union she has achieved with both Christ and God. Margery frames her holy body, then, to function

much in the same way that the holy objects she encounters throughout her pilgrimages do. She positions herself to others so that they may see her body and figuratively look upon Christ's absent body. Margery's tears and clothing are large parts in the spectacle that she creates of her body, but I now turn to her physical positioning of her body to fashion her body as a conduit of mysticism – as a conduit to Christ's body.

To act as a conduit, Margery situates her body as if it were a contact relic as I have discussed, but it is not a relic per se despite the fact that it occupies the same category within Christian materiality. Lochrie makes the distinction between the mystic's body (and its effects) and relics when she notes, "Unlike relics, which derive power from detached bodily parts, these tokens of mystical imitation are powerful in their *relationship* to the body" (40). Although she is correct insofar as the mystic's body functions differently in its nature from a relic, Lochrie neglects to account for how the mystic presents her body to those around it – to her readers. The female body occupies a unique context in this regard. Caroline Walker Bynum notes in *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, "Women more often used their ordinary experiences (of powerlessness, of service and nurturing, of disease, etc.) as symbols into which they poured ever deeper and more paradoxical meanings" (25). Margery's body, then, becomes a body that symbolizes her contact with Christ; it becomes a holy body that represents her visions in its exterior appearance and action. Margery situates her body and its actions to draw others' attention to it often on her pilgrimages when she encounters relics:

> & sche abood not long þer [Bristol] but went forth to þe Blod of Hayles, & þer was schrevyn & had lowde cryes & boystows wepyngys. & þan þe religiows men had hir in a-mongse hem & mad hir good cher, saf þei sworyn many gret othys & horryble. & sche vndyrname hem þerof aftyr þe Gospel, & þerof had þei gret wondyr. Neuyr-þe-lesse summe wer ryth wel plesyd, thankyd be God of hys goodnesse. (Kempe 110-11)

Notice that the *Blood of Hailes* that causes Margery to burst into a fit of weeping, which removes others' attention from the relic itself and places their attention upon Margery's body. As the parson notes of Margery's tears in a section I cited earlier, Margery's body here is modeling an appropriate spiritual response – she is so spiritually moved that she manifests this affect in her physical fashioning of her body to those around her. Some men who encounter her holy body react negatively, but others "had great wonder" at it. These men seem to read Margery's body as a devotional aid of sorts in this moment instead of the relic.

Margery fashions her body's actions in the manner of Christ – to reveal Christ's authorization of her body – later in her Book when she kisses lepers and when she performs a "miracle" by bringing a mad woman back to sanity. After a vision of Christ, Margery seeks permission from her confessor to kiss lepers as Christ did, and her confessor allows that she kiss female lepers. Margery comforts a particular leper: "Þerfor þe sayd creatur went to hir many tymys to comfortyn hir & preyd for hir, also ful specialy þat God xulde strength hir a-geyn hir enmye, & it is to beleuyn þat he dede so, blissyd mot he ben" (Kempe 177). By kissing and comforting this female leper, Margery brings her God's comfort. Her bodily presence symbolizes the presence of God – acts as a spiritual conduit for his grace to this forlorn woman. Similarly, when a man "schewyng tokenys

of gret heuynes" enters the church to pray, Margery approaches him to discover what ails him. His wife, after giving birth, is "owt hir mende," and he agrees to bring Margery to her. Again, we see Margery's body functioning as a holy object – as a live intercessor to God on the behalf of others:

> And þe sayd creatur preyid for þis woman euery day þat Gold xulde, ȝyf it were hys wille, restoryn hir to hir wittys a-geyn. And owr Lord answeryd in hir sowle & seyd, "Sche xulde faryn ryth wel." Þan was sche mor bolde to preyin for hir recuryng þan sche was be-forn, & iche day, wepyng & sorwyng, preyid for hir recur tyl God ȝaf hir hir witte & hir mende a-ȝen. . . . It was, as hem thowt þat knewyn it, a ryth gret myrakyl. . . . (Kempe 178)

Clearly, God is working through Margery's body in this passage. He assures her that the mad woman will be well. The people around her think that Margery has worked a miracle; rather, her holy body has represented God's working of a miracle. Both of these accounts recall Christ's own miraculous workings throughout the New Testament, but it is clear here that Margery's body is the key for these workings. Without her holy body, God would not come into physical contact with these affected women. Sarah Beckwith has discussed Margery's allying of her body with Christ's suffering (208), but what we see here is clearly Margery's body functioning, again, as a conduit of Christ.[9] Margery's holy body through its contact with God brings him to earth, and perhaps in his preservation of her body is where we best see Margery's holy body granted reliquary status.[10]

9 Margery's body not only feels Christ's suffering, but it also brings his healing powers to earth through its materiality.

10 I reiterate that Margery's body itself is not a relic, but clearly she occupies the same category, as I have already discussed. Additionally, I should note that Margery's body is preserved (meaning saved) as long as she lives; I have no way of speaking to its status after her death.

Throughout Margery's *Book***,** we see her body threatened by both pilgrims, sickness, and nature, but these threats are almost always assuaged by Christ's reassurances that she shall be well. Over and over again, Margery is abandoned by others on a pilgrimage with her, and yet God always ensures that she does not perish. A particular instance of this preservation occurs when Margery does not take the same ship that her fellowship boards and waits to take a smaller vessel later. While she waits, Margery fears for her life during a thunderstorm, upon which Christ visits her in a vision: "Þan owr Lord Ihesu Crist seyd to hir, 'Why art thow a-ferd whil I am wyth þe? I am as mythy to kepyn þe her in þe felde as in þe strengest chirche in alle þis worlde.' & aftyr þat tyme sche was not so gretly a-ferd as sche was be-forn, for euyr sche had gret trust in hys mercy, blyssed mote he be þat comfortyd hir in euery sorwe" (Kempe 101). Instead of becoming uncorruptible in death (as a relic), Margery's body is uncorruptible in life as long as Christ desires. We see Margery's faith in Christ's protection of her when the smaller vessel she boards the next day is at sea during a storm:

> And, whan þeir wer in þe lityl schip, it be-gan to waxin gret tempestys & dyrke wedyr. Þan þei cryed to God for grace & mercy, & a-non þe tempestys sesyd, & þei had fayr wedyr & seyled al þe nygth on ende & þe next day tyl evyn-song-tyme, & þan þei cam to londe. &, whan þei wer on þe londe, þe forseyd creatur fel downe on hir knes kyssyng þe grownde, hyly thankyng God þat had browt hem hom in safte. (Kempe 102)

Margery's holy body is preserved on her voyage despite the storms that the ship encounters. Margery's body as a conduit bears Christ's healing and teachings to others, but it is also

preserved through the same connection to Christ.

IV. Conclusion

Margery Kempe's body is a holy body as she presents it throughout her Book. Even though much of the action of this text occurs within Margery in visions of and interactions with Christ and God, the location of this text is clearly Margery's body. She fashions her exterior to reveal this interior in her clothing, tears, and the very positioning of her body. Margery's body is not a relic, but it is a holy body that occupies the same category within Christian materiality. As Bynum notes, "Distinctions between living and dead, body and thing, presence and mimesis, part and whole, animate and inanimate, tended to blur; all of creation could convey and reveal God" (*Christian Materiality* 267). Clearly, Margery's body participates in the blurring of these boundaries. She is both a woman of the world and a mystic, sinner and holy, sexual and chaste, orthodox and heterodox, accepted and rebuked, etc. Perhaps Margery's body fits the Christian materiality of her age so well because of its contradictory situating throughout her text. What is more, the way in which others read Margery's body is a constant preoccupation. Much like the Church's anxiety surrounding holy matter, Margery worries over others' reading (especially in denying) her holy body. Capitalizing on the flexibility of Christian materiality and of reading that allows her to authorize her body through its physical presentation, Margery attempts to control how others read her, but she ultimately is not able to convince all readers that her body is a holy body despite her efforts to frame it thus. What matters, however, is that her culture allowed her the space to fashion her body to be read in the way she intended, and I believe we cannot deny her body is a holy body from such a perspective.

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Axiom

Kindness

Museum rock.

Rusty church bell.

Muffle,

Sounds hailing arcane tomorrow,

Muffle.

We have to forget.

—Shreya Bose

Swedish Medicine
Anne Jevne 2008

Reverse Cross-dressing: Gender Roles, Disguise, and the Essential in Louisa May Alcott's Fiction

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Although cross-dressing did not exist as a concept in nineteenth-century United States, Louisa May Alcott's texts seem preoccupied with this practice. Alcott's "cross-dressing" expands upon traditional feminine to masculine cross-dressing (or vice versa) via a crossing of identities within the codes of femininity. Jean Muir, *Behind A Mask*'s scheming heroine, crosses boundaries within her gender: the pious, domestic, pure, and submissive Jean Muir disguised as a True Woman stands at one end of the feminine binary while the angry, working class Jean exists on the other (Alcott, *Behind a Mask* 11). Here, the story's emphasis on crossing, from one identity to the other, one social status to another, is supported by Jean's cross dressing. In *Behind a Mask*, cross-dressing is a tool that allows Jean to traverse literal and symbolic boundaries; she crosses class lines as well as spatial and temporal lines, the lines between invisibility and visibility, and between object and subject.

Alcott's binary treatment of femininity subverts the authenticity of prescribed gender roles, specifically feminine roles. Her True Woman/working class binary clearly presents the disguised Jean and her brand of femininity as artificial. Initially, Alcott seems to suggest that spatial proximity to Jean will allow a penetration of her disguise. It seems that if we get closer to her weary angry body, alone in her room, it will express her essential femininity. This appears to promote "essentialist" thinking which may be defined as "the belief that things have essential properties, properties that are necessary to those things"; and specifically "that there are properties essential to woman, in that any woman must necessarily have these properties to be a woman at all" (Stone 4). While the clearest and most obvious statement Alcott makes within *Behind a Mask* opposes the idea that domestic and subservient femininity—the role the disguised Jean plays—is authentic, essential femininity, I will go further and investigate the instability and inconsistencies of the alleged "essential" Jean, and the unsettling of binarity itself. Beneath Alcott's patent criticism of prescribed femininity lies a much larger criticism of the notion of any essential femininity.

Pseudonymous Cross-Dressing and Alcott's Essence

Drawing upon Judith Butler's ideas, I will argue that *Behind a Mask* depicts gender as being performative rather than essential. Butler argues against the notion is essential, stating that gender comes not from our bodies, but is rather an incorporated performance of codes. Gender is created performatively "through a series of acts which are renewed, revised, and consolidated through time" in embodiment (Butler 274). Butler stresses that anguish accompanies any deviation from established gender roles, and this raises a significant and relevant point pertaining to cross-dressing; since cross-dressing is a deviation from accepted gender roles, it has the potential to cause suffering. It is logical, then, to assume that cross-dressing would be done out of necessity or from an extreme

desire for something, whether it is a desire for the social and political freedoms of a different gender, or, in the case of Louisa May Alcott, to support herself and her family.

Not only are Alcott's texts are brimming with crossings, but she herself also experimented with a variety of pseudonymous cross-dressing. Alcott's most recognizable cross-dressing occurred before the publication of *Little Women* when she published "blood and thunder" stories under the masculine pseudonym, A.M. Barnard. One of the sensational stories was *Behind a Mask*; others included "Abbot's Ghost" and *The Mysterious Key.* Letters between Alcott and her editor, James R. Elliott, show us Alcott's unwillingness to publish these "gaudy, gruesome… psychologically perceptive thrillers" under her own name (Stern xvii). In a letter on January 1, 1865, Elliott writes to Alcott that she may "send [him] anything in either sketch or Novelette line that [she] [does] not wish to "father", or that [she] wish[es] A.M. Barnard or "any other man" to be responsible for" (Stern xvii). Because Louisa May Alcott did not deem these sensational stories appropriate to "father," or to acknowledge and claim, she assumed a pseudonymous disguise. The issue of women "fathering" works of literature arises many times before Louisa May Alcott. For instance, in her poem, "The Prologue," seventeenth-century poet Anne Bradstreet writes "Who says my hand a needle better fits./ A Poet's Pen all scorn I should thus wrong,/ For such despite they cast on female wits./ If what I do prove well, it won't advance, / They'll say it's stol'n, or else it was by chance" (Bradstreet 31-36). Here, Bradstreet emphasizes the anxiety she felt, or as Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar refer to it, the "anxiety of authorship": "the association of the pen…with the phallus in metaphors of creativity has resulted in an 'anxiety of authorship' for aspiring women writers: to wield a pen is a masculine act that puts the woman at war with her body and her culture" (Friedman 49). It is important to note that this argument seems to suggest that the "body" these authors were at war with is representative of their essential, biological femininity. In other words, this argument approaches gender in biologically deterministic fashion, asserting that these authors' modes of femininity are innate and completely determined, dictated by their biological, genetic makeup rather than by external factors such as culture. Here, Gilbert and Gubar's theory of the "anxiety of authorship" is useful, because it spotlights the salience of societal conventions. Whether or not Alcott felt anxiety or was "at war with her body and her culture," her pseudonym allowed her to maneuver around societal expectations regarding authorship. The masculine pseudonym permitted a kind of textual cross-dressing that freed her to publish stories other than those that conformed to prescribed gender roles.

Alcott's poem entitled "Sunlight," published in 1852 under the female pseudonym "Flora Fairfield," however, wholly conforms to societal gender expectations. In this poem, Alcott makes use of the same innovative form of cross-dressing Jean Muir employs, within femininity itself. This poem is published over ten years before she publishes *Behind a Mask* in 1866 and *Little Women* in 1868 (Reisen 14). Like her character, Jean Muir, Alcott constructs herself as a True Woman; she does so by using the ultra-feminine pseudonym, Flora Fairfield, denoting "flower" and "beautiful field" respectively. By using Flora Fairfield, a name suggesting a connection with nature, Alcott not only presents herself as overtly feminine, but capitalizes on the essentialist beliefs that woman are naturally closer to and more in tune with nature than men; and considering the name

of the poem, "Sunlight," the nature themed pseudonym projects an image that matches the content of the work. Alcott was not alone in employing this tactic; Sara Willis used the pseudonym "Fanny Fern" to market her domestic fiction, most famously *Ruth Hall*. These pseudonyms evoke images of gentleness and femininity, and these were exactly the images these authors were trying to sell.

Alcott's sentimental narratives (and all sentimental narratives) seem to be "an integral part of the doctrine of separate spheres" (Hendler 685). According to some critics and historians, the spheres of the masculine and feminine were rigidly divided by "separate spheres and traditional womanly domesticity" (Keyser 393). However, feminist scholarship has shown that although "the separate spheres metaphor has proven especially powerful as a way to explain the phenomenon of the nineteenth century…woman writer… it has never been clear… that these spheres actually existed in anything like a general, definitive, or… 'separate' way in nineteenth-century America" (Davidson 445). Furthermore, this "binaric version of nineteenth-century American history is ultimately unsatisfactory because it is simply too crude an instrument—too rigid and totalizing—for understanding the different, complicated ways that nineteenth-century American society or literary production functioned" (445). In actuality, white, middle-class women were all over the public sphere acting as symbols of femininity. Nineteenth-century America demanded that such women perform True Womanhood in public as we see Alcott doing with Flora Fairfield and her poem, "Sunshine." And though these separate spheres are still a plausible explanation for Alcott's cross-dressing as A.M. Barnard, and we must acknowledge that prescribed gender roles played a part, they can no longer be a "rigid and totalizing" explanation of Alcott's "two selves." This explanation of separate spheres shows us the way True Womanhood was greatly commodified; in other words, this brand of femininity was, actually, a constructed product.

Previous criticism has attempted to read Alcott's femininity, or Alcott's differing portrayals of femininity, as essential. The two critics I will focus on generally fall into two camps: one defends the truth of Alcott's domestic, sentimental side, while the other argues that Alcott's subversive and sensational angry side better reflects essential femininity. In her introduction to *Behind a Mask*, Alcott scholar Madeleine Stern insinuates that it is the work of the undisguised Alcott that best captures the essence of femininity. Stern's reactions to Alcott's switch from sensational fiction to sentimental fiction and the publication of *Little Women* suggest that this shift was a fortunate one. For Stern, this shift is a type of homecoming for Alcott. Stern sees Alcott returning to her real self. After the publication of *Little Women*, the necessity for pseudonymous cross-dressing effectively vanished for Alcott. "Under the pseudonym of A.M. Barnard [Alcott] produced her bloodiest and most thunderous thrillers," but according to Stern,

Alcott "found her style" with *Little Women*, and this niche was "too comfortable to abandon" (Stern xvii, xxvii). Here, Stern assumes Alcott found her "authentic" female voice with *Little Women*. The phrasing "found her style" suggests that this ultra-feminine, sentimental style was naturally within Alcott, waiting dormant until she came to her senses and embraced it. The niche then, if we follow this line of thinking, was especially comfortable because it was natural and essential. Although Stern's introduction to *Behind a Mask* supposedly sheds light on Alcott's "unknown thrillers" in order to provide readers

with a complete understanding of her body of work, it is apparent that Stern does not see these works as part of a continuous whole; she assumes the existence of a divide. Her introduction argues that Alcott has two distinct, mutually exclusive sides. Furthermore, Stern emphasizes that after the success of *Little Women*, Alcott "would have neither the necessity nor the time to *play* [italics added] A.M. Barnard" (xxvii). Stern's choice to use "play" betrays her assumption that Alcott is "playing" or acting, and that when she publishes under her given name, she is publishing work that is true and undisguised. Therefore, for Stern, true, essential femininity is the domestic, delicate femininity we see within *Little Women*.

Judith Fetterley represents the other critical camp. Fetterley searches for Alcott's essence in a manner similar to Stern's. But rather than claiming that *Little Women* is representative of Alcott's true style, Fetterley sees *Behind the Mask*'s raging, angry Jean Muir as the true reflection of Alcott's feminine essence. Fetterley reacts to Stern's claim, arguing that when we look at *Little Women* in light of *Behind a Mask,* "these stories… make clear… the amount of rage and intelligence Alcott had to suppress in order to attain her 'true style' and write *Little Women"* ("*Little Women:* Alcott's Civil War" 370). Fetterley goes on to describe Alcott's supposed "true style" as "tedious sentimentality" and in a separate article, argues that "to read *Little Women* without benefit of *Behind a Mask* is to misread it" ("*Little Women:* Alcott's Civil War" 371; "Impersonating 'Little Women': the radicalism of Alcott's *Behind a Mask*). Although Fetterley argues against Stern and other critics who attempted to label Alcott's sentimental fiction as "true," she cannot resist the urge she herself criticizes. Fetterley follows the model set out by Stern by merely arguing the reverse: Alcott's true style and true feminine essence can be found within her sensational fiction. For Fetterley, anger is a more pure and real state. This conceptualization of femininity is troubling because it suggests, not only that implicit in femininity is rage, but also because, while it may seem more progressive than Stern's variety of feminism, Fetterley's portrayal of femininity is still thoroughly essentialist. This reading follows Butler's model only to the point of recognizing the inauthenticity of prescribed gender roles, but conflicts with Butler by presenting sex as authentic and gendered.

Alcott's own portrayal of this search for the real/fake dichotomy is illustrated in *Little Women*. While Madeleine Stern only implies that Alcott's sentimental fiction reflects her essential femininity, the March's maid Hannah blatantly argues for this configuration with Jo. Hannah divides Jo into two separate and unequal halves as she lectures her about marriage, claiming "It's just what [Jo] need[s] to bring out the tender womanly half of [her] nature… [She] [is] like a chestnut burr, prickly outside, but silky-soft within, and a sweet kernal, if one can only get at it. Love will make [Jo] show [her] heart one day, and then the rough burr will fall off" (Alcott, *Little Women,* 355). Hannah assumes that once the disguise—in this case Jo's "prickly outside"—comes off, what is left will be her "heart" or her true feminine self.

The same search continues in Alcott's 1866 novel, *Jo's Boys*. In this novel, instead of Hannah, we see groups of fans craving a glimpse of the same Jo March, now Josephine Bhaer, successful author of what she refers to as "moral pap for the young" (40). Jo's greedy fans, "strangers… [demand] to look at her… [and] congratulate" her. All the

while, Jo begins to "resent her loss of liberty [as]…the admiring public [takes] possession of her" (24). Jo "prefer[s] the privacy of home to the pedestal upon which she [is] requested to pose" (24). The fans' impulse to search for an authentic Jo, one that meets their expectations (a girl of "sixteen…[with] hair braided in two tails down her back"), is similar to Fetterley and Stern's quest and Hannah's prescription (46). Jo's fans desire "one peep at her sanctum"; one fan exclaims "this is the spot where she wrote those sweet, those moral tales" and longs for "a morsel of paper, an old pen, a postage stamp… as a memento of this gifted woman," believing that this space will bring them closer to the "real" Jo. (47). However, when Jo's fans finally meet her, their fantasy Jo, the sixteen-year-old girl, is in actuality, a "middle-aged woman in a large checked apron" (46). The fans realize the "sad difference between real and ideal," or their constructed Jo and the actual bodily Jo that exists in the physical world (47). Alcott's use of cross-dressing, and this examination of Jo's own cross-dressing, emphasize that, although there is an apparent impulse to divide femininity into categories of real versus fake, that femininity, and gender distinctions as a whole, are *constructed* and performed rather than stable and authentic.

Complex Crossing and the Disruption of Binarity

Past criticism notes Jean Muir's use of the constructed, perfect True Woman, but before we examine Jean, it is worth exploring the supposedly undisguised women—who reflect the values Hannah and Jo's fans crave—that surround her. Critic Holly Blackford describes Jean as a character who "sinfully manipulates others with her duplicitous mask of youth and innocence" (20). While this argument denaturalizes Jean's version of True Womanhood, it does not challenge the True Woman disguises of the Alcott's other characters. Building upon Blackford's observation, I aim to denaturalize Bella and Lucia's disguises as well, and show how they too manipulate others with their own disguises. Alcott, from the start of the novel, portrays gender as a performance of codes. This portrayal of performativity suggests, ultimately, that "gender cannot be understood as a role which either expresses or disguises an interior self" (Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution" 279)

The first example of "duplicitous" gender performance can be found within the first page of the text. Here, Jean arrives and meets the Coventrys, the family for whom she will be working. The family consists of Mrs. Coventry, Bella, Lucia, Gerald, and Edward. Immediately, Alcott presents Bella as the ideal True Woman with whom we are to compare Jean. Bella, Mrs. Coventry's "pretty daughter… hover[s] about her with affectionate solicitude" (Alcott 3). A more transparent performance of femininity is that of Lucia, who "soften[s] [her] voice and eyes," and "chafes her hands" helplessly (18, 7). Lucia knits and "[bends] over her tapestry work" because, as Bradstreet would have it, her "hand a needle…fits," and through all of this, creates a seemingly solid image of femininity and domesticity (Alcott 3, Bradstreet 31). Alcott uses this image to illustrate the gender performances of other characters, aside from Jean, within *Behind a Mask*, and highlights that they also "[receive] gender norms… and [idiosyncratically] reproduce… them anew" (Butler, "Variations on Sex and Gender" 26).

Jean's cross-dressing, or her application of "pink [to] her face," the addition of "several

pearly teeth" to her mouth, and the assuming of a certain expression, is a definite disguise, but also, it sounds very much like the routine of many women getting dressed in the morning (Alcott 11-12). Jean is, in actuality, merely making herself up into a form that is appropriate and presentable to her audience. She is performing conventional femininity to "[comply] with social expectations" (Butler 278). We deem Jean's addition of makeup and false teeth disguise because we know she has an agenda, and because she is overtly crossing from one form of femininity to another. But we must also be aware that we do not know the agendas of the other "disguised" women in the story. Because we never see behind their masks, their makeup, and their pleasant expressions, the assumption is that Jean's performance is the only one; but we must recognize the performances of those around her. Here it is important to note that if we were to ignore Jean completely, we might nevertheless find Alcott subverting her readers' assumptions about essential gender identities through the performances of her other characters, whether it be Lucia consciously corporealizing gender or Bella's unconscious performance.

Jean's disguise as a perfect True Woman that has drawn the most critical attention. However, if we focus only on the surface of this disguise, and this side of Jean, we oversimplify the complex form of "crossing" Alcott constructs in *Behind a Mask* as well overlook the lengths she goes to in order to reveal that the undisguised, "other" Jean is not stable, authentic, or essential either. Alcott uses essentialist beliefs about women's "natural" traits to construct the cross-dressing with *Behind a Mask*. She experiments with the trope of the "fallen woman," one who has supposedly deviated from her natural, chaste role, but whereas traditionally, the fallen woman either dies or repents, Alcott shows one who has survived her fall. Jean Muir's cross-dressing differs from the traditional cross-dressing because she cross-dresses within one gender. There are similarities between Alcott's created form and the traditional male/female form. For example, traditionally a cross from feminine to masculine is motivated by the desire for a greater degree of power and freedom. Similarly, Jean crosses to gain power, or more specifically for the financial power to survive. However, here the gendered logic of power is reversed: it is the undisguised Jean whose traits are more typically masculine, and the typically feminine traits allow Jean to wield power analogous to the power Alcott gained by way of her pseudonymous cross-dressing, Flora Fairfield. Because, in Jean's world, to be a fallen woman is analogous to being dead, and to be a True Woman potentially permits Jean privilege through a marriage into a higher class, she cross-dresses.

The form of "cross-dressing" Alcott constructs within *Behind a Mask* is not simply an inversion of Stern's insinuation that essential femininity is the femininity of the True Woman; the complexity of Jean's cross-dressing, her multiple crossings, draw attention to the intricacies of gender performance, troubling binarity, and ultimately, exposing Jean's lack of stable, essential femininity. This cross-dressing allows Jean to cross a variety of lines: lines dividing age, space and class which are inextricably linked in this novel, as well as the line between object and subject, and invisibility and visibility. The most obvious line is that between classes and classed spaces. Jean's cross-dressing allows her to traverse the line between the working class and the upper class and into the spaces of the wealthy. Here, the feminist sociological theory of intersectionality is helpful in understanding the complexities of the oppression Jean faces. Intersectionality "is a particular way of

understanding social location in terms of crisscross systems of oppression… claiming that systems of race, social class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, and age form mutually constructing features of social organization" (Collins 7). The complexity of the crossing Alcott constructs with Jean seems to function as a vehicle for subverting these systems of oppression.

The first step in Jean's subversive cross-dressing enables her to cross lines of age. She transforms from "a woman of thirty at least," to a girl of nineteen (12). This crossing aids Jean in the clearing of the boundary between invisibility and visibility. Her status as a thirty-year-old, unmarried woman of the lower classes does not allow her the visibility she needs in order to climb the class ladder. Sir Coventry, Jean's future husband, notices her while she is cross-dressed, and this is her ticket to the upper class. This component of crossing parallels Alcott's own pseudonymous crossing into the hyper-feminine femininity with Flora Fairfield. However, the crossing is inverted here: Jean constructs and markets her femininity in private rather than public. The visibility Jean gains allows her to go from object, someone who is acted upon and "kept out of the way," to someone who acts upon others (100). Visibility is crucial to this crossing, because before Jean can cross into the role of the subject, she must visually objectify herself. Similar to Fanny Fern's marketable construction of a feminine, domestic image, Jean sells herself as a visible, domestic object. After her self-objectification, she is a suitable object for the male gaze, and "shows how an object of the gaze can manipulate…and control…her employers" (Chapman 40). The intersection of these crossings allows Jean the ultimate crossing of class lines. This class crossing results in the crossing of one more kind of line: the spatial line. Jean crosses into

spaces of affluence; in the beginning, "no carriage is sent for [her]," but by the end, Sir Coventry is calling for, Jean's, or "Lady Coventry's [own] carriage" (98, 104). Moreover, Jean goes from the room allotted to her as governess to her own "stately old place" with "spacious rooms, liveried servants, and every luxury" (13).

Aside from overlooking the intricacies of Jean's crossing, when we focus primarily on Jean's perfect True Woman costume, we neglect to perceive the instability of the "other" Jean. Recognizing this instability disrupts the binaries within the text, exposing Alcott undermining beliefs about the private Jean's essential femininity. Despite Alcott's seemingly straightforward exhibition of the uncostumed Jean, a comparison of her language when describing the costumed Jean and the uncostumed Jean spotlights an unclear divide. One of the most widely used devices within *Behind a Mask* is Alcott's use of the binary of hot and cold. Through this language, Alcott unmasks her own narrator, exposing her as confused and unreliable. Throughout the novel, Jean Muir employs hot and cold language to manipulate Coventry. She describes Lucia, claiming that "Under the ice [she] see[s] fire, and warn[s] [Coventry] to beware lest it prove a volcano" (56). Jean uses this metaphor to establish a pattern for heat and cold that she hopes will be applied to her. Coventry replies, "You are right! I am not what I seem, and my indolent indifference is but the mask under which I conceal my real self" (56). Here, Alcott seems to be drawing attention to the naiveté of this simplistic understanding of disguise. Jean effortlessly tricks the naïve Coventry, but Coventry is not the only one who is misled by fire and ice language; Jean tricks the reader, and also the narrator.

The narrator tells us that Jean sits, "sometimes lifting the glass to her lips as if the

fiery draught warmed her cold blood" (12). Here, Alcott programs the reader to believe this equation: warmth masks cold. Although Jean's warning to Coventry about Lucia suggests the opposite, that coolness masks warmth, it establishes the same pattern that maintains that beneath the performance of either warmth or coolness lurks the opposite, and that this opposite is truth. From this point, we believe that Jean is, beneath her disguise, cold. Alcott presents this phenomenon as a kind of equation in order to present Jean's disguise as mathematical: Jean in disguise minus disguise brings us directly to the real, essential Jean. This equation, however, is a red herring; throughout the rest of the book, the narrator seemingly loses track of which Jean it describes.

At times in the book, we see the narrative holding to the pattern it initially establishes. For example, the narrator tells us that Jean "burst[s] out impetuously, and [stands] there with a sudden fire in her eyes, sudden warmth and spirit in her face" (56). This outburst reinforces our belief that part of Jean's disguise is her warmth. Furthermore, a paragraph before we see Jean unmasked, the narrator makes another fiery reference to Jean: "the pale, patient face… kindled with… sudden fire" (11). Despite these references that hold to the pattern, predictably, the narrator eventually becomes confused and is unable to tell the real Jean from the supposed disguised Jean. At the moments of confusion, we begin to see cold language used to describe the costumed Jean. For instance, the narrative confusion , which occurs when "Jean Muir turn[s] around on the music stool…with a cold keen glance" (34), occurs again in a discussion between Jean and Coventry: "She sighed and walked on… coldly," and again in references to Jean's assumed healing hands which are cold to the touch. Alcott uses this confusion to cause questions in the reader

about Jean's identity. The narrative trains the reader to associate certain words with the disguised Jean and certain words with authentic Jean, and then purposely scrambles those associations, leaving us uncertain about the previously established divide between authentic and artificial.

The most veiled, and perhaps most significant identity confusion within *Behind a Mask* is not the narrator's confusion, but Jean Muir's. Just as the narrator loses track of which Jean is hot, or warm, and which Jean is cold, Jean herself appears to lose track of the role she is playing. The main way we can see Jean's confusion is through her eyes. Just as the book establishes a pattern for the hot/cold theme, it sets out examples of Jean's eyes in the beginning of the text. Just as we initially associate warmth with Jean's disguise and cold with Jean's real self, Alcott creates an up/down binary, programming us to connect downcast eyes with Jean's submissive alter and direct, seeing eyes with the alleged real Jean. This device is especially powerful when we consider that Alcott attempts to fool us into thinking that we *see* behind Jean's mask, thereby reiterating the already established link between the real Jean and the idea of sight.

Jean cross-dresses as a True Woman, and sight plays an important role in the ideology of the True Woman. The cult of True Womanhood stressed that a woman should be submissive, and averted eyes signify submission. Critics have noted the importance of Jean's eyes: Mary Chapman suggests that Jean manipulates the "male gaze" with her eyes, dropping them "as if to create herself as an object of desire" (39). This holds true at the beginning of the story, but not toward the end, when, as we will see, Jean confuses her performances. When Jean enters the story, she meets the Coventrys and then "her eyes

[fall]" (Alcott 8). Later, Jean sits with "sunshine glinting on her yellow hair, delicate face, and downcast eyes" (14). Jean reassures that "no apology is needed" for the lack of a carriage, and then she "meekly [sits] down without lifting her eyes" (9). We learn later in Jean's letter to her friend Hortense that she is angry that "no carriage was sent for [her]" and that she "intends to atone for rudeness by-and-by" (98). This affirms the reader's impulse to equate downcast eyes with disguise. Jean's tears during her recital present a less obvious example of this pattern: "With the same meek obedience Miss Muir complied and began a little Scotch melody, so sweet, so sad, that the girl's eyes filled" (7). Jean allows the Coventrys to see her eyes at this moment, but they are veiled with tears. The tears function as a sort of disguise. They shield her eyes and allow Jean to once again play into the fragile, feminine role she knows will appeal to the Coventrys.

In the same scene where Alcott falsely reveals Jean as "cold," suggesting to the reader that coldness is an essential trait of the authentic Jean, and then later destabilizes the assumptions she herself plants, she also suggests to the reader that the authentic Jean, the Jean behind the mask of True Womanhood, allows her eyes to see. The authentic Jean does not avert her gaze, but instead allows "her quick eyes to examine every corner of the room" (11). Furthermore, when alone, Jean "[stands] a moment motionless, with an expression of almost fierce disdain on her face, [and] then [shakes] her clenched hand as if menacing some unseen enemy" (11). Alcott leads us to believe that Jean faces, or meets the eyes, of her enemies only when they are not there. If Jean's eyes are "the windows to her soul," a cliché Alcott seems to be intentionally invoking, it seems logical that in order to sustain her disguise, she would hide them. And since we are initially set up to believe that Jean's soul shows through her eyes, and that she shows her eyes only in her "weary, hard, [and] bitter" manifestation, we believe that it is this manifestation that is true.

Our initial belief that Jean's eyes will reveal her fundamental nature begin to crumble when we see Alcott veering from the pattern we see at the beginning of the story. While disguised, Jean begins to make eye contact. Jean "look[s] up at Coventry with confiding eyes" (57). Later, she again "look[s] up at him with grateful eyes" (76). But it is not just with Coventry that Jean makes eye contact. While Jean is with the family, her "eyes [go] from one face to the other" and "smile shyly" (36, 41). Here, Alcott disrupts another binary and unsettles our assumptions and weakens the case for a real Jean. Jean's survival depends on her ability to manipulate the Coventrys; and if Jean reveals her "true" self through her eyes, but then fails to shield her eyes from the Coventrys throughout the story, then the angry essence we assume she is masking, which we are lead to believe is unacceptable, does not seem to be her essence at all.

Space and Shifting Bodies

Behind a Mask: the title alone provides a framework, or a logic, that indicates that space, bodies, and meaning are connected. Bodies, as we have seen above with Jean's eyes, figure prominently into *Behind a Mask.* And in *Behind a Mask,* as well as *Little Women* and *Jo's Boys*, Alcott explores conceptions of authentic, essential femininity in terms of space and distance from the body. As a hook, Alcott allows us closer and closer to Jo's body, and this closeness allows us to penetrate her "prickly outside" and reach her "heart,"

or her essence. Ultimately, she indicates that there is no essence there. What Alcott more subtly explores with Jo, she blatantly dramatizes with Jean Muir, but in the reverse; we feel closest to Jean's essence when her True Woman disguise comes off and we are in her room, close to her relatively unconcealed body. Like Judith Fetterley's take on Alcott, we initially assume that the essential Jean is the anger and rage we see expressed by her body once we have worked through her disguise. But I suggest we use both Alcott's history with disguise via pseudonyms and the subsequent reading of Jo March/Bhaer to explore gender and space within *Behind a Mask*; through this section, I will trace the ways Alcott troubles our initial assumptions about Jean's authenticity and subverts essentialist ideas about gender by showing the way Jean is not "simply a body," but instead "does [her] body" albeit "differently from [her] contemporaries" (Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution" 272).

The first time we as readers are away from the other characters, with Jean, Alcott positions us in her space, *Behind A Mask*'s version of Jo's "sanctum." We feel, in a spatial sense, intimately close to Jean's body. But by the end of the scene, we learn that there is no essence expressed by this body. Alcott compounds this impression of closeness by exposing us to Jean's unmasking, and this exposure brings us even closer to Jean's physical body; it initially seems, like it does to the fans in Jo's boys, that close proximity to a body reveals that body's essence, in this case, the raw, angry essence of Jean's femininity. The narrator pushes us toward this line of thinking, telling us: "When alone, Miss Muir's conduct was decidedly peculiar" (11). The use of "peculiar" suggests that there is something strange and unacceptable in Jean that she allows to appear only when she is not being watched. Alcott expands upon the meaning of "peculiar" by continuing to allow us to watch Jean, voyeuristically, as the layers of disguise come off. Behind her mask, Jean stands with "an expression of almost fierce disdain on her face" and shakes her "clenched hand as if menacing some unseen enemy" (11). The peculiarity of Jean seems to be that, at the root, her elemental femininity is disdainful, menacing, and angry rather than the socially acceptable gentle femininity we see with Jo. As Alcott continues, her language, initially, seems to confirm the existence of the transformation we think we have observed: "slipping off her dress [Jean] appeared herself indeed, a haggard, worn, and moody woman of thirty at least… the metamorphosis was wonderful" (12). But, if we closely examine the narrator's language, the pronouncement loses its original force. First, "metamorphosis" does not actually suggest a transformation from fake to real; rather it signifies a transformation from one form to another. The second point of interest is the narrator's use of the word "appeared." If the narrator chose to use "was" instead of "appeared," her claim for this Jean's authenticity would be more convincing because it would seem then that the narrator's claim was based on more than one sense. Here it is important to note that she uses "appeared"; her claim relies on our trust that what the narrator sees must be truth, a trust, I will argue below, that proves false, highlighting the disparity between being and seeing, and the mutable nature of what actually exists behind the mask.

Jean's body, the supposed static origin of her femininity the narrator describes, is actually constantly shifting. The most conspicuous instance of this corporeal change appears toward the end of the story when Sir John returns to the station. Jean awaits him

there, worrying that Edward, who has learned of her deceit, will reveal her secret to Sir John. In her stress, Jean briefly slips out of character and allows her genuine fear to show. But then the narrator informs us that "Jean was soon herself again" (71). In this instance, though, as opposed to the aforementioned use of "herself" to denote an unmasked Jean, here "herself" refers to the "disguised" Jean. This blatant confusion is the culmination of smaller inconsistencies, which revolve around Jean's body, throughout the text. When we first meet Jean she is "pale-faced…[and] colorless…with yellow hair, gray eyes, and sharply cut, irregular… features…not an attractive woman" (6). Jean is plain and unattractive here, but later these descriptions change. Later, Jean's face is "delicate" rather than sharp, with "color dyed…cheeks" rather than pale-faced (14, 29). Rather than the early Jean's yellow hair, she is now crowned with "golden hair [in]… loose curls" (71). Jean's eyes are "bright and beautiful" rather than grey, and she is no longer unattractive, but "sternly beautiful" (16, 51). Here, Alcott stresses the volatility of the supposedly immutable body, thus highlighting the non-essential nature of bodies.

Throughout the novel, Alcott brings us close to Jean's body, and then takes us away again. In regards to Jean's body, in its disguised, True Woman form, Judith Fetterley asserts that her "carefully selected self-presentation reveals the degree to which the posture of victim is a cultural turn-on" ("Impersonating 'Little Women': the radicalism of Alcott's *Beh*ind *a Mask"* 8-9). This portrayal of the victim, Fetterley argues, "clearly requires an extraordinary level of consciousness" and as a result "any illusion of its being *natural* expression of *essential* femininity is exploded" (3). The gist of Fetterley's argument seems to be that while Jean's self-conscious victimhood is not essential, her angry, haggard victimhood *is*. It is exactly this victimization that Alcott reveals to us through our closeness to Jean's body. Fetterley's assertion that victimization, which we see reflected in Jean's body, is femininity in its "natural" form is inconsistent with the actual textual implications.

Neither Jean's conscious performance of suffering, nor her genuine suffering revealed to us through her body, lay bare her pure essence, suggesting that, for Alcott, "there is no 'essence' that gender expresses… because gender is not a fact" (Butler 273). The lengths to which Alcott goes to disrupt binaries—hot/cold and up/down—and the varying descriptions of Jean's body actually, to use Fetterley's language, expose essential, natural femininity as an *illusion*, and not even a stable one. Jean's body *never* expresses an innate, fixed femininity, because it is constantly shifting. This corporeal mutability highlights not only non-essential nature of bodies, but the performativity of gender: Jean's femininity is expressed through an embodied performance of codes. To read *Behind a Mask* as a mere criticism of traditional femininity is to simplify the implications of Jean's complex cross-dressing and to misinterpret Alcott's approach to femininity, and gender as a whole.

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Suction

You will never realise
How real you pretend to be.
Rain rejects you
Birdcall rejects you
Morning dew settles
Like droplet of lotus leaf.
Cupid's feet you fried
For your plate.
I had hence breathed you into dream.
Where you swallowed my sight
And birthed an end.

—Shreya Bose

Finders Keepers
Anne Jevne 2008

South Meets North: Snow Comedy, W.C. Fields, and the Northern Prospector

Sue Matheson, University College of the North, The Pas, Manitoba

Popularized by the publication of Darwin's *Origin of the Species* in 1859 and Mendel's treatises on genetic discreteness and inherited traits in 1865, atavism, the recurrence of a trait or characteristic typical of an ancestor, is a relatively new term in the English language. Nonetheless, by the turn of the twentieth century, North Americans had enthusiastically embraced the notion of reverting to one's ancestral type, and in popular fiction and film, one finds many throwbacks embodying the American public's nostalgia for its lost frontier. Authors, like Jack London, James Oliver Curwood, and Edgar Rice Burroughs, and Hollywood filmmakers, like Scott Sidney, David Smith, W.S. Van Dyke, Sam Newfield, and William A. Wellman, capitalized on their publics' fascination with the wilderness and respect for science directing works like *Tarzan of the Apes* (1918), *Baree, Son of Kazan* (1925), *Tarzan the Ape Man* (1932), *Northern Frontier* (1935), *Call of the Wild* (1935), and *Trails of the Wild* (1936). One of pristine wildernesses available for such stories, the Canadian North became so popular as a setting for such stories that after 1914, "the filming of authentic Canadian themes dried up": and instead, popular romances of isolation and primitivism that tapped into even more popular stereotypes and semiotics that still are deeply embedded in the American imagination and were presented by American filmmakers to American audiences—such films were set in and about a "vast, mythical region, never geographically defined" that Hollywood had "invented and called the Northwoods" (Berton 25). Two distinctive Hollywood genres took place in these "Northwoods" movies: the "woods story"—dubbed by *Photoplay* as the kind of film which "never fails to take well with the public" and the "snow story" (25). In particular, the "snow story," perpetuated the myth in "the eyes of the movie-going public [that] Canada seemed to be covered by a kind of perpetual blanket of white" (Berton 25).

Hollywood's "snow movies," like *Baree, Son of Kazan* and *Trails of the Wild*, express what E. Anthony Rotundo identifies as a middle-class phenomenon that concerned men in the late nineteenth century: during this period, "natural passions and instincts suddenly became a valued part of a man's character," Rotundo points out, "[I]n response to the notion that all males, civilized or not, shared the same primordial instincts for survival a new pattern of male behaviour arose" (40). One finds this gender ideal also transmitted in the popular literature of that period via evaluations of men according to their physical strength and energy, the view of man as the master animal who could draw on primitive instincts when reason would not work, and the popularity of the metaphor in which a man's life was a competitive struggle (Rotundo 40-41). Showcased in adventure stories published during the late nineteenth-century, for example, in the

novels of Jack London, this pattern of male behaviour was evident in popular films based on London's work and its spinoffs, the Northwoods movies of the early twentieth century.

In such movies, a primitive setting is de rigeur, because the principle of natural selection at work in the Northwoods ensures that life for all but the fittest is a Hobbesian affair: at war with Nature, the existence of the average individual is nasty, brutish, and short. As Pierre Berton notes in *Hollywood's Canada: The Americanization of Our National Image*, "Hollywood's Canada has always been a country where man-eating wolves stalked their victims through the Big Snows" (26). Highly bankable (especially before the advent of air-conditioning), the icicle-festooned summer snow release with its prowling predators, chilly crags, and blazing campfires proved itself a very attractive medium by which notions about the masculine primitive were transmitted to urban Americans atavists sweltering in the months of July during the first half of the twentieth century. The "snow movie" was especially popular in Florida, Berton says (27). Enthusiastic box office returns ensured such movies were released regularly from 1915 onwards. Among the Yukon-titled movies alone, one finds the following films about the Northwoods available: *The Trail of the Upper Yukon* (1915); *The Man from Yukon* (1916); *The Spell of the Yukon* (1916); *The Flame of the Yukon* (1917); *The Silent Lie* (1917) aka "Camille of the Yukon" - USA (reissue title); *Code of the Yukon* (1918); *The Smell of the Yukon* (1919); *The Law of the Yukon* (1920); *Perils of the Yukon* (1922) ; *North of Hudson Bay* (1923) aka "North of the Yukon" - UK ; *The Grub Stake* (1923) aka "The Golden Yukon" - USA (reissue title); *Lure of the Yukon* (1924); *Yukon Jake* (1924) aka "The Ballad of Yukon Jake" - USA (working title); *The Flame of the Yukon* (1926); *The Heart of the Yukon* (1927);

Yukon Gold (1928); *The Grip of the Yukon* (1928); *Call of the Yukon* (1938); *North of the Yukon* (1939); *Murder on the Yukon* (1940); *Yukon Flight* (1940); *Queen of the Yukon* (1940); *Yukon Patrol* (1942); *Belle of the Yukon* (1944); *Rose of the Yukon* (1949); *Trail of the Yukon* (1949); *Yukon Manhunt* (1951); *Yukon Gold* (1952); "Sergeant Preston of the Yukon" (1955); and *Yukon Vengeance* (1954).

Predictably, a sub-genre of the "snow movie" appeared in response to the popular wilderness stereotypes and clichés found in the frozen wastelands located somewhere above the 54th Parallel. The "snow comedy," satirizes the notion (well-established as popular cultural currency in the Northwoods by the early part of the twentieth century) that testing one's masculine instincts and celebrating one's masculinity in a primitive setting like the Northern Wilderness is a necessary and desirable activity. A prime example of this sub-genre, Clyde Bruckman's *The Fatal Glass of Beer* (1933) is a movie in which South meets North in such a celebration. In the ensuing culture shock that is produced, the notion that primitive masculinity is a facet of the Northwood that ought to be valued is tested and found wanting.

The Fatal Glass of Beer parodies almost every convention of the "snow movie"—from its outset and, in particular, in its setting. Burlesquing the North, snow is introduced at every possible (and impossible) point in the action. The opening shot establishes the ferocity of Mother Nature (an important Northern stereotype) during what appears to be a deadly blizzard in the Canadian wilderness. The spruce forest is almost obscured by blowing snow, and the log walls of a rustic Northern Cabin are shaken repeatedly by the snowstorm howling outside its frosted windows (and by the stagehands behind them). The freezing presence of Nature is inescapable in *The Fatal Glass of Beer*, because

snow is swirling everywhere in the North: it is snowing outside in the forest, it is snowing outside in the valley, and it is even snowing inside in the Northern Cabin. Snowflakes find their way through cracks in the cabin's walls and float lazily to its floor. Aptly, the protagonist, Mr.Snavely (W.C. Fields), a long-time resident of the North and a prospector, is introduced wearing his winter jacket, matching scarf, hat (with earflaps), boots, and outrageously oversized, wool mittens inside. Temperatures inside his Cabin are frigid indeed, for the snow inside, like that without, does not melt.

During *The Fatal Glass of Beer*, recurring reminders of the frozen North depicted as a winter hinterland lying outside the Snavely's cabin range from the ridiculous to the sublime. Buckets of snow are tossed in Mr. Snavely's face each time he enters and exits the cabin, stopping at the threshold and uttering the popular line—"It's not a fit night out for man nor beast"—a gag so successful with the "snow movie's" audiences that it was recycled in the "play-within-the play" in The Old Fashioned Way (1934). Other characters also arrive covered in snowflakes that are heaped on their hats. Piles of artificial snow spill into the Cabin via a missing window pane but do not turn into puddles of water. When Snavely looks out the missing window pane into the Yukon night, another bucket of flakes is thrown through the opening at him. Outside the cabin, there are more mounds of… snow. There could hardly be more snow, yet, when Officer Postlethewhistle of the Canadian Mounted Police (Richard Cramer) enters the cabin and brushes snow from his shoulders, Snavely asks, "Is it still snowin'?" Shedding soap flakes, Postlethewhistle cheerfully answers, "I don't know. To tell you the truth, I never looked."

Heightening the absurdity, wilderness stereotypes conveying Man's Struggle with Nature are presented in rear screen projection and do not resemble their counterparts on the soundstage. Comically mismatched, the imprecise geography of director Clyde Bruckman's Northwoods underlines just how ridiculous the atavistic fantasies of the "snow movies" are: the projected image of a wolf, for example, howls on a snow-topped mountain ridge as before the camera cuts to Snavely, a Yukon prospector, and his dog team. Snavely's wolfdogs are shown on the rear screen as Malamute huskies in harness romping through a snowy forest but appear on the soundstage as an embarrassed greyhound, a dangling dachshund, and a confused mastiff. In both shots, there is not a mountain in sight. Instead, Snavely bravely mushes his unwilling canine companions and the sled that they are pulling "over the Rim" in front of what is obviously a fenced pastureland in the foothills and on what can only be described a treadmill. Running suspended in his harness, hanging in midair between his companions, the dachshund's hind legs move furiously but cannot touch the ground. At one point, the enthusiastic but ineffective animal does manage to slide forwards and reach the treadmill with his front paws.

Later, rear screen projections of a reindeer or caribou herd running amok through snowbound tundra further parody the scant attention to verisimilitude that the B snow movie awards its subjects. After supper, Mr. Snavely picks up a large aluminum pail and announces that he is going out to milk the Elk. It is not surprising that he cannot find Lena (the Elk) even though he calls and whistles for her. Unlike domestic cows, elk do not come to be milked, and their habitat properly ends at the southern fringes of the boreal forest.

Elk, of course, do not resemble and cannot be mistaken for reindeer being heavier and taller than their cousins. As only male elk sport very differently shaped antlers that

those found adorning the heads of reindeer, one can only assume that Snavely must be near-sighted when he mistakes a horned individual as his Lena. Comically mismatched, the soundstage in which Snavely stands is sparsely populated by obviously artificial spruce trees, purporting to be a boreal forest. Snavely's Lena could not "come to Poppa" even if she had wanted to, as she and the eager elk milker are located hundreds of miles away from each other. In Bruckman's Northwoods, Snavely is doomed to disappointment and reduced to filling his bucket with ice cubes from a wooden hand pump in the snow.

Based on a temperance monologue by Charley Chase and borrowing from a live-stage satire on clichéd melodrama called "The Stolen Bonds" that W. C. Fields wrote and performed in for Earl Carroll's *Vanities* in 1928, *The Fatal Glass of Beer* parodies a standard storyline of the Yukon melodrama which celebrates the simple, primitive life found in the Northwoods: a young, virtuous man from the North, corrupted by the temptations of city life in the South, returns home and recovers his innocent, primitive nature in the pristine setting of the wilderness. Snavely succinctly sums up the binary opposition between North and South that is introduced at the beginning of *The Fatal Glass of Beer* and developed throughout most of this movie with the comment: "Once the city gets into a ba-hoy's sa-histem, he a-loses his a-hankerin', for the ca-hun-tree." Here, Snavely is speaking from sad experience, for the urban adventures of his son, Chester, played by George Chandler, are a case in point. His audience has already witnessed Chester's downfall and moral ruin in Southern climes. Respectably dressed in a white seersucker suit, starched collar, and boater, Chester, a clean-shaven innocent, goes to the City to seek his fortune working as a messenger boy in a bank. Tempted by his similarly well-dressed and more sophisticated companions who are college students, he learns

that the suit in the South does not always make the man. At their urging, he drinks a "fatal glass of beer" and becomes a criminal—first, by wantonly breaking a Salvation Army girl's tambourine after leaving the bar in which he took his first drink of alcohol, and, second, by stealing bonds and cash from the bank. His crimes are discovered, he is sent to jail, and he serves time for his misdemeanours. After paying his debt to society, he returns (in the same seersucker suit, starched collar, and boater in which he left the North) to the cabin of his youth to live with his mother and his father.

At first, Chester's loving and simple family appears to be overjoyed that the prodigal son, unannounced and unexpected, has come home to live with them. Both parents appear to be morally upright and ethically correct individuals. Each warns Chester not to tell the other that he had indeed stolen the bank's money if indeed he had as it would break their spouses' hearts. Ironically, however, at the conclusion of the movie, the favourite son is literally is picked up by his honest, and hard-working father and mother and heaved headfirst out of their house and into the snow—not because they discovered that he stole from his employer, but, because having renounced his evil ways, Chester has come home to them penniless.

Returning as a Christian Gentleman, Chester represents what Rotundo terms a standard of manhood that not only stressed love, kindness, and compassion as worthy attitudes for a man, but also placed a heavy emphasis on impulse control, condemning the indulgences of sex and liquor (39). Since the ideal of the Christian Gentleman maintain [s] an absolute standard in the controlling of dangerous impulses (Rotundo 39), it comes as no surprise tht Chester throws away the tainted money he has embezzled before returning home. After all, "a man who fail[s] to control his impulses [is] not only

headed toward eternal damnation but to eathly failure as well" (Rotundo 39). Ironically, however, the Snavely's simple-minded son does the wrong thing by doing the "right" thing: after learning that Chester has no means of support other than themselves, the "ever loving" Snavelys punish him before showing him the door. "You returned home to me and your mother to sponge off us for the rest of your life," Snavely snarls while shattering a ewer on Chester's head. Mrs. Snavely (Rosemary Theby) repeats her husband's actions breaking the ewer's matching wash basin on her son's skull. The movie's ending deftly overturns its audience's expectations, for what appears to have been a simple morality tale in which the virtuous lifestyle in a primitive North is contrasted with and triumphs over the corrupt ways of a sophisticated South reveals itself to have been social satire all along. Clearly, the interests of the pristine primitives in the Northwoods and those of the morally damaged urban dwellers in the South are the same—venal and self-serving.

Throughout *The Fatal Glass of Beer*, other stock wilderness characters of the Northwoods movies are also mercilessly lampooned: most notably, the singing Mountie. As Christopher Gittings points out in "Imaging Canada: The Singing Mountie and Other Commodifications of Nation," the Singing Mountie was a staple character found in Northwoods movies, appearing with French-Canadian lumberjacks, mad trappers, saloon girls and "Indians" in movies like *The Law of the Yukon* (1920), *Nomads of the North* (1920), *Bring Him In* (1921), *O'Malley of the Mounted* (1921), *Steele of the Royal Mounted* (1925), and *Law of the Snow Country* (1926). Translated into the narrative paradigm of the Hollywood screen Western, Officer Postlethewhistle of the Canadian Mounted Police appears at first to be what Gitting would recognize as being "little more than a sheriff in a red tunic" (in Gitting). Resplendant in his Mountie style fur hat, Postlethewhistle is immediately recognizable as an officer of the law, but when he takes off his heavy winter coat, a comic version of the Mountie's scarlet dress uniform is revealed. Sporting a pair of absurdly oversized pair of yellow-striped jodhpurs and a red jacket that is far too small, Postlethewhistle, whom one would expect to cut a strong, chivalric figure like Sergeant Malone's in *Rose Marie* (1928), is dressed like a clown. The antithesis of effective authority, Postlethewhistle strikes a heroic pose after sitting on the bed. But instead of breaking out into song, he requests a song from Snavely, because he and his wife "got a boy just about Chester's age."

Trading roles with the Mountie and parodying the well-known politeness of Canadians, Snavely courteously asks the officer's forbearance if his "voice isn't just right" before beginning his song and inquires whether Postlethewhistle would mind if the prospector plays the dulcimer with his mittens on. "You won't consider me rude if I play with my mitts on will you?" Snavely asks Postlethewhistle, who graciously replies, "Not at all, Mr. Snavely, not at all" before jettisoning the social decorum and self-control expect of men of the North. Weeping copiously and collapsed on Snavely's bed, he listens attentively to the prospector who obligingly and impossibly strums his dulcimer while singing in several conflicting keys about the dangers of young innocent Northern boys who have "a hankerin'" to go South to the City. Throughout, it is impossible to tell if Posthelwhistle is in tears because the story that is sung is so very sad or because Snavely sings it so very badly.

Another stock character that is lampooned is the Hollywood Indigene. Snavely finds waiting two indigenes patiently waiting for him when he walks into in his other snowbound cabin located over the "Rim." Resplendent in eagle feather war bonnets

worn much further South, these men, seated cross-legged and wrapped in department store versions of Navajo blankets before the fireplace, greet the prospector as he walks in the door. Dressed in dark suits with starched collars and ties beneath their blankets, both are chiefs and clearly send-ups of Nature's noblemen. Extremely primitive, their vocabulary is limited to the word, "How," only being able to grunt while exiting in a dignified manner from the cabin (at Snavely's insistence) into the swirling snow and a night that "ain't…fit for man nor beast." Clearly, there is only room for one masculine primitive in Snavely's cabin beyond the Rim—himself.

Like Charlie Chaplin's *The Gold Rush* (1925), The Fatal Glass of Beer spends a good deal of screen time lampooning the masculine primitive's characteristics, in particular, his voracious appetites. This should not be surprising as survival is the focus of the masculine primitive. Chaplin's idea for *The Gold Rush* came to him not only when he was viewing a selection of Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford's stereoscope pictures of the 1896 Klondike Gold Rush, but also when he was reading a book about the Donner Party Disaster of 1846, a group of settlers, snowbound in the Sierra Nevada, who were reduced to eating first "their own moccasins and then their dead comrades." *The Gold Rush* (1925), a parody of the Yukon melodrama was a smash hit shown in theatres—"right across the globe and grossed over four million dollars on its first release (making it the most profitable film comedy of the silent era)." Unlike *The Gold Rush*, *The Fatal Glass of Beer*, flopped at the box office and became a wildly popular cult classic much later, although its acerbic critique of the masculine primitive is similar to Chaplin's.

W.C. Field's acerbic critique of the masculine primitive is very similar to Chaplin's. Like Chaplin, W.C. Fields parodies the figure of the Northwoods Prospector, by inverting the masculine's primitive characteristics. In *The Gold Rush*, Chaplin's Lone Prospector/Little Tramp could not be further removed from the deep-chested, muscle-bound, testosterone-laden, masculine primitive ideal of the anti-social, all-American Northwoodsman who ventures into the wilderness because of his lust for gold. Chaplin's Prospector, weighing in at perhaps 135 lbs., is a slight fellow who stands only 5'5" tall and looks more like a boy than a man--especially when seen standing next to the bearded, muscle-bound, and plaid-shirted prospectors whom he encounters. Although he stands four inches taller than the Lone Prospector , Fields' character also cannot be mistaken for a masculine primitive even though his burly figure is four inches taller than Chaplin's Prospector. Sporting a bulbous nose and a double chin, Mr. Snavely is so unfit that he cannot crack his whip effectively when mushing his dogs, and is reduced to riding on instead of running beside or behind his dogsled.

Because the alpha male of the Northwoods is little more than a collection of appetites and instincts, in *The Fatal Glass of Beer*, the stomach, not the heart or the head, governs the state of man. In Northwoods movies, gut responses, the primitive instinct of fear, and one's accumulative instinct and sex drive ultimately characterize the primitive nature of masculine characters. Trappers and prospectors, living in the snow, are ravenous creatures driven by their assorted appetites. Thus, Bruckman, like Chaplin, uses the motif of dining to great advantage in *The Fatal Glass of Beer*. Indeed, by the conclusion of that movie appetite and men are so closely linked that one may easily be read for the other. What and how the male characters eat, however, determine what kind of men they are.

As Margaret Visser points out in *Much Depends on Dinner: The Extraordinary*

History and Mythology, Allure and Obsessions, Perils and Taboos, of an Ordinary Meal, "we echo the preferences of our culture in the way we treat our food . . . food shapes us and expresses us even more definitively than our furniture and houses" (12). In *The Fatal Glass of Beer*, personal dining preferences serve to establish character, by creating "primitive" or Northern identities. It is no coincidence then that Snavely the prospector spends more time at the dinner table than he does outside in them "there hills" looking for minerals. Snavely is very concerned with the activity of filling his stomach, and he is not at all particular about with what he fills it. In the Northwoods, all masculine primitives are recognisably ravenous. In *The Gold Rush*, Jim McKay, a large and burly prospector, becomes so hungry that he mistakes his buddy, the Lone Prospector, for a chicken and attempts to kill and eat him. He does not succeed. Snavely, however, in *The Fatal Glass of Beer*, does. Over dinner, he shocks his wife by admitting that he got "mighty hungry" while mushing over Blind Nag Rim the night before and ate his old lead dog, Balto. Ladling an unappetizingly thin and meatless soup into his bowl, Snavely informs Elva that Balto "was mighty good with mustard." Another comic variation of the survivors of the Donner Party, Snavely is, at his most primordial base, a carnivore that will devour anything. His presentation of man's "best friend" as a food item points the viewer towards re-evaluating modern America's valuation and promotion of the masculine primitive—after all, a gold nugget the size of a man's head rests upon the dinner table while he is telling his wife why Bill from Medicine Hat (likely the rumrunner who supplies Snavely with his Scotch) won't be able to repossess poor Balto.

Throughout *The Fatal Glass of Beer*, the American male's inability to satisfy his appetites becomes increasingly complex and comic. Chester, for example, discards the primitive verities of his parents' log cabin for the temptations of the city, and succumbs to his baser drives. In the South, Chester's comic appetites are created by understatement as only one beer sends Chester on a criminal adventure and takes him to jail. In the North, overstatement creates the humor on film. At the dinner table, Mr. Snavely, who takes the lion's share of the loaf offered him, does not have an opportunity to taste it. Every time he dunks the three-foot piece of bread in his soup and lifts it to his mouth, he is interrupted by his wife or son. His meal is never eaten.

In *The Fatal Glass of Beer*, food is an important agent by which a number of complex relationships between the primitive and the sophisticated, paradigms of the North and South, are inverted and negotiated. As Visser would point out, food is one of the means by which society creates itself and acts out its aims and fantasies (12). As such, the iconography of the Snavelys' dinner table acts as a comic index to many of the mechanisms of American culture and the food items which Mrs. Snavely prepares for her husband signify cultural norms and values. To begin, dinner at the Snavelys' is social farce. As Visser would point out, via the Snavelys' soup bowls, equality, plurality, and choice are limited and prescribed by hierarchies of size and value. The watery, unappetizing soup which should contain meat and be the staple of the meal, "the center of attraction" on the table, is marginalized in importance. Mere broth, it plays a "subordinate and supporting role" to the outsized and comically phallic loaf of bread, the end of which Snavely repeatedly dunks into his soup bowl (Visser 20). The correct use of fork, knife, and spoon during dinner is "a valuable opportunity for a demonstration" of middle-class values—"that we have been Well Brought Up, and are therefore the kind of people who will unquestionably Do" (Visser 20), but on the table in the Snavelys' cabin no silverware

is provided for the diners. Without spoons, the diners must eat with their fingers and drink their soup in a most uncivilized fashion. Ironically, the meal is never eaten, and, in spite of the loaf of bread, the diners' appetites remain unsatisfied. Mrs. Snavely does not touch her food, Mr. Snavely, constantly interrupted by his dinner companions, cannot. Even without seeing the Snavelys pick up soup spoons, it is obvious on viewing their table that they are not middle-class and therefore will not "Do." Covered in a cheap, checked table cloth and showcasing a fly walking through the sugar bowl, Mrs. Snavely's table sports mismatched china which could not be less elegant and offers food which could not be less appetizing. The diners are even unable to relax at the table as they are offered uncomfortable wooden seats on which to sit. The chairs lack backs. The diners are reduced to being seated on stools.

As Rotundo points out, gender ideals are closely related to the broader values of the culture in which they develop, because they represent a series of cultural choices out of the vast range of qualities possible for a man or a woman (36). In the Darwinian world of the Northwoods, appetites are closely linked to gender ideals. Like the appetite for food, the appetite for gold is a masculine attribute in the Northwoods. Thus, in *The Fatal Glass of Beer*, Snavely triumphantly brings home a hunk of rock about the size of a man's head. Pronounced a"golden nougat" by Mrs. Snavely, the rock, painted a gleaming gold, represents the fruits of Snavely's labour for "nigh onto thirty years": it is worth roughly "a hundred dollars" and Snavely intends to use it to help "pay off the mortgage on the old shack."

By any standard, one must conclude that the conclusion of *The Fatal Glass of Beer*, is, on the one hand, happy for the Snavelys and, on the other, miserable for the

penniless Chester left to freeze in his pyjamas in the snow. Unlike Chester, Mr. and Mrs. Snavely are not left poor—that is impoverished and pathetic—at the movie's end. Unlike Chester, the happy couple get to keep their gold and their dinner (however unappetizing it seems to be) when they close the door of their cabin. At the last, it is the stomach not the heart that triumphs in this snow comedy. In final analysis, *The Fatal Glass of Beer* was, and arguably still is, an important critique of the American Character when one considers the human tragedy taking place in the soup kitchens of the Great Depression when this movie was released in 1933. In *The Fatal Glass of Beer* Bruckman's treatment of appetite ably deconstructs the ideals of the Northwoods and offers viewers a reductive and pessimistic vision of human nature. Throwing Chester out of their cabin, the Snaveleys reveal the Darwinian underpinnings of the Northwoods melodrama. Life in the North, at base, is a matter of survival of the fittest. Those who survive, men and women, are little more than collections of guts and glands. Offering its audiences an acerbic critique of the masculine primitive, *The Fatal Glass of Beer* provides moviegoers with an important counterbalance to the Hollywood gender ideal of man as animal that was promoted by "snow movies" after the First World War and demonstrates why the behaviour of such characters found in or inhabiting the Hollywood's Northwoods should be regarded as nothing more than social farce. In the Northwoods, one may live closer to Nature than one does in a city in the South, but, as *The Fatal Glass of Beer* points out so ably, human nature itself is not purified by a close association with the wilderness. In the end, the "primitive" figure of the Northern Prospector in *The Fatal Glass of Beer* must be regarded as being just another Hollywood "snow job" and the Northwoods which the snow movie created and promotes a place that is like the city: not "fit for man nor beast."

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Confabulation

Brass-clad knee, iron-cleft wrist
Rows of teeth estranged
Bulging leather a wall
Of hardened instinct.

There is paradise under your eyes.

Sequentially schemed after thought
Escape roots of throbbing intent.
Your eternal refusal to defer
Gives me reason to begin.

—Shreya Bose

Ute's Table
Anne Jevne 2008

Subversive Sirens: Feminism, Magical Realism, and Narratological Disruption in *Daytripper*

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Daytripper, a graphic novel by Fábio Moon and Gabriel Bá published in 2010 and 2011, tells the story of Brás, an honest and hardworking Brazilian man who seeks to follow in his father's literary footsteps as a novelist. Brás's lifelong journey toward artistic fulfillment can be classified as a Künstlerroman, a subgenre of the Bildungsroman (or coming-of-age narrative) genre that focuses on the growth of an artist. Part of what defines this genre is the protagonist's identification of and union with an appropriate, culturally sanctioned mate, and *Daytripper* does include such a subplot. Significantly, before meeting Ana, the woman who is destined to become his wife, Brás carries on a seven-year-long relationship with a sensuous and fiery woman named Olinda. Though her overt sexualization and use of coarse language seemingly mark her as a "disposable" kind of woman within the Künstlerroman tradition, Olinda's presence is a complicated, lingering, and richly symbolic one. Though many of Brás's encounters with Iemanjá, "the goddess of the ocean" (49), take place in dreams, she is also treated as a literal and very real figure in the text, and Olinda is closely related to—if not a manifestation of—this powerful feminine force. Though Brás does not marry or bear children with the sultry Olinda, he does acknowledge the inestimable role the ocean goddess played in his rise to artistic greatness and personal satisfaction. The reverence Brás feels for the watery deity also extends to Olinda, calling into question her overly simplified "throwaway" role. Ultimately, Olinda is symbolically redeemed by the end of the novel through her conflation with the magical realism provided by Iemanjá, an authorial decision that subverts the traditional marginalization of the "wrong" woman in the Künstlerroman narrative trajectory.

The Künstlerroman and its Feminist Criticisms

Diana Wallace defines the most basic model of the Künstlerroman as "the development of a writer from young manhood to mature artisthood" (322-323). She and other scholars who write about the Künstlerroman tradition frequently cite James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man,* which was serialized in *The Egoist* in 1914 and 1915 and released as a book in 1916, as one of the founding texts of the genre. *Portrait* traces the artistic development of the protagonist Stephen Dedalus, who, like Joyce

during his early adulthood, seeks to become a writer. Wallace notes that oftentimes the protagonist will be of a low socioeconomic class, and also, that part of the Künstlerroman tradition involves the protagonist "overcome[ing]…the taint of the 'shop' in his struggle to be a writer" (323). The "shop" could refer to anything from the drudgery of the family business to an intellectual separation from the artistic influence of the parent figure, or even the anxiety that "no proper work remains for [the artist] to perform" (Bloom 148). While Künstlerromans could trace the progress of any type of artist, they are commonly thought of as tales of literary emergence due to *Portrait*'s impact on the genre.

Similarly, although a Künstlerroman could center on a protagonist of any sex, the "default" protagonist is seen as male. Wallace explains that "the title of Joyce's text signals both the normative gendering of the artist as male and the way in which the development of artisthood is seen as inextricably linked with the attainment of manhood" (325). In other words, the "young man" of the "portrait" is somewhat prescriptive, and this association of artistic maturity with stereotypical "manhood" is seen as problematic from a feminist and queer critical perspective. Firstly, there is the limiting role that women play in the traditional Künstlerroman narrative. Wallace conveys that the aspiring male artist must "make a choice between three different women: two of whom represent the needs of the body and the heart, respectively, while the third represents a fusion of the needs of body, heart, soul, and genius" (323). She also points out that the third woman—who is, of course, consistently positioned as the most desirable—is often "of a higher social class" than the former two (323). This marker of sexual and emotional maturation is a crucial one in the growth of the artist. Troublingly, this aspect of the narrative formula

privileges a heterosexual point of view and also establishes a trite dichotomy between "worthy" and "unworthy" women—virtuous wife and mother figures, and disposable, morally bankrupt temptresses.

Furthermore, due to the primacy of the "young man" as the artist in question, the women who appear in Künstlerromans (be they "good" or "bad") are barred from achieving artistic glory on their own. Robert Graves expresses that all too frequently in western literature, "Woman is not a poet; she is either a muse or she is nothing" (qtd. in Wallace 326). Annis Pratt supports this view, claiming that in the Bildungsroman narrative tradition, stories centring on female protagonists offer a trajectory for "growing down" instead of "growing up" (14). In other words, women learn to be obedient and self-sacrificing rather than independent and assertive. They conform to their culture rather than changing it for the better. Wallace neatly concludes that "In contrast to the male pattern of artisthood equated with manhood, for women the internalized sense that writing is not a feminine activity forces a choice between being a woman and being an artist. In structural terms, this becomes the tension between the romance plot and the quest plot" (325). If a woman does try to seek creative effulgence within the Künstlerroman tradition, she will very likely fail—at least judging from much of the literature that exists today.

Thus, in summary, the Künstlerroman is a narrative formula that deals with the development and eventual success of a young protagonist—usually male—who seeks artistic self-actualization. While these stories can be inspiring and even instructive, they oftentimes present a problem with regard to the representation of female characters.

Traditionally, women are relegated to either the role of idolized muse or dismissible plaything, and they are prevented from pursuing glory in the same ways as men.

Daytripper as a Traditional Künstlerroman

In many ways, *Daytripper* does adhere to the conventional Künstlerroman narrative formula. Brás, the protagonist, aspires to be a novelist like his father, but several obstacles lie between him and his dream. Predictably, there is the issue of the "shop," as mentioned by Wallace—Brás must contend with the monotonous demands of his day job as an obituary writer. Brás is unfulfilled by this unexciting work, even commenting to his friend Jorge that their workplace "must be hell" (65). Furthermore, Brás must grapple with and triumph over the feelings of inferiority he experiences in light of his father's immense literary success. He eventually accomplishes both of these feats, abandoning his newspaper job in favor of an independent novel-writing career and making peace with the legacy of his father. Brás achieves artistic actualization in the end, earning the respect of his family and his fans, a conclusion that signals the optimal completion of the Künstlerroman trajectory.

Moreover, Brás's story resembles that of the typical Künstlerroman hero in that he encounters, courts, and eventually breaks from Olinda, a woman who satisfies his "body and heart," as Wallace puts it, before meeting and eventually marrying Ana, one who meets the needs of his "body, heart, soul, and genius." However, this apparent adherence to the standard formula is more complicated than it seems, as will be discussed.

In examining the representations of Olinda and Ana within the text, it is important to consider their visual depiction as well as their characterization. *Daytripper* is, after all, a graphic narrative, and the ways in which these female characters appear says as much about their thematic significance and rhetorical presentation as do their words and actions. Ashley Dallaqua, an English instructor who teaches graphic novels alongside traditional prose, confirms that an understanding of visual literacy is crucial to the appreciation of the former. She states that readers who delve into graphic literature without a basic grounding in art history or at least a familiarity with comics are likely to miss some of the narratives' finer points (365). Scott McCloud's observation that the more "photorealistically" a character is drawn, the more his or her "'otherness' from the reader" is emphasized is just one example of this (44). The level of realism used, characters' attire, color schemes, settings, and other visual motifs all come into play when analyzing a text that consists of more than words. It is crucial to consider these elements when interpreting *Daytripper*.

Additionally, there are some feminist concerns that emerge out of a close-reading of Olinda's and Ana's physical depiction. Especially with regard to Olinda, the representations of female characters within the text cater, to some extent, to what Laura Mulvey famously calls the "male gaze" (387). She elaborates, "In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote *to-be-looked-at-ness*" (387). While it is interesting to note which female characters are presented in an erotic manner—such as Olinda—it is equally essential to observe which characters are *not* drawn in a sexualized

manner—such as Ana. A few important scenes yield abundant information about the ways in which readers are likely meant to interpret these two female characters. Given several visual and narratological cues, it is clear that Olinda is meant to serve as the throwaway "body and heart" woman, while Ana is the pure, more refined, and far more socially appropriate choice for Brás's "body, heart, soul, and genius"—at least, at first glance.

Olinda and Ana: (Dis)Assembling the Dichotomy?

Brás meets and shares a passionate encounter with Olinda in the second chapter of *Daytripper*, when he is 21 years old and on vacation in Salvador. When Olinda is first introduced, she is shown lounging in a rowboat in a sexually suggestive pose. She reclines on her back, flaunting her tan legs, her low-cut bikini top revealing ample cleavage (42). When Brás later asks about what she does for work, Olinda dodges the question, responding, "Why do you ask?...My job won't tell you who I am," and finally conceding, "I have to help my mother. I'm just like all these people in [the market] who have to do *something* to get by" (47). The implication, given Olinda's revealing outfit and the bitter look she gives Brás in the bottom right panel of page 46, is that she is a prostitute. While it could be argued that Olinda might be wrapped up in another type of disreputable work, her consistently sexualized presentation lends strength to the assumption that she earns her living selling her body. This heavily hinted-at truth about Olinda's profession bluntly positions her as the "wrong" type of woman—a crash course in love, perhaps, but not a lifelong mate.

Also, the panels that depict Brás's time spent in Olinda's bed—the night of the encounter and the following morning—reveal insight into the text's overall treatment of her character. Noticeably, the color palette changes drastically from page 53 to page 54. The panels on 53 are cool and romantic, while those on 54 are warm and dark, almost sinister-looking. Accordingly, page 53 closes with Brás and Olinda sharing a tender first kiss, while 54 thrusts the reader immediately into a graphically intense sex scene. The page break dividing these episodes makes the transition even more startling. It is abrupt and jarring, not only because of the change in color and not only because of the unexpected turn of events for Brás but also because of the unprecedentedly explicit nudity contained in the top left panel. The goddess Iemanjá is shown nude on page 35, but the context is not erotic. Therefore, the image of the bare-chested Olinda throwing her head back in pleasure suddenly lends a more "adult" nature to the narrative. Olinda has an idealized female body shape, with both of the top two panels emphasizing the considerable size of her breasts through shading and light.

Several other visual elements suggest that Olinda's representations are meant to cater to the stereotypical heterosexual male gaze. She is positioned facing the reader so that we see the eroticized portions of her body, while Brás is facing away so that all we see is his back. Additionally, Olinda is drawn with nipples, while Brás, who is shown shirtless at the bottom of the page, is not. Finally, while Olinda appears to be enjoying the sexual encounter in the top right panel judging from her parted lips and soft caress of Brás's hair, Brás is shown looking bewildered, if not a little regretful, the following morning. His face is not shown at all in the top two panels, symbolically shielding him from full

participation in the impulsive act of passion. Taken together, all of these factors serve to stress the sensual and erotic nature of Olinda while maintaining Brás's "innocence."

Olinda's utterance of the word "Come," issued as a command to Brás, further sexualizes her. The command segues into the goddess Iemanjá's line, "Come and find me," but obviously it carries a second, more erotic meaning when uttered by Olinda herself. The left panel at the center of the page depicts a close-up of Brás's and Olinda's slightly open mouths. Drops of saliva fly between them. Perhaps these particles are intended to illustrate the couple's heavy breathing, but they can also easily be read as "abject," a term Julia Kristeva uses to refer to disgusting or undesirable things such as body fluids (2). Saliva is an almost inevitable part of sexual contact, but the white spittle drawn by Moon and Bá forces the reader to encounter the raw physicality of the act in a way they might find unsettling. There is nothing elegant or modest about Brás's encounter with Olinda; it is vivid, honest, and unapologetic. Olinda's use of the word "Come," a term frequently used as slang for ejaculate, contributes to this effect as well.

In chapter three, in which Brás is 28, Moon and Bá reveal that he and Olinda have been in a relationship for the past seven years, but that now Olinda is fed up and choosing to move out. She uses some more potentially offensive language as she packs her things, shouting to Brás, "I hate you! You piece of shit! I can't believe I've wasted seven years of my life with you," and "Fuck you!" (64). The line "I hate you! You piece of shit!" is reiterated twice in Brás's memory after its initial utterance, solidifying Olinda's coarse vocabulary and harsh attitude in readers' minds. This, in addition to her considerable sexualization, contributes to Olinda's portrayal as a "lower class" woman.

In contrast, Ana is privileged as the type of woman who can satisfy Brás on more than just a physical level, and who is of a higher social class. The first time we see truly her, she is fully clothed and, though slightly flirtatious, she is modest and coy. (Ana does appear briefly in the first chapter on page 24, but we do not see her face or learn anything significant about her personality aside from the fact that she cares about Brás.) In the chapter in which Brás is 28, the two steal glances at each other from across the aisles of a grocery store, but no words are exchanged and certainly no sex takes place (74-75). The narrator tells us that "It felt right, and he knew. She was the woman he was going to spend the rest of his life with," indicating that Brás immediately recognizes her as "wife" material as opposed to a temporary partner (78).[1] The next time we see her, she is about to give birth to Brás's son, Miguel (83). This elision of the purely sexual period of Brás and Ana's relationship and the emphasis on Ana's role as a fertile bearer of children rhetorically reassures readers that she is different from Olinda—she is the permanent, desirable kind of woman who is worthy of trust and emotional investment. When we see her again in the chapter in which Brás is 33, she is ushering a group of people through an impressive-looking historical building (135-136). Whether she is a real estate agent or a tour guide, Ana is performing skilled labor that requires education. Unlike Olinda, she is engaging in a respectable, even admirable profession. Taken together, all of these representations (in addition to later ones in which Ana is shown to be a loving wife and devoted mother) demonstrate that Ana is a "superior" woman, fit to be Brás's muse, like Brás's mother was to his father before him.

1 While the duration of Brás's relationship with Olinda implies that he regarded her as more than a fleeting encounter, it is also significant that in seven long years, he never proposed marriage. This makes his instantaneous acceptance of Ana as his future wife all the more telling.

Magical Realism as a Narratologically Disruptive and Ideologically Subversive Force

In these ways, *Daytripper* seems to perpetuate the problematic dichotomy of the Künstlerroman tradition. Olinda is cast as the "bad" woman, Ana as the "good." However, *Daytripper* is also a novel marked by magical realism, and that fact demands a closer look at the representations of these female characters. In reality, while Ana may be the ideal, subservient woman, Olinda is far from the easily dismissible and more easily forgettable spare.

The text's magical realism takes a variety of forms. At least once, the figure of Iemanjá steps out of the metaphoric and into the real, altering the events of Brás's life. Furthermore, at the end of almost every chapter, Brás "dies," and an anonymously authored obituary offers some reflective commentary on his life. Then, in the next chapter, he is seen alive and well. The "Dream" chapter contains a conversation between Brás and his deceased father (219) and even shows a ghostly Brás writing his own obituary (222-224). Finally, the chaotic chronology of the chapters necessitates a recursive reading of the text. Rather than presenting Brás's (albeit continually rebooted) life in chronological order, fragments of his story are scattered to and fro. We first see Brás at 32, then 21, then 28, and so on. Marilyn Farwell asserts that polyphony (as supplied by the coexistence of the omniscient narrator and Brás as autobiographer) and nonlinearity can be read as subversive qualities in literature. She asserts that these devices "heighten our awareness of the arbitrariness of the traditional plot by either imitating it [or] parodying it" (62). Magic, or at least something out of the ordinary, facilitates the emergence of both polyphony and nonlinearity in the text. Clearly, *Daytripper* is inclined toward narratological disruption and breakage from the norms, which makes the vivid resemblance between Brás's life and the traditional Künstlerroman hero's journey seem a bit perplexing.

It is important to note that not *all* instances of "the supernatural" qualify as magical realism according to all critics. Christopher Warnes holds that "if the supernatural is in any way explicable—such as when Lewis Carroll's Alice awakes to find that her adventures were all a dream…then the code of the real is effectively privileged over that of the fantastic" (4). Warnes's clarification may discount some episodes of the fantastical in *Daytripper*, categorizing them as subordinate to "the code of the real." But nevertheless, Iemanjá's encroachment on Brás's life via a spiritually possessed Salvadoran (53-55) entrenches this text in the tradition of magical realism. Aside from tantalizing readers with an element of the strange, what motivation might Moon and Bá have had for including magical realism in their text, and linking it to Olinda and Iemanjá in the most overt of its appearances? Conceivably, they are poking at the mastery of the Künstlerroman tradition, suggesting that it can and even ought to be modified.

In her postcolonial analysis of magical realist texts, Wendy B. Faris argues that magic serves as a means for non-dominant populations, such as woman and non-whites, to express agency, rewriting the narrative of their existence to frame them as empowered individuals rather than marginalized and silenced subjects. Feelings and desires are expressed subversively, supernaturally, filling in for but also possibly paving the way for more literal resistance. Drawing from the work of Stephen Slemon and Homi Bhabha,

Faris writes that the colonized body exists in a precarious zone defined by two major tensions: "sustained opposition" and "hybridity" (178). Sustained opposition is marked by feelings of vocal suppression, powerlessness, and injustice. Individuals in this state may desire rebellion, revolution, or at the very least, autonomy from their paternalistic rulers. Similarly, hybridity represents the ability to inhabit multiple worlds or realities simultaneously. Non-dominant subjects lead a sort of dualistic existence, constantly navigating the boundaries and discrepancies between their original identities and the labels imposed on them by imperialism and patriarchy. Thus, when magic appears in a text, it can be seen as the symbolic subversion of these detrimental systems.

Olinda is "subaltern" in the sense that she is a woman, but she is further marginalized on account of her race. In examining the significance of her conflation with Iemanjá, therefore, it is important to recognize that the magic she indirectly wields can be taken as both a feminist and racial commentary. Race is a theme throughout the chapter in general, with the dark-skinned Jorge mentioning that Brás is from "planet white" and calling him a "foreigner" when the friends visit Salvador (39). The men think of Salvador as a place where they "could do anything" (22) and associate it with times when "life was simpler" (21). From a postcolonial point of view, Brás and Jorge are using this location as a sort of "big boys' playground," imposing their hopes and fears on it much like European colonists in centuries past. Though (at least in this chapter) Jorge is not held up as a frightening oddity in spite of his dark skin, Olinda and the other inhabitants of Salvador do take on some of these troubling connotations.

In the panels depicting Brás's and Olinda's sexual encounter, Olinda is wearing a number of gold bangles and earrings. The fact that the couple is otherwise naked shows that they took their time disrobing, so it is significant that Olinda still has these items on. The jewelry serves to exoticize her, marking her as a wild individual who refuses to conform to the "normal" rules of sex—i.e., bodies return to their natural state. Just before meeting Olinda, Brás states, "The less clothes we wear, the more we look like we did the day we came into this world. Our bodies don't have social levels" (40). Olinda's defiance of this idea disrupts the notion that, as vulnerable as they may be during sex, she and Brás are exactly like. It is possible that this is a commentary on Brás's naiveté when it comes to race, revealing his privileged point of view. Olinda and Brás are different, and she will not let him forget it. In any case, Olinda's sexual and racial difference position her as a narratologically and culturally non-dominant figure—but her relation to the goddess Iemanjá signals her potential to break free from the constricting boundaries that define her as such.

Olinda and Iemanjá: Spirits of the Water

Iemanjá and Olinda are conflated in a number of ways throughout the text. At the start of the "Age 21" chapter, we see the green-skinned, dark-haired goddess seated in a rowboat against a backdrop of stormy skies (35). Small leaves blow by in the tumultuous wind. Nearby, in one of the many floating baskets set out to sea to honor the goddess, we see a small blonde-haired doll which, later in the chapter, we see Olinda give to Brás as a gift (47). Secondly, just before Brás meets Olinda for the first time, he is depicted swimming alongside some boats, one of which has the name "Odoya" painted on its side

(41). "Odoya" is a greeting of Iemanjá, one that Salvadorans utter to one another on the goddess's honored day in February (Attebury 24). Olinda is the one who explains the identity of Iemanjá to Brás, and it is she who suggests going to her festival at the seaside (49). When Brás meets Olinda at the festival, she is drawn directly adjacent to a stone statue of the goddess (51). More overtly, in the center of the page depicting Olinda and Brás lovemaking, a close-up of the goddess's mouth is shown (52). She utters the words, "Come and find me," which are repeated in the letter Brás awakens to find on his pillow. Perhaps most significantly of all, when Brás traverses down to the beach to meet his new lover, he finds a mysterious elderly man instead. The man, whose form is accompanied by a ghostly, humanlike "shadow" that hovers outside his skin, says, "She's out there… waiting for you. Come. I will take you to her" (53). When Brás follows the man, he ends up drowning in the ocean, and the doll from Olinda is depicted washing up onshore. The obituary tells us that "Iemanjá can give life as well as take it away" (56).

What is most intriguing about this section is the mystical Salvadoran man's ambiguous use of the pronoun "she." The man's identity is never revealed, and his ghostly counterpart is never explained. Thus, is he speaking about Olinda or Iemanjá when he says "She's out there waiting for you?" At the beginning of the chapter, when Iemanjá is shown lounging in the rowboat, she says, "You must come and see me." But again, Olinda's letter specifically calls Brás to the beach. Moon and Bá purposely leave the pronoun ambiguous to collapse the identities of Olinda and Iemanjá. Both are enchanting siren figures, dangerous but seductive. Both have the power to alter the course of Brás life. Neither, ultimately, is wholly evil, and even though Olinda the literal person exits Brás's life, her presence lingers in the important role Iemanjá plays in his artistic and personal development.[2]

In the "Dream" chapter and the final chapter of the book, in which Brás is 76, Iemanjá is invoked, evidencing her powerful and enduring connection to his life. At the beginning of the "Dream" chapter, panels closely resembling those at the start of the "Age 21" chapter are shown, but this time, Brás sits in the rowboat with the ocean goddess. Iemanjá says, "Welcome, Brás. This is your life. You are on this boat floating on an endless ocean. These baskets contain wishes, desires…forces that drive your will to move forward. However, if you just stay here staring at them…sooner or later…they're all going to sink. In order to go after your dreams—you must live your own life. Wake up, before it's too late" (203). Brás echoes this suggestion in his self-authored obituary when he writes, "what my dreams *really* show me is what my life can be once I open my eyes" (223), indicating that the lesson of Iemanjá has sunk in and greatly impacted his own life philosophy.

Finally, in the last scene of the graphic novel, Brás is seen striding out to the ocean, lighting some candles in the sand, casting a handful of flowers into the dark waves, and wading out after them up to the knees (245-246, 248). This is a direct echo of the celebration at the Rio Vermehlo beach where Brás, Olinda, and the masses of Salvadorans honor the goddess with baskets of flowers and other offerings. Why, after so many years apart from Olinda, would Brás choose to close his life in this way? Why, secondly, would Moon and Bá elect to utilize this motif again? Iemanjá, ultimately, is the most important "woman" in Brás's life—more than his mother, his sister, his half-sister, and even his

2 Furthermore, Brás keeps a photo of Olinda on his desk even long after their relationship ends (209).

beloved wife. It is she who appears in his dreams, which he says "show him what [his] life can be," and it is to her that he makes a humble and reverent sacrifice in the final hours of his life. Olinda the woman may have slipped out of Brás's life, but her essence remains in his heart and mind. Through her conflation with Iemanjá, Olinda gains Brás's admiration and respect, not his dismissal or rejection.

Olinda, Artist: The Künstlerroman of Daytripper Reconsidered

In the end, Olinda is far more than a mere object of sexual gratification for Brás. She is a powerful and symbolically magical entity who helps shape the course of his life. Even setting aside her concatenation with Iemanjá, several factors suggest that she is more in control than she initially seems, and that she even holds much of the power in their first sexual encounter. In the top panels on page 54, Olinda is in a sexually dominant position rather than a passive or submissive one. Secondly, when Brás wakes up the next morning, Olinda is gone, defying the stereotypical social script dictating that women mix carnality and love in their minds and are thus more likely to seek emotional intimacy after having an erotic affair (Laws and Schwartz 171). Olinda's absence signifies her independence and even nonchalance. It is also important to note that the encounter takes place at Olinda's house, not Brás's place of lodging, a detail that affords her even more power. Brás is on her turf and in her comfort zone; he is simply a guest. In the morning, Olinda leaves Brás a note, implying some measure of care, but even this is a command, devoid of sentimental, flirtatious, or affectionate language. "I'm waiting on the beach," it says; "Come and find me" (54-55). Once again, Olinda orders Brás to do what she desires, and once again, he shows no objections but quickly obeys.

One final aspect of Olinda's character suggests that she is meant to be taken as more than just a stepping stone on Brás's path to "true" love. On page 65, Brás exclaims, "I never wanted you to stay at home! You wanted to be a musician and I was behind you." Could it be that Olinda, like Brás, had dreams of artistic success? This passage certainly implies so. Although she does not want to be a novelist, Olinda still has dreams of creative achievement. However, in seven years, she has not advanced toward her goal. Has Olinda become tangled up in the "tension between the romance plot and the quest plot," as Wallace theorizes? Arguably, *Daytripper* does not contain one Künstlerroman stories, but two: Brás's *and* Olinda's. But, only one of these stories is enabled to flourish and come to fruition. Olinda's narrative is that of the stunted Künstlerroman—the Künstlerroman that was not allowed to be. Through her association with Iemanjá, Olinda is afforded respect. But as a singular, literal woman, her story ends when she breaks with Brás. To me, this seems like a commentary on Moon and Bá's part about the unfortunate marginalization of women—but also the latent hope and power those women contain.

Alice Ruth Reckley Vallejos discusses the role that women writers' voices play in Latin American culture (literary and otherwise), explaining that they function "in the crevices and at the edges of dominant structures" (195). Though Olinda and Iemanjá both function at the edges of Brás's story, they play vital roles in his development and lend irreplaceable wisdom and depth to his life. The representations of Olinda and Iemanjá are admittedly problematic, since both cater to the stereotypical male gaze to a considerable extent. But narratologically, these female figures ultimately emerge as two

of the most powerful and poignant of the text.

Acknowledgements

Dr. Gwen Athene Tarbox's talk, "'A Life of Words'/A Life in Pictures: Exploring Narrative Structure in Moon and Bá's *Daytripper,*" which was delivered at Michigan State University's Comics Forum in East Lansing, MI on February 4, 2012 inspired me to think about *Daytripper* in terms of the Künstlerroman tradition. I would like to thank Dr. Tarbox for this valuable contribution, for introducing me to the text of *Daytripper*, and for her unfailing guidance and support. I would also like to thank Dr. Nicolas Witschi and Ms. Traci Brimhall for their suggestions about this paper in its formative stages.

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Mycophagia
Anne Jevne 2008

BOOK REVIEWS...

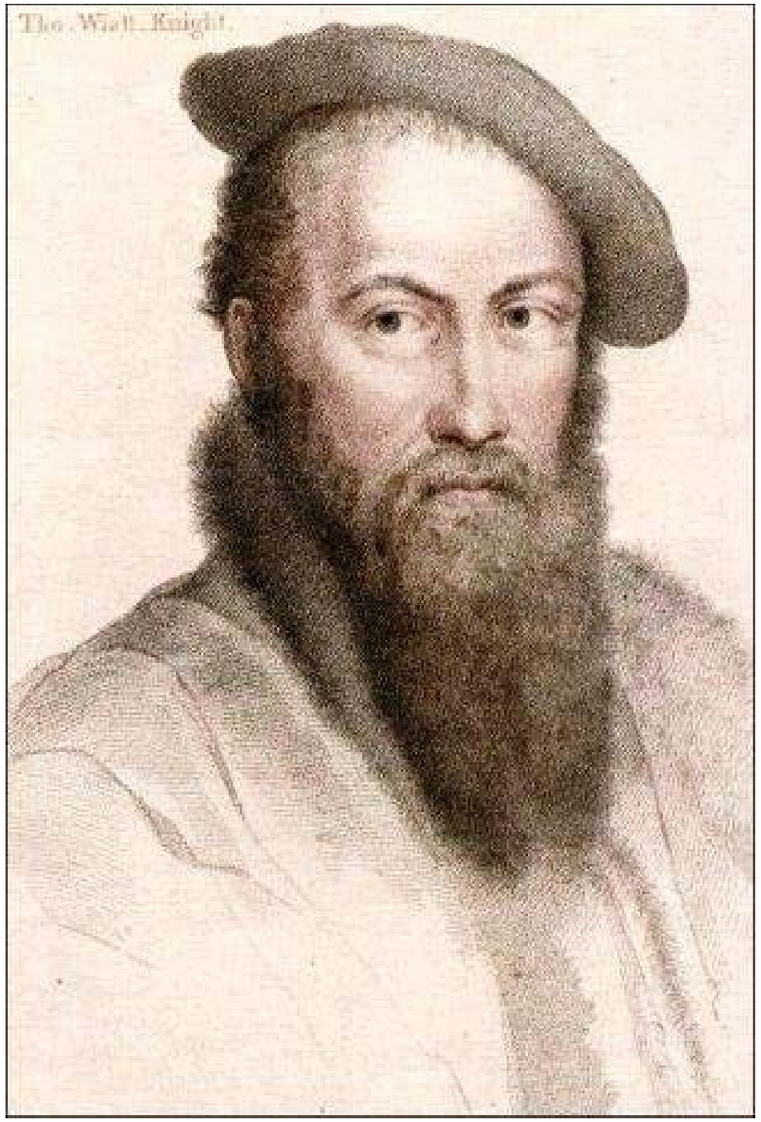
Nicola Shulman, Graven with Diamonds: The Many Lives of Thomas Wyatt. Croydon: Short Books, 2011.

John Butler

New look at Thomas Wyatt's life and works worth considering...

Nicola Shulman, aka the marchioness of Normanby, a journalist who has written for such publications as The Times Literary Supplement and Harpers and Queen, is rather disingenuously identified on the back pages of her book as "a writer and reviewer." The blurb not only omits her title, which is probably not really important in the context of what she does, but also fails to tell us that she read English at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, that her Canadian father, Milton Shulman, worked at the Evening Standard for fifty years as a culture critic and that her sister Alex is the editor of Vogue. I mention these things because it so often transpires that journalists tackling literary biographies and lacking formal critical skills often concentrate on the personal or sensational and tend to neglect analysis of the more "academic" aspects of their subjects, such as, in the case of Sir Thomas Wyatt, his poetry and letters. Not so Nicola Shulman; she has managed to write a biography which combines accessible writing with perceptive and knowledgeable literary analysis, and after putting down her book readers will feel that they have truly "met" Wyatt, in spite of the fact that he has been dead since 1542. They will also realise that the Tudor era did not need "remaking" into that ghastly TV travesty The Tudors for its politics, machinations and sexual shenanigans to be of consummate interest and excitement to twenty-first century readers without being tweaked by modern interpretations. From first to last we are fascinated by Shulman's depiction of Henry VIII, his various wives (especially Anne Boleyn), Thomas Cromwell and, of course, Wyatt himself, who emerges as a much more substantial figure than the rather whiny and self-pitying persona he created in many of the poems. Shulman may not have, as she claims, done particularly well in her English studies, but there is no hint of mediocrity here as she tackles Wyatt's poetry and turns a critical and (may I say) scholarly eye on it, revealing depths and nuances in it that professional critics of Wyatt have missed over the years.

Sir Thomas Wyatt (1503-1542) belonged to that area of English literature which used to be known as the "drab age," a time when, after the death of Chaucer in 1400, writers somehow lost their skills and degenerated into boring didactic verse and endless stringing together of "fourteeners," otherwise known as "poulter's measure," an excruciatingly drawn-out line of fourteen syllables which every poetaster seemed to produce in vast quantities and which dominated the selection of poems offered in Richard Tottel's Miscellany(1557), the first printed anthology, where some of Wyatt's poems appeared. Shulman does mention John Skelton, whose "Skeltonics" consisted of dipodic lines (two heavy stresses and any number of unstressed syllables) as a divergence from the pattern, but, unlike many other scholars, dismisses him as second-rate, even if he did tutor Henry VIII. As someone who rather enjoys the odd Skeltonic, I thought Shulman was being a little unfair, and calling Skelton "pedantic" is definitely wrong. As for Wyatt, she cites C. S. Lewis's judgment that when "[Wyatt] is bad he is flat or even null. And when he is good he is hardly one of the irresistible poets," and remembers that some of her professors "thought him too bad to teach." So did mine. Wyatt, together with Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, was largely responsible for introducing the Italian sonnet into English, which is what he is usually remembered for today.



Sir Thomas Wyatt

What subsequently happened to change that view is that critics finally realised that Wyatt was a poet who was "writing under tyranny," and just as reading the poetry of, say, Anna Akhmatova might give us insights into cultural life under Stalin, reading Wyatt might do the same for the reign of Henry VIII. Shulman compares Henry to Stalin, but later on, perhaps recalling her origins, makes the extraordinary claim that because of his earnest sincerity, Henry would, in our times, have "been Canadian"! The one point of criticism I have about this book is Shulman's occasional lapses into comparisons like that (although I get the humour), as well as using

modern colloquialisms such as "superhero." People who regularly employ words like "encomium" and "cynosure" will find that irritating. Shulman's great strength is relating the personal to the political in Wyatt's poetry. Wyatt's poems can work for modern readers because they can come out of their direct context and hit the reader in the face with a smack of self-recognition. If he writes about rejection, we can empathise with his distress and frustration; when Wyatt writes about betrayal (personal or political), we understand exactly how he feels, because his lines are as fresh and direct as they were the day they were written. Wyatt rarely lards his poems with classical references or learned language, and the jagged metres which he sometimes employed help emphasise the depth of feeling—when one is genuinely upset one does not observe strict literary decorum.

"To wish and want and not obtain,/ To seek and sue ease of my pain,/" he writes, "Since all I ever do is vain,/ What may it avail me?" Or another random example: "Disdain me not without desert,/ Ne leave me not as suddenly." We have all felt like that at some time in our lives.

Shulman explains in her must-read preface that "the present book is not intended as a life of Thomas Wyatt but as a life of his love-poetry." It's not so much literary analysis, but analysis of how Wyatt "used" poetry. As a courtier, Wyatt wrote about Henry's court, expressing not just the frustrations of love as he extricated himself emotionally from an affair with Anne Boleyn (or failed to, as the case may be), but his fear of political betrayal, which could lead to his own death or exile, and his veiled criticism of the way people at that court behaved, the back-stabbing, bed-hopping, cultured and rough-and-tumble world of the early Tudor period. Wyatt often lived in fear bordering on paranoia, but even Henry VIII himself, that fountain of fear and disorder, was once heard to burst out "Alas! Who shall a man trust?" The poems reflect Wyatt's life, and Shulman brilliantly makes all the connections between them and the various ups and downs of the poet's political career, his relationships, his religious conflicts and his own career as courtier and ambassador. Shulman shows how the love-poetry often concealed political criticism, and we can easily understand why the poet published so few of his poems during his lifetime. He needed to guard himself closely: his father had been imprisoned, his uncle executed, and his son would suffer the same fate under Mary I; if Wyatt had not died of a fever at thirty-nine there is little doubt that his life could have been on the line, as he had powerful enemies. Wyatt's lyrics are certainly subversive; Shulman is able to make her case without resorting to anachronistic comparisons of self-consciously modernist interpretations. The poet lived in a world fraught with terror and uncertainty, and Shulman, by constantly reminding us of that fact, has created an eminently readable and arresting reassessment of an important figure.

This book made the reviewer look at Wyatt with fresh eyes, and he now appears a much more substantial figure than the mere imitator of Petrarch or the frustrated former lover of Anne Boleyn. Wyatt's poems, read so eloquently by Nicola Shulman, speak out from the dust of centuries about issues which are very much still with us, but they also remind us that there are other ways of looking at the past other than through history books or even conventional biographies. In a way, Wyatt's poems are his own spiritual or political testament as well as an illustration of a sixteenth-century mind trying to come to grips with the turmoil of the times and the uncertainty of passion.

For Wyatt's poetry, the best edition, and one recommended by Shulman, is that of R. A. Rebholz (Penguin Books [1978], expanded 1997).

David McCasland. *Eric Liddell: Pure Gold.* Grand Rapids, MI: Discovery House, 2001.

Sue Matheson

Running the wrong way

Last spring, a friend gave me a book to read: David McCasland's *Eric Liddell: Pure Gold.* With the 2012 Summer Olympics in the offing, we had been talking about amateur sport and high level athletes. Not surprisingly, the conversation got round to Eric Liddell's amazing performance in the 400 meters and *Chariots of Fire* (1981), a low-budget British film which won four Academy Awards. Liddell's career as a sprinter is one of the movie's subjects. Harold Abraham"s training and races are also dramatized. A sensitive treatment of how one becomes a medal-winning Olympic athlete, *Chariots of Fire* begins at Abraham's funeral. In a series of flashbacks, *Chariots of Fire* traces these athletes' preparation for the Games. Showcasing their very different personalities and training programs, the plot presents the course which each runner followed to succeed on and off the track. After the Olympic races have been run, the audience is returned to the funeral in the cinematic present. Finally, brief postscripts at the movie's end inform the audience what became of Abrahams and Liddell after their victories. Abrahams continued on as a successful athletics journalist for the BBC for forty years, and became the president of the Jewish Athletics Association and the chairman of the Amateur Athletic Association; Liddell, on the other hand, eschewed sports after winning his gold medal, and was sent to China by his Church as an outstanding example of muscular Christianity. He died in a Japanese concentration camp. Ironically, his Olympic success proved to be his undoing.

Perhaps it is because of this irony that I've always remained interested in and been not a little disappointed by Eric Liddell's life. On screen, he was presented as a very engaging personality, a generous, deeply religious, hard-headed Scot who refused to run on Sundays, ended up racing for England, and won against all the odds. In spite of his stubbornness (or perhaps because of it) he was able to the right thing. His shocking end, I"ve always felt, was unsuited to the man. It was, in my opinion, an unnecessary tragedy. Thus, when I received the copy of McCasland's *Eric Liddell: Pure Gold,* I was hoping that McCasland's biography would absolve my misgivings about Liddell's life and career and shed new light on his character and the decisions he'd made. Unfortunately (and oddly), *Eric Liddell: Pure Gold* did no such thing.

Author David McCasland may have won the Award for his biography of Oswald Chambers, but I found his effort in *Eric Liddell: Pure Gold* disappointing. Given McCasland's subject, I expected his treatment of Liddell to be an entertaining, interesting, and arresting read. It was arresting, but, unfortunately, it made me pause for all the wrong reasons. The more I read about Eric Liddell, my dismay deepened: all the evidence pointed towards the fact that his personal convictions were not only responsible for a terrible waste of his life. They had also negatively affected the lives of the people he purported to cherish.

Divided into three parts—The Making of a Champion, 1902-1924; The Greatest Race, 1925-42; and The Finish Line, 1943—*Eric Liddle: Pure Gold* de-emphasizes the athlete and his Olympic accomplishment and foregrounds instead Liddell's lifelong involvement in the London Missionary Society.

Florence and Eric Liddell's wedding, 1934

The son of missionaries, Liddell was raised in North China by his mother before being sent to board at the Home and School for the Sons of Missionaries in Scotland. Heartbreakingly separated from his family, Eric's early years, shared with his brother, were characterized by the hardships and discipline of a boys' boarding school. This way of life prepared him to be involved in sports at Eltham College (he was a rugby and track star there) and his Olympic victory in France. It is also clear that his early years set him on the course that led him to create his own family tragedy that was fashioned by his return to China, his decision to marry a girl ten years his junior, his lack of attention to their marriage, and finally his unnecessary and unpleasant death. In short, Eric Liddell's life is best described as that of a textbook workaholic--obsessively, one may even say compulsively, saving strangers instead of those who loved him most. He is hardly successful or admirable. Yet, throughout, McCasland inexplicably insists on presenting his subject, who was rarely at home with his wife and children, as a devoted husband and a doting father.

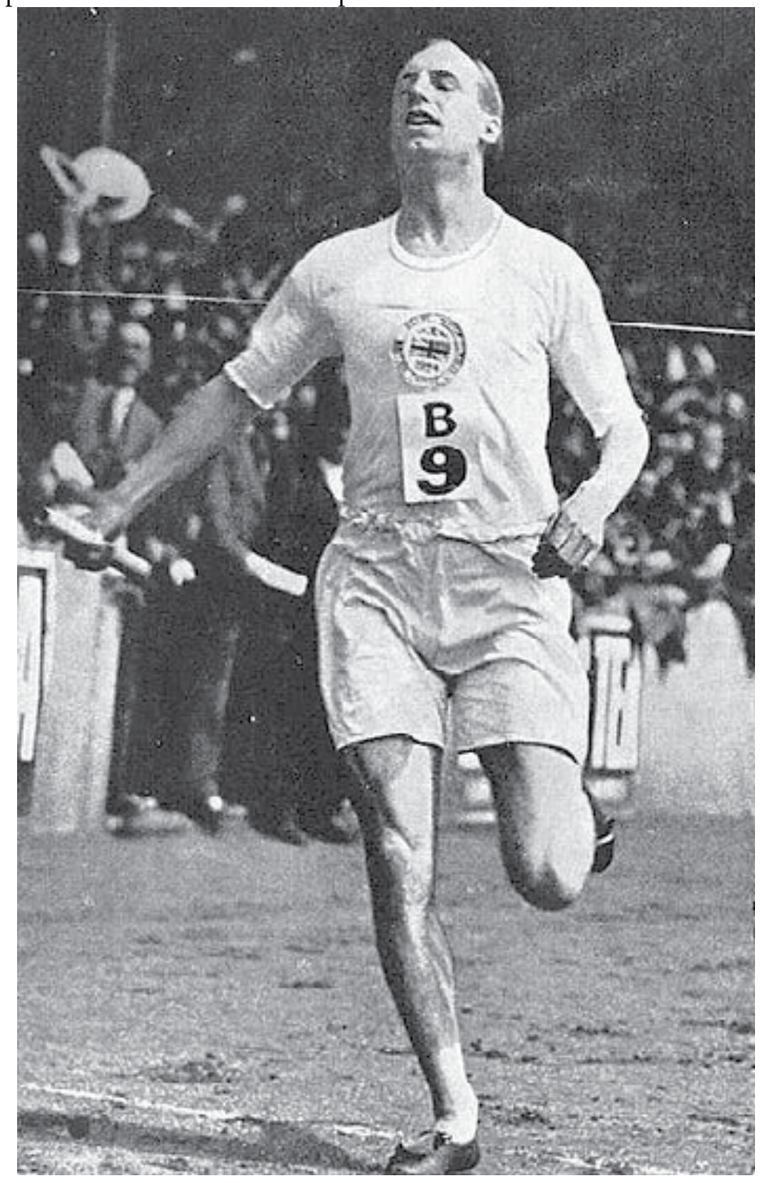
Not surprisingly, I found McCasland's treatment of Liddell's life journey suspect and ultimately unsatisfying. There seems to be little balance in this account of Liddell, arguably perhaps because there was even less balance in Liddell's life. Although McCasland's Prologue begins the biography by introducing the reader to Florence Liddell's lifelong regret that her husband did not accompany her when she and her small daughters left China for Toronto in 1937, the possibility that Eric Liddell had made a terrible mistake when deciding not to accompany his wife, then six months pregnant with their third child, onto the *Nita Maru* is not investigated at all.

Perhaps the Scot did not suffer from crises of conscience then or lapses of faith earlier in his life as Casland's account suggests, but this too is hard to believe. There is no doubt in my mind that Florence and the girls needed him much more than the Chinese in 1937. Yet, as McCasland depicts him, Liddell seems to have had little awareness of his family's feelings and his own responsibility for their safety. As a result, all the work that McCasland does to convince the reader that Liddell was indeed a golden boy goes to naught: in China, Liddell seems hardly human and is unattractive, even a stick figure, from the time he arrives to the time he dies.

McCasland's treatement Florence Liddell, on the other hand, is a much more interesting study. Florence met Eric at the highly impressionable age of fifteen in China when he was teaching Sunday school. He proposed to the popular girl in 1929 before she left China to study nursing in Toronto. Despite her worry that Eric (by that time balding) would be accused of "robbing the cradle," she accepted his proposal. After all, she was "desperately in love" with him. They married five years later in China and began their family: raising two daughters while Liddell continued his work as a missionary Discovering that her husband had not even left a will for his family's support, Florence devoted herself to caring for her children in Canada and acknowledging her daughters' anger towards their father and their feelings of abandonment. She later married a farmer, had a fourth daughter, and died in 1984. Her obituary read: "*Chariots of Fire* widow dead at 72." If Florence, as McCasland sentimentally suggests, ran with Eric in "his greatest race," I believe she beat him at the finish line--by a country mile. Poor Liddell had been running the wrong way around the track all his life. I don't think he even knew where the finish line was, much less how to get there.

Could I recommend buying this book? I remain of two minds about doing so. On the one hand, *Eric Liddell: Pure Gold* is an intensely irritating read. It is not the sort of book that I would ordinarily suggest anyone buy. McCasland attempts to glorify the life of a track star, who failed profoundly outside the stadium. On the other hand, *Eric Liddell: Pure Gold* is worth reading, because it is an excellent illustration of the general wisdom that high level athletes and personality disorders tend to keep one another company. Such wisdom certainly seems to be borne out in Liddell's case. Unlike Liddell, Abrahams stayed connected with the world of sport and finished his life "successfully." In the end, I think if one is interested in sport or religion or both, this book would be worth the money spent on it. And, as my friend demonstrated, after reading, this is a good book to pass on to someone else. I suppose I'll be handing my copy on on to the next person who will take it—probably just before another Summer Olympics unless I can find someone interested in Eric Liddell any time sooner.

Eric Liddell at the 1924 Olympics



Fawzi Karim. *Plague Lands and other poems.* **London: Carcanet Press, 2011.**

Sue Matheson

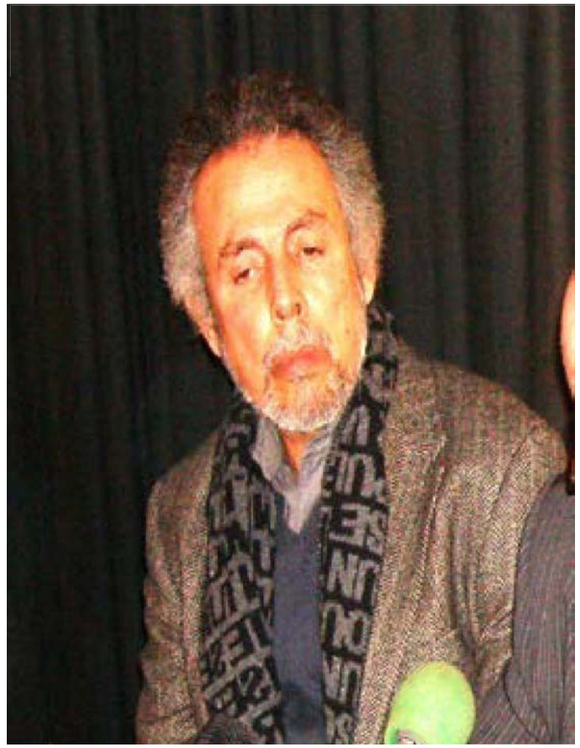
Compelling memories of Iraq from a poet in exile

Born in 1945 Baghdad and now living in London, Fawzi Karim is considered to be one of the most compelling voices of the exiled generation of Iraqui Writers and described as a "necessary poet for fractured times." Educated at Baghdad University, he lived in Lebanon from 1969 to 1972, and moved to London in 1978. A literary critic, an authority on Western classical music, a painter and a critic on Western music and English poetry in the Arabic press, Karim has also published more than fourteen books of poetry in Arabic, nine prose works (including literary criticism,) books on music, memoirs and short stories. *Plague Lands* has been published in a French translation by Said Farhan and Alim Rochat in 2003 and in Swedish in 2005.

Using translations by Abbas Kadhim and working closely with the author, Anthony Howell has created Karim's first collection of poetry in English, *Plalgue Lands and other poems*. A handsome softcover edition from Carcanet Press, *Plague Lands and other poems* contains Karim's long sequence, 'Plague Lands,' described on the book's back jacket as "an elegy for the life of a lost city...a chronicle of a journey into exile, haunted by the deep history of an ancient civilization." Nineteen shorter poems are also included. As its title indicates, *Plague Lands and other poems* is not a text for the faint of heart or the foolish traveller.

Luckily, the reader of *Plague Lands and other poetry* is supported by an excellent introduction to Karim and his work by Elena Lappin, novelist and journalist, and an afterword by Marius Kociejowski that contains a fascinating interview with the poet. Throughout Lappin's introduction and Kociejowski's afterword, Karim is presented very much as the poet in exile. Indeed, Karim presents himself as such, claiming in the Afterword's interview that his exile began long before he left Iraq--that the act of writing during Saddem Hussein's rule created his political exile from Iraq, but, while writing, he discovered that as a writer he was exiled while living in Iraq from the origins of language itself. Living in London, he says, has strengthened his relationship with Arabic. "The English language has greatly benefited me," he says, "[W]hat is said in Arabic is so boundless, so abstract whereas in English you don't employ more words than you require. This has affected my poetry….As a consequence of being here, I have become very close to the idea of the simple sentence, one in which there is no exaggerated feeling or idea or belief."

Karim may be attracted to the simplicity and what he calls the "justice" of the English language, but, to those who are unfamiliar with the complexity of Arabic, "Plague Lands" presents itself as a haunting, heavily textured elegy even in translation. Its stark images of death--its "burdened skies that weep for the days on end," "lost chords scratched from the voice," "the scent of the Euphrates," and "the sacred springs of blood"--are what one would expect from a disenfranchised poet from Iraq, but, as Lappin points out in her "Introduction," the poetry in this collection is interesting and troubling because of its unusual combination of free form and classical language. For this reader, the burden of memory is particularly uncompromising in its complexity. Karim calls upon Western tradition



Fawzi Karim

and Wilfred Owen's *Dulce et decorum est* in in Part One of *Plague Lands*: Baghdad appears majestically at the long sequence's end as "a moaning," "a flag," "a book." Arrestingly, Bahgdad is also "an ashtray for the residue of bullets" and "twinkling like a Christmas tree." The city finally "emerges / horribly stretched, with both hands nailed."

Equally powerful memories of Iraq are found in Karim's short poems. The everyday found in a "rusted tap" located underneath "a flowering oleander" in "Silent Nature" are juxtaposed with the extraordinary found in Karim's images of war. There are "scarf-swathed soldiers" whose presence acts like "a draught of cold air" in "A Soldier." In "At The Gardenia's Entrance," one finds the mundane has not been removed: two middle-aged men share a cigarette, hoping that "the bolted door / On the sidewalk of Abu Nuwas Street" will open so they can have a cup of coffee.

In these poems, as Karim indicates in the collection's Afterword, language is a recurring problem. Dressed "in the rags of a scavenger," one finds the exiled poet, in "Frogs," "searching for words / Which interrupt life." In "The Dissident Student," the young man who throws "ink and papers" in the poet's face sets "path for wisdom beyond" the poet's "commendable inkpot." Finally, the collection's last poem, "A Marble Woman" offers its reader some relief. One finds as "the poem takes the shape of a marble woman," "the shadow of meaning." Later, Karim's speaker promises "there comes about / an articulate warmth: the ultimate promise of speech." Unfortunately, however, the reader must wait for that warmth to arrive. The poem in which it exists is not included here.

Priced at £12.95 and available from Carcanet Press at www.carcanet.co.uk, *Plague Lands and other poems* is an attractive investment if you are interested in the Middle East or want to begin an acquaintance with Arabic literature and culture. I would like to see more English translations of Karim's work from Carcanet,. If Carcanet decides to continue its relationship with Fawzi Karim, I also hope Anthony Howells and Abbas Kadhim will be invited to be involved in such projects. Their work on this volume is impressive and exquisite. Fawzi is not only a "necessary poet" for the troubled and troubling times in which we live, he is also a compelling and important writer. Howells and Kadhim have done the English speaking and reading public a great service introducing him to us.

Veronica Buckley, *Queen Christina of Sweden: The Restless Life of a European Eccentric.* New York: Harper Perennial, 2004.

John Butler

Fascinating and even-handed

This is Veronica Buckley's first book, but if any readers expect it to look like a first book, they will be sadly disappointed. As Buckley, a New Zealander, tells us, her interest in Queen Christina first arose thirty years ago when she realised that the Swedish queen was not just a crazy aberration who wore men's clothes, packed a sword but still rode side-saddle. She discovered that Christina was a woman with ideas of her own and a way of looking at the world which was far more complex (and sometimes more bizarre) than extant biographies seemed to suggest, however well they evoked the period. Buckley even learned Swedish, but eventually decided that "being young and earnest is a great thing, but it's to no real advantage when you're trying to persuade other people that you can write a biography," and the projected book never appeared, at least not then. However, Christina did not go away; one event led to another and she re-emerged into the author's consciousness, and Buckley, whose accomplishments include being an orchestral cellist, finally completed doctoral studies in history at Oxford and set about making her dream of being Christina's biographer come true. Readers should be grateful that she succeeded; this is a better biography than that of Sven Stolpe (English version, 1966), which first piqued the reviewer's interest in this rather strange woman, the queen who "killed" René Descartes by making him get up at 5.00 a.m. to give her philosophy lessons and who abdicated the Swedish throne after twenty-two years (1654) in order to realise her own dream. This was to become a Catholic (Swedes were Lutheran, and the pastors went ballistic, much to Christina's amusement) and go and live in Rome, which she believed to be the centre of European refinement and civilisation, and where she insisted, in spite of having no throne to sit on any more, that she be treated like a reigning monarch. Christina spent the next several decades making the lives of several popes miserable (she was given a palace to live in), collecting art works, running up huge debts and carrying on what looked to many people like a passionate love affair with the handsome and dashing Cardinal Decio Azzolino, but this seems more likely, as Buckley explains, to have been a "romantic friendship" involving no sexual contact, although the requisite whiff of scandal wafted through the halls of the Vatican. Christina had always fascinated; Oliver Cromwell's wife Elizabeth, we are told, recommended, showing him a portrait of the Swedish queen, that if she were to die, her husband should ask Queen Christina

Christina of Sweden

to marry him! Bulstrode Whitelocke, the Protectoral ambassador to Sweden, didn't quite know what to make of her, and poor Pope Clement IX, a former philosophy professor and a man of unimpeachable integrity, not to say patience, kept coming back for more torment time after time, both before and after he became pope.

Buckley tackles her subject with panache and sympathy. Writing biographies of eccentrics can be problematical because it's difficult to distinguish genuine eccentricity from attention-grabbing, particularly in the present time. Buckley had to decide when Christina was simply posturing and when she was exhibiting genuine eccentric behaviour. The reader ends up with the impression that Christina was a person who loved adventure and was extremely ambitious, that she both loved and detested power, that she often overestimated her own intelligence and was extremely insecure. Christina often had no idea what she really wanted, just that she wanted it and would have it no matter what the cost to herself or to others. When she considered herself betrayed, she reacted with deadly fury, as the case of the unfortunate marchese Gian Rinaldo Monaldeschi demonstrates; Christina, although she had abicated, still considered herself a sovereign, and when it transpired that Monaldeschi (also listed as a lover of the queen) had likely been spying on her for Spain, she had him brutally murdered, watching some of the process herself as it unfolded. After the incident, the queen sent money to purchase masses for Monaldsechi's soul. As the murder had taken place in France, Louis XIV and the French government took umbrage, whilst the pope was furious, threatening legal action because the marchese had been one of his subjects. Christina reacted by declaring "I cannot believe that the king of France assumes any power over me. That would be incompatible with my birth and my standing, since in that respect I am the equal of any ruler on earth. I recognize no superior save God alone." In a personal letter to Cardinal Mazarin she added "I have no reason to repent of it, but a hundred thousand reasons to feel satisfied." This extraordinary missive ended on a typically defiant note. "Those are my feelings on the subject," Christina wrote; "If you accept them,

I shall be pleased. If not, I shall continue to hold them anyway. . .”

This kind of thing shows Christina at her best and worst. She does not doubt herself for one moment, which is admirable, but she commanded the death of a man who was not one of her subjects in a land over which she did not reign. She wanted to both be a queen and not be a queen; contradictions abound in the character of Christina and Veronica Buckley manages to present her for what she was then and still is now, a person who did not fit the mould and who strove her whole life to find something of her own in which to fit which was not marriage, motherhood or the rule of a country which she both loved and despised. Queen Christina was a woman who cracked crude jokes and tolerated what we would have considered rape at her court, yet avoided sexual contact altogether with either men or women (there was no sexual affair with her friend Ebba Sparre, whom Christina called “Belle”). As a female ruler, she had no tolerance for women in power or indeed for being a woman at all, it seems. “As a young girl I had an overwhelming aversion to everything women do and say,” she wrote, and later went on to note that “Women should never be rulers, and I am so convinced of this that I would have barred my daughters from the succession if I had married.” So much for sisterhood and solidarity. It gets worse for feminist historians as Christina continues: “Women are too ignorant, too weak in body and mind. . .women who rule, or try to rule, only make themselves ridiculous one way or another. I myself am no exception. . .”

Veronica Buckley’s strength in this book lies in her even-handedness with her exasperating subject and with her ability to create atmosphere. Without degenerating into a kind of “historical-fiction.” Style, she brilliantly evokes the times, the personalities and the politics so that they become fascinating and interesting to the non-specialist, as well as providing scholarly footnotes and an extensive bibliography of sources, many in Swedish. The illustrations are disappointing, because they are, in the manner of so many books printed these days, squashed up, all in poor-quality black and white, and printed on cheap paper. Even the frontispiece is black and white. This might keep the cost of the book down, but a book is more than the cost of its production. The appendix, which consists of personal information about the author also contains an essay on “Christina: Myth and Reality,” in which Buckley discusses, amongst other matters, the film *Queen Christina* (1933), with Greta Garbo in the title role, which may interest some readers. In this book Queen Christina comes vividly to life, and the reviewer hopes that Veronica Buckley will tackle the life of her extraordinary father, Gustav Adolf II, whom Christina hardly knew but whose legend she worshipped, and whose personality, whether she liked it or not, would always be present in the background.

CONTRIBUTORS

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Shreya Bose is a graduate student in English Literature at Jadavpur University in India. She enjoys Anthrax and Porcupine Tree, obsesses over Steven Wilson, loves windy days, and Yasunari Kawabata and hates sunlight. The first poem she read was Coleridge’s “Frost at Midnight,” and when she did, she realized it was the first time that she could picture entire tales in cinemascope inside her head. What’s more, they were more fun than Saturday morning cartoons.

John Butler is an associate professor of Humanities at University College of the North. Formerly a professor of British Studies at Chiba University, Tokyo, he specializes in seventeenth-century intellectual history and travel literature, especially that of Asia and Asia Minor. John and his wife Sylvia live in The Pas with their 3 cats.

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Biennial Southern Women Writers Conference in Rome, Georgia. This May, she will present her research on reading Katherine Anne Porter as a reconstructive process of memory at the American Literature Association in Boston, Massachusetts. Heather is also a writing and rhetoric instructor at Virginia Commonwealth University and works as a research assistant for Bryant Mangum on projects such as his forthcoming book, *F. Scott Fitzgerald in Context* (Cambridge), and The Chapel Hill/Hilton Stories of Alice Adams.

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call for papers

The *quint's* nineteenth issue is issuing a call for theoretically informed and historically grounded submissions of scholarly interest—as well as creative writing, original art, interviews, and reviews of books. The deadline for this call is 15th June 2013—but please note that we accept manu/digi-scripts at any time.

quint guidelines

All contributions accompanied by a short biography will be forwarded to a member of the editorial board. Manuscripts must not be previously published or submitted for publication elsewhere while being reviewed by *the quint's* editors or outside readers.

Hard copies of manuscripts should be sent to Dr. John Butler or Dr. Sue Matheson at *the quint*, University College of the North, P.O. Box 3000, The Pas, Manitoba, Canada, R9A 1M7. We are happy to receive your artwork in digital format, PDF preferred. Email copies of manuscripts, Word or RTF preferred, should be sent to either jbutler@ucn.ca or smatheson@ucn.ca.

Essays should range between 15 and 25 pages of double-spaced text, including all images and source citations. Longer and shorter submissions also will be considered. Bibliographic citation should be the standard disciplinary format.

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