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# From Bama's *Karukku* ([1992] 2014) to Yashica Dutt's *Coming Out as Dalit: A Memoir* (2019): The Changing Nature of Dalit Feminist Consciousness

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**Abstract:**

Dalit literature articulates the oppression and exploitation faced by Dalits in a caste-ridden society as it records their social and cultural lives before and after India's independence. This cultural revolt that burgeoned in the 1970s has largely been Dalit male-centric in its orientation, adopting paternalistic and patronising tones towards Dalit women. As a consequence, Dalit women remained firmly encapsulated in the patriarchal roles of the silent, agenciless and 'victimised sexual being,' perpetuating thus gendered stereotypes. These accounts failed to properly address Dalit women's predicament and the interlocking oppression of caste and gender, which compelled them to create a distinct space for themselves. Dalit women have traversed a long path over the last four decades. During this time, their consciousness has evolved in many ways as reflected in Dalit writing. Life narratives, such as Bama's *Karukku* and Yashica Dutt's *Coming Out as Dalit: A Memoir*, function as the locus of enunciation where agency and self-identity are attended and asserted by Dalit women, through different approaches. As the social location determines the perception of reality, this paper attempts a look at how these two texts tackle and bring to the centre the gendered nature of caste and the power relations that still affect Dalit women, from a heterogeneous standpoint. It further analyses how through form, language and subject matter, Dalit women attempt to defy generic conventions, depart from imposed identities, and build up resistance against this enduring double oppression and the forces that insist on homogenising Dalit body politics.

**Keywords:** Dalit Studies; Caste System; Gendered Casteism; Feminist Studies; Dalit Female Consciousness.



## 1. Introduction

Dalit life experiences, insights and aspirations have informed and shaped Dalit literature through a particular critical perspective, namely, the Dalit perspective. Yet, the Indian caste system has not only produced a vertical oppression, but also a horizontal one as is the case of Dalit women's multi-layered discrimination.<sup>1</sup> The aim of this paper is to examine the power structures that continue to affect the lives of Dalit women and to examine various discourses of difference that have emerged from them. In other words, it sets to examine the Dalit feminist discourse.

There has been a pervasive assumption in the Dalit movement that Dalit women are included and represented. The literary address, however, has systematically reproduced a glaring gender differentiation between Dalit men and women. The Dalit woman has been portrayed not only as 'a guest appearance' in Dalit texts (Guru 2008, 160), but also as an injured subject, a passive victim "of the lust of [...] men" (Kumar 2010, 219) encapsulated "firmly in the roles of the 'mother' and the 'victimised sexual being'" (Rege 1998, 42). Her sexuality has also been culturally constructed in the male gaze (Mulvey 1999, 837-843)—particularly in the Dalit one—a phenomenon that has converted Dalit masculinity in a medium for the evaluation and shaping of the general Dalit identity and politics. The contrast between her body and the chaste and honourable one of the upper-caste woman has rendered her as sexually available by both upper and lower-caste men. Charu Gupta explains that it is the "alleged 'loose' character of Dalit women" that exacerbated their sexual exploitation (Gupta 2011, 25). The transcription of caste and patriarchy on the female Dalit body turned it into a subject to be acted upon and to be written about. This inclined Dalit women to internalise the negative codification attached to them as well as their susceptibility to violence. Yashica Dutt explains: "the weight of my Dalitness had settled so deep within me that I'd stopped feeling its weight or recognizing its presence" (Dutt 2019, xiii).

Another factor that obscured Dalit women's authentic representation has been Indian feminism's scholarships and policies around women's differences. The context of gender disenfranchisement has been constructed in a discourse of convenience and convention, and it has often given way to undifferentiated conglomerates. Indian feminism has questioned the existing gender relations and gender discrimination and control of sexuality through the theorisation of patriarchy but, in so doing, it has turned into a monolithic category that has

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1 The idea of 'Triple Dalit' or 'Thrice Dalit' termed by the scholar Fiona Margaret Page Dalton (2008) arises from this particular social position of Dalit women.

failed to reckon with pluralising and complex factors such as religion, ethnicity, class and caste, among others.

In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Dalit women writers sought to recast the patriarchal male gaze and to overturn the established misogynistic notions attached to them so as to reclaim humanity for themselves and the women depicted in their texts. By the same token, towards the 1990s, they began to question Indian feminism's claim to universal representation and to pinpoint its exclusive focus on issues of upper-caste/middle-class women. In other words, they began to challenge at the same time the 'masculinisation of lower castes' and the 'savarnization of Indian women' (Tharu and Niranjana 1996, 232-260).

The constitution of the Dalit female subject through varied oppressive and exclusive discourses and practices, as argued before, still problematises any universal or homogeneous experience. Apart from obvious spatial and temporal differences that affect the process of subject formation, there continue to exist 'unclaimed experiences' with different combinations of ethnicity, caste and class. There is, thus, the need to take into account varied Dalit female subjectivities within a post-modern context still laced with a patriarchal and traditional culture and rigid gender expectations. In her quest to replace the 'single story' (Dutt 2019, 179) written about them so far, Dutt signals the "twenty-something middle-class college kids, forty-something neighbours, Internet-savvy parents or successful entrepreneurs" (177), "those who live in the cities and in villages, those who read Ambedkar or don't, those who are out as Dalit or not and those who exist somewhere in between" (ix), and those who have migrated like her.

The texts chosen for analysis are written from two similar yet different Dalit female subject positions. Bama, also known as Bama Faustina, is a Dalit feminist, teacher and novelist born in 1958 into a Catholic family in the then southern Madras State—now Tamil Nadu. Despite the financial and social difficulties, she managed to finish her studies and obtain a teaching degree, although the search for a job took her through yet another series of humiliations and discrimination. She wrote *Karukku* in 1992 after spending seven years as a nun and a teacher in a Christian convent from where she walked out disillusioned and determined to put her experiences to paper. Back then, the Tamil publishing industry found her language unacceptable and *Karukku* had to be published privately. The text broke barriers in more than one way: it was not only the first autobiography by a Dalit woman writer and a classic of subaltern writing, but it is a bold and poignant writing of life outside mainstream Indian thought. With the casteist discrimination within the Catholic Church at its core, this text portrays the tension between the self and the community, and presents Bama's life as a process of self-reflection and recovery from social and institutional oppression. *Karukku* was first translated into

English in 2000, but this second edition includes a Postscript and a special note titled 'Ten Years Later' in which Bama revisits her harrowing experiences.

Yashica Dutt is a freelance journalist and writer, born into a Dalit family in 1986 in a city in the northern state of Rajasthan. After spending most of her teenage years in New Delhi, she migrated to the United States to continue her studies. At seven years old she joined a boarding school, being 'advised' by her mother to hide her Dalit identity and to learn from her classmates how to behave as an upper caste. She has kept her caste hidden ever since. Following the suicide of Rohith Vemula, a Dalit PhD student at Hyderabad University, as a consequence of casteist discrimination, Dutt publicly declared herself a Dalit in 2016. Since then, she has launched a platform called 'Document of Dalit Discrimination' for Dalits to share their stories of caste discrimination. Her book *Coming Out as Dalit* is the latest writing by a Dalit woman and compiles her experiences and those of many Dalits who have used her platform to speak.

These two texts complement each other not only in drawing a timeline of casteism in the post-Independence and democratic era, but also in giving an account of the Dalit female attitude's progression.<sup>2</sup> There are clear spatial and temporal differences that have resulted in an experiential diversity. *Karukku* illustrates the social reality and Dalit feminist consciousness of 1992, while *Coming Out as Dalit* of 2019 brings to light the consequences of Indian affirmative action towards Depressed Castes such as Dalits nearly 70 years after its implementation and counters the post-caste narrative.

## 2. We Do as We See: The Dalit Female Interpellated Subject

Judith Butler (1993, 1999) points to the role of discourse in shaping gender identity and in creating an intelligible subject. The psychologist Erik Erikson (1968) believed that certain developmental tasks occur at specific stages in one's life. He particularly highlighted adolescent identity development as a critical

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2 Bama and Yashica Dutt are not the only Dalit women who dared to speak up against the caste system. Two of the first Dalit women who also voiced their predicament are Urmila Pawar and Baby Kamble. Apart from documenting the plight and everyday struggles of the women in their community, these two Dalit female writers develop, in the course of their weave, alternative expressive spaces for resistance and agency. Although Urmila Pawar does not display a radical rejection of social structures in her text *The Weave of My Life* (2008), she does suggest Dalit women's role in revising and reshaping unjust social practices. Baby Kamble's *The Prisons We Broke* (2008), on the other hand, deploys a more radical and angrier discourse to prove that Dalit women are far from being 'silent subjects' at the receiving end of humiliation. She was determined to lay bare the emergence of a Dalit female subject who speaks up, writes out and confronts outright (Guru 2008, 5).

milestone arguing that, during this period, the young person enters a psychological moratorium in which he or she experiments with roles and identities drawn from the surrounding culture. Along these lines, if young individuals are unable to experiment or are submitted to constricted and oppressing identities, they may suffer identity confusion and diffusion with negative consequences, such as social withdrawal, depression and anxiety. Similarly, given the family system's input for identity knowledge, the inequality or gender bias within the family can lead to personal and relational problems that can persist into adulthood. Identity formation, then, is not simply an agentic, internally driven and controlled process; precisely by having to adapt oneself to a stigmatised context, one is forced to either repress or falsify oneself in order to fit in and survive.

The gender bias existing in Indian society can lead the young Dalit woman to feel like a secondary citizen, a feeling she often initially learns in her own home and carries with her out into the world. This concurs with Judith Butler's concepts of 'performativity' (1993) and 'constrained agency' (1999). According to this critic, we perform our identities according to the social pressure or normative discourse that governs our society. In this vein, gender is socially constructed via language, symbolic interaction and socialisation within a normative paradigm that supports rigid gender scripts and social categories, shaping then an 'interpellated subject' (Butler 1999).

The regulatory nature of the dominant casteist and patriarchal discourse has historically interpellated the Dalit female as a passive and silent victim and this has impacted on how she performs her gender. Yet, she will not only act out, but also internalise, in the process, her 'appropriate' or expected identity so as to gain acceptance or avoid repercussions.<sup>3</sup> Bama acknowledges, "in the face of poverty, the girl children cannot see the sense in schooling" and, instead "stayed at home, collecting firewood, looking after the house, caring for the babies, and doing household chores" (Bama 2014, 79). The regulation of one's identity has gone beyond one's character and has also affected what one should look like. Given Indian society's obsession with fairness, in order to get closer to an 'accepted identity'—or just to avoid any kind of offense—Dalit women were made very conscious of their skin colour. As Dutt reckons, "the bias against dark skin affects both men and women," but in the patriarchal set-up "it is women who suffer its consequences the most" (Dutt 2019, 17).

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3 This is what Butler has termed as 'intelligibility' or the subjectivity given only to those who fit into and reiterate the dominant norm. Those who do not fit into such social categories—due to their gender, social or ethnic backgrounds—are marked off and 'abjected' as unviable, unintelligible subjects that cannot be recognised within the matrix of normalcy (Butler 1993, 3).

The persistence of colourism in modern India is put forth by Dutt's confession about her mother's obsession with fair skin:

She would try a new ubtan every week and faithfully shielded her arms, face and other uncovered body parts from the stinging rays of the sun; she still does. Even her mother and grandmother bathed with home-made ubtan instead of soap. [...] Dad's family would ridicule her for not being fair enough, even as most of them, except Dad, were of the same skin tone. [...] This became a constant source of anxiety for her. Before I was old enough to remember or protest, she started bathing me with ubtans –something I had no choice but to follow [...] I understood that I *needed* to be fair to be accepted, and not 'Dalit-looking' [...]. (30; italics in the original)

In light of this constrained agency and performativity, both Bama and Dutt unmask the depth of the iniquitous caste system and how its social hierarchy materialises into collective dehumanisation and discrimination. They also denounce that, not only has their social subjectivity been shaped, but the gender normative has also been set differently for them as Dalits. In other words, they argue against the simple 'intersection' of caste and gender as separate issues, claiming instead that they assume added meanings and consequences.

Nevertheless, Dutt's text does account for a change in the Dalit female subject. Despite continuing to be interpellated subjects privately and publicly, Dutt argues that their access to the Internet and the existence of several Dalit women's organisations have amplified Dalit women's voices and have diversified the feminist narrative in India. More significantly, she calls for a different set of parameters when considering Dalit female agency: while some of them have the means to protest or to put pen to paper, the overwhelming majority of them pose a challenge to the caste through simple, daily acts that create progress and build momentum (Dutt 2019, 181).

### 3. Sexed Subjectivity

One of the consequences of performativity and constrained agency is the doubly-inflicted sexual violence on Dalit women: whereas upper-caste women's subordination usually ends in their families, Dalit women's subordination extends. Besides household responsibilities, Dalit women have had to toil in the public realm and this has resulted in the questioning of their chastity and honour—in the devaluation of their womanhood and citizenship. In fact, as sexual violence is normalised as part of caste violence and male privilege, it is often not even conceived as violation—except when resistance is encountered, in

which case 'male rights' are brutally asserted. Moreover, the association between practices of intimacy and caste preservation has resulted in the positing of women as the keepers of the family and the community's honour. In order to secure this honour—or to avenge it—female sexuality is regulated and humiliation against them is intensified. As a result, the security of both 'the private' and 'the public' have been denied to Dalit women and the conflation rather than separation of both spaces has shaped their compartmentalised subjectivity. Dutt terms this as a "disgusting misogyny" (Dutt 2019, 59) that considers a "stubborn and wasteful expense" to educate girls (34) and that condemns women for being "too proud", 'too outspoken' or 'too confident'" (6).

This patriarchal set-up takes on added restrictions on women upon economic and social betterment, "a deeper subscription to Brahminical patriarchy" (8). As Dutt narrates about her better-off parents,

[her father] would drag [her mother] from the makeshift kitchen at the back of the house to their room, beating her all the while. One evening when he slapped her, the impact punctured her eardrum. When she told her father about this abuse, he came to see her. But by the time her father came to visit, she had softened her stance, especially after Dad's father 'advised' her to be a good daughter-in-law by not reporting her husband's abuse [...]. (6)

Dutt adds that rape of Dalit women is still "shockingly normal" (143), a reality that they often have to accept as part of their lives. This proves that the Dalit female body continues to be symbolised through violence and violation up to the point that it has become an aspect of her gendered Dalit personhood. Bama also bears witness to the continuation of Dalit women's 'othering' within the democratic social structure of India: their beauty is still seen as burdensome and they are forced to subjugate their needs to please others through image creation, repression and subordination. Many incidents in *Karukku* occur on the body of women so as to show that the Dalit female body is the site where forces of patriarchy undoubtedly unleash, but also the place for subversion and reclaiming female subjectivity. Inter-caste strife was recurrent in Bama's village, although there is one in particular between Bama's community and the Chaaliyar community that is a case in point. Following a fight in which a Chaaliyar man got beaten up, the Chaaliyars placed an elaborate and exaggerated police complaint against Bama's whole community, which prompted the police to charge against Bama's community and heavily abuse the menfolk before arresting them. In order to protect their men, the women from her community devised several plans to trick the police such as making up labour pains (Bama 2014, 39), faking sickness to keep the police away from their houses (40) or disguising men in women's saris (42). In contrast to the traditional image

of Indian womanhood that upholds values such as modesty and shyness, Bama thus insists on showcasing an emerging Dalit woman: one that is independent, courageous and straightforward whose epitome is Yashica Dutt. Bela Malik words that “the younger women [are] most militant and less willing to tolerate the terms of their existence” (Malik 2005, 102) resonate with Dutt whose subject position removes her from the mainstream social paradigm but, at the same time, provides her with the tools to efficiently counteract.

#### 4. Perilous Sanskritisation

Another aspect put forth by Dalit women writers is Dalits’ need to emulate the upper-caste lifestyle as a coping mechanism and survival strategy, but also its damaging effects for Dalits in general and Dalit women in particular. For Gabriele Dietrich (2003), patriarchy in Dalit castes is an imitation of upper-caste culture. But, although it is true that Bama, for instance, portrays many poor Dalit women who do not carry the markers of religion or marriage—as upper-caste women do—or who fight back domestic violence, *Karukku* is not free from the violence perpetrated against Dalit women in economically backward families. This indicates that the internalisation of male dominance has taken place before the economic upward-mobility of Dalits began.

That being said, economic prosperity has indeed led to a certain imitation of upper-caste cultural values within Dalit families and this has often added oppression to women. Dutt depicts the continuation of female oppression among the educated Dalits in the city and the diaspora and she specifically underlines the emotional and mental damage experienced by Dalit women when trying to hide their caste (Dutt 2019, 15, 37, 132). Dutt’s family has unquestioningly followed Hindu rituals and notions of purity and impurity so as to become acceptable within the caste Hindu framework. This has been known as the Gandhian approach to the problem of untouchability, a liberal Hinduist method which affirms individual agency by creating conditions of non-untouchability on the part of Dalits by following the oppressor caste’s habits and worldview. The major issue of this approach is that it shifts the epistemic privilege from the Dalit to the caste Hindu and from the realm of the collective to that of the individual. This means that the citizen-subjecthood of Dalits is contingent upon their will and ability to model themselves culturally upon the paternalistic higher castes. In this resolution, Dalits not only lose out on their discursive pre-eminence, but also their agency. Besides, the guilt of rejecting one’s identity and the fear of getting caught follow the ‘emulator’ every step of the way. Dutt’s moments of triumph as a young girl, for instance, were accompanied by self-flagellation. Caste has continued to haunt her when she chose to work as a fashion journalist, eschewing politics for fear that in writing a story or expressing

an opinion she might reveal her caste. As she poignantly argues, “We don’t leave our Dalitness behind just so that we can blend in more easily. We do it because sometimes that’s our only option. We change our last names so we can get jobs and rent houses. We lie about our caste so our friends, classmates and teachers don’t think we are lesser than them. We learn their habits so no one can use our Dalitness to make fun of us” (181).

This is an ephemeral and fragile attempt which often proves insufficient: “for my journey to start, I had to leave India so I didn’t have to worry about what would happen if people found out about my caste” (135). Emotional turbulence persisted in her adulthood because of the recurrent moral dilemmas posed to her by the clash between her Sanskritised self and her evolving Dalit self: “Right now, I believe it was the right choice. She [her mother] was trying to protect us and give us a good education” (Dhillon 2020, n.p.), she concludes.

As for Bama, once free from the shackles of rural patriarchy and casteism, she recounts Dalit women’s inability to go to the cinema in the city (Bama 2014, 58) or the dangers and stigma attached to them when being alone or moving freely around (119), which demonstrates that their constraints and incapacities on account of their caste and class position are often considerably aggravated in the urban space. In fact, these limits of mobility and hybridity in the city eventually prompted Bama to resolutely return home (136). The disappointing contact with the urban space diminished her spirit of resistance and forced a young and educated Bama to recognise the impossibility of escaping stigma, thus signalling the failure of the Ambedkarite approach and Indian democracy in resolving the Dalit problem. She inscribes this both at the level of content and form as her narrative loops back and forth, constantly circling around the home territory that can never be left behind: “In this society, if you are born into a low caste, you are forced to live a life of humiliation and degradation until your death. Even after death, caste-difference does not disappear” (26).

Both Bama and Dutt show that Sanskritisation involves a constant cultural flow, able to blur or highlight boundaries. In their cases, the emulation of the ways of the ‘other’ has only emphasised their difference, their status always incomplete, always behind. Worse still, their oppression has acquired added inter/intra dimensions as it “led to upper caste norms and upper caste patriarchal practices percolation into the lower caste ranks too” (Chakravarti 2013, 87-88).

## 5. Hybrid Social Realism

Taking a cue from Antonio Gramsci’s postulation on subaltern theory, Cosimo Zene applies Spivak’s notorious question to the issue of Dalits: Can the subaltern speak? And he argues: “Not only does the Dalit woman speak and talk, but she



wants to be listened to through words, poetry, singing, dancing and working—and more precisely the always underpaid extra-work” (Zene 2020, 88-89).

As this paper aims to show, Dalit women’s writings aim at confronting the reader with ethical questions. Yet, not only is the subject matter at issue; the aesthetics deployed to put forth these topics is also a consequential tool in challenging a passive consumption altogether. As is the case with most Dalit writers, the most immediate manner to deliver and assert their cultural and social specificities has been the autobiographical mode.<sup>4</sup> The fact that Dalit autobiographies have taken on various forms and are charged with significant political investment has motivated many critics to categorise them as ‘life narratives’. Life writing has been interpreted as “a general term that takes a life, one’s own or another’s, as its subject. Such writing can be biographical, novelistic, historical or explicitly self-referential and therefore autobiographical” (Watson and Smith 2010, 4). Mini Krishnan writes in the ‘Editor’s Note’ to *Karukku*: “Breaking a silence that has lasted for more generations than we can count comes Bama’s *Karukku*, a text which is a life story that could lay the foundation for a course on Dalit memoirs. Part autobiography, part analysis, part manifesto” (Krishnan 2014, xxv).

Although mainly biographical, Dalit female writings do not lack aesthetics, rather, aesthetics is a quintessential part of their critical political project. They are useful cultural texts that provide entry points to Dalits’ material conditions and trauma from a specific spatio-temporal perspective and, more importantly, in a symbolic and metaphorical language. It is a literature of social reform whose dominant representational strategy is described as the social realist mode. The fact that this kind of literature not only revises realism’s history of representational failures, but also calls into question the opposition between aesthetics and politics, points to narrative hybridisation (Gajarawala 2013, 173).<sup>5</sup> The form of the texts and the way the events unfold further suggest an aesthetic allegiance to a moral order on the part of the writer (Dash 2020, 99).

Both *Karukku* and *Coming Out as Dalit* prove the ongoing faith of Dalit writers in the social realist mode; but they indeed challenge and adapt it precisely by not adhering to Dalit women’s victimisation and self-pity, but by artfully and ingeniously transforming pain into a social weapon, instead.

4 Given the Indian historical context and the influence of the caste system, autobiography was not a popular genre since collectivity has been preferred to individual agency (Arnold and Blackburn 2004, 5). This changed in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century due to factors such as the liberalisation of discourse and the political assertion of marginalised groups, such as Dalits.

5 Dalit realism differs from social realism in that, apart from countering the elision of caste, it purports to endow Dalit characters with subjectivity.

“The Dalit should write as a Dalit”, declared Bama (2001, np) in an interview. The Dalit writer must disturb what she calls “the superficial orderliness of the status quo” by which she refers to the rules of grammar, syntax, prosody and the so-called decency of standard languages (Bama 1999, 98). As a Dalit writer herself, she unequivocally made sure to stamp her ‘Dalitness’ on her writings. However, this ‘linguistic’ protest, so evident in *Karukku*, is not present in *Coming Out as Dalit*, as Dutt uses a ‘sanitised’ and formal language to put forth her protest. Moreover, the literariness and narrativity in Bama’s text is replaced by an emphatic journalistic style in Dutt in which personal accounts are laced with history and the latest data on Dalits and Dalit women’s state of affairs.

In addition, Bama and Dutt have staged issues of caste and gender through a particular gender-cum-community perspective (Naik 2016, 16) that often disregards the unified subject presupposed in the canonical Bildungsroman. In these texts, one has to search for the ‘I’ through a careful reading of the ‘we’ since, although they do mostly narrate their lives, the background of these narrations are the struggles of their community. This displacement of the authorial ‘I’, not only grants the Dalit subject a matter-of-fact exteriority, but also confers space for the ‘others’ to get in, to forge a collective voice and identity which has not been possible in an individual manner—especially not for women. This is precisely what we find in *Karukku*. Bama writes her autobiography to heal her internal wounds (Bama 2014, ix) but manages to represent a shared suffering as she deploys a fluctuating and organic shift between the generic conventions of individual life-writing and collective biography. *Karukku*, in fact, does not seem to have a protagonist whose singular growth is charted. In the first chapter, even before we know anything about the narrator’s life, we get a glimpse of the community, stories about many Dalit women—some who have taken their lives of suffering as the only possible reality (80), while others strive to resist—as if she wanted the reader to pay attention to the structures within which varied Dalit female subjectivities function.

Dutt’s text, although apparently more self-centred, is also a mapping of the history of many Dalit women, of their powerlessness as much as their gradual attainment of political consciousness. She writes: “I talk of the lives of a varied group of Dalits” (Dutt 2019, ix), although she feels the need to clarify later on that, “it details my own experiences, those of my family and goes deep into the areas of Indian society I am familiar with [...] What it is not is a comprehensive history of Dalits in India and it should not be taken as such. There are many aspects of the Dalit experience that lie outside the scope of this book” (180). Even so, the lurking pluralised register in her text, which encompasses different voices, emotions and subjectivities should not be overlooked as part of her literary responsibility, beyond the aesthetic and self-reflexive plane.

## 6. Dalit Feminism

The experience of humiliation produces “its own structures of subjectivity” (Kumar 2013, 166), but it also shapes a specific reaction and counteraction. The agency and assertion laid bare in these texts through a particular narrative framework and a purposeful politics of language shape a ‘Dalit feminism’ with a potential to address multiple subjugating intersectionalities—be it the caste system, patriarchy or subalternity in general. Dalit female writers such as Bama and Dutt bring on a structural and linguistic difference from the universalist category of Dalit and Indian women writing in that their aesthetic concerns are directed towards a more productive articulation of their social subjectivity in literature. In *Karukku*, the iconoclastic, non-conformist narrator uses a confrontational tone of “a fierce anger that wants to break down everything that obstructs the creation of an equal and just society, and an unshakable belief in that goal” (Bama 2014, 138).<sup>6</sup>

In transforming their material and conceptual spaces into spaces of radical politics and being, both Bama and Dutt reveal themselves as active and reflective subjects, albeit at different paces and from different positions. They inherently warn against the mere reinforcement of stereotypes and the aestheticisation of experience as they purposefully rework the boundary between suffering and emancipation while retaining in a way a certain ambivalence. As a result, the recount of their daily ordeal is imbued with a political programme and agenda for emancipation. For Bama “writing itself is a political act and it is one of the weapons that [she] use[s] to fight against this dehumanizing caste practice” (Sarangi 2018, 4). Similarly, “by writing, [...] For a few precious minutes, [Dutt] felt an unfamiliar combination of triumph and self-worth” (Dutt 2019, 131). The new Dalit women, according to her, do not “need traditional print and TV news outlets to leave their mark on history” (167); while some protest, some organise and some write; yet, “many of us don’t. We go to school, raise children, have jobs, run businesses, experience joy and success, and that in itself is our biggest challenge to caste” (181). This new Dalit woman, thus, rejects predestined and imposed identities, contests the ideology that degrades and dehumanises her, and insists in redefining caste as a contemporary form of social and cultural inequality and power relations.

Another remarkable aspect of this Dalit feminism is the writers’ acknowledgement of the vast differences, even contradictory positions, between Dalit women themselves. They repeatedly urge the question of caste be argued out from every class, caste, religious and geographical position possible. It is this particular Dalit consciousness and perspective and the vision that Dalit female writers bring to literature about caste and Indian society as a whole that constitute the contemporary Dalit women writing.

<sup>6</sup> When asked about the tag ‘Dalit Feminism’ Bama responded: “The life of a Dalit woman is totally different from a non-Dalit woman. So, Dalit feminism is a must” (Sarangi 2018, 4).

## 7. Conclusion

In Indian and Dalit mainstream schema, the questions of Dalit women's representation and their role in the emancipation of the Dalit community were hardly attended to, or were else heavily misrepresented by attributing models of passivity and victimisation to them. As a result, patriarchy became normalised whereas Dalit women's capacity for criticality and agency was being overlooked and undermined in inversely proportional manner. The neglect of Dalit subjecthood within the mainstream feminist framework added to Dalit women's marginalisation and resulted in Dalit women's need to formulate their convoluted subject positions.

Dalit female writers such as Bama and Yashica Dutt depict how social rules and forces have dictated—and continue to do so—power differentials which, besides affecting the micro and macro systems in society, can definitely affect behaviour, cognition and determine one's social inclusion. Butler's take on gender, identity and performativity conceptualises how dominant social discourses about normalcy and viability can shape one's gender, image and sense of self. One is forced, she argues, to engage in a specific type of performance in order to conform and be accepted in a society that honours the performance of 'intelligible subjects' (Butler 1993). Identity then is impacted by internal, familial and social forces, a fluid interaction between the person and their environment. Those females outside the dominant culture, as is the case of Dalit women, suffer a more pronounced gender socialisation and, consequently, run a higher risk of psychological dissociation and internalisation due to the intersecting variables of their 'othering'.

While violence against women is certainly not unique to Indian society, the social institution of caste reinforces the humiliation, subordination, seclusion and exploitation that Dalit women face. This inevitably leads to the internalisation of patriarchal ideologies that will result in more societal pressure and oppression. Additionally, the responsibility and necessity of working outside their households often generates mental agony on account of the indignity and sexual humiliation they often suffer. Bama and Dutt demonstrate how violence against women cuts across caste, class and spaces and lay bare the paradox of sexual violation as constitutive of female identity.

In their quest to recover a wide range of Dalit female experiences and voices, Dalit women life narratives such as Bama and Dutt's intertwine the internal and the external realm, come to grips with the everyday experiences of caste and gender, and politically situate the subject in its specificities. By conflating confessional experiences with prevailing social issues—such as the recovery of disregarded Dalit female positionalities, the impact that oppressive structural forces have had on Dalit gender performance, the paradox of sexual violence as constitutive of female identity, and the pervasiveness of caste in unsuspected contexts—through a more complex approach, they have posed a significant challenge to the individualistic

nature of autobiographical writing. Bama and Dutt assert their being part of the communal processes by placing the individual entity of the writer/protagonist in tandem with the collective Dalit female identity—although this communitarian notion is more evinced by Bama—thus highlighting the fact that the Dalit female self comes across as a layered and complex entity.

The act of writing in and through public debate is an important political act and the representation of Dalit female life in literature is indeed a form of resilient and subversive activism: a space for the (re)presentation, (re)consideration and (re)cognition of subjects whose sole existence poses a threat to the mainstream. The interlacing of the community's struggle and their own personal goals has given place to a shared negotiation of pain and emancipatory politics. However, this emphasis on the sociological significance of Dalit female literature must not relegate it to the socio-political domain; on the contrary, its particular literary expressions are also—if not more so—revealing of what is still to be done and how it should be approached.

However, in an increasingly right-wing and coercive national and global context,<sup>7</sup> it is becoming increasingly difficult and challenging to produce knowledge against the mainstream, to work against the hierarchies of caste, class or gender and to voice the voiceless. Furthermore, even if things have changed, Dalit literature, and female Dalit writing in particular, are still unknown or underestimated outside of India, which inevitably and inadvertently contributes to perpetuating their silencing. Moreover, as the market determines, not only the language in which experience can be rendered, but also what can be said, the gradual 'sensationalising' of issues that women have struggled to legitimise and bring within the parameters of the literary—such as sexuality or rape—has complicated their socio-political consideration (Menon 2004, np). Finally, anti-Dalit violence has intensified in the last decades as a reaction to Dalit economic and political emancipation. All this proves that the oppressing culture and the casteist value system are still there and, thus, that there is still the need to go beyond, to question identity constructions and liberate the infinite female Indias within so as to gain a more accurate understanding of an otherwise still overshadowed Dalit universe.

7 In Narendra Modi's India, things have taken a new, devious turn. There has been noticeable caste polarisation and the country's 200 million Dalits are still often denied access to basic rights—such as public water sources, temples, schools—and in some areas are still banned from marrying into higher castes or even sharing food with them. Many are confined to the most menial jobs—such as cleaning sewers by hand—and in cities and villages they are often shunted into separate enclaves. What is more, the rise of violent Hindu nationalism—also known as the Hindutva ideology—has not only hampered progress to get to Dalits' doorsteps, but has contributed to the rise of violence and hate crimes against Dalits.

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# “I Used to Think We Were the Same Person:” Disrupting the Ideal Nuclear Family Myth through Incest, Adultery and Gendered Violence in *Taboo* (2017-)

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**Abstract:**

The nuclear family consolidated its social status as the institution upholding the national, capitalist and moral values of Western societies in the long nineteenth century (Kohlke and Gutleben 2010, 1). Consequently, neo-Victorian literary and screen texts often try to challenge the idealised conceptualization of this institution by bringing to the fore its potential dysfunctions, such as monstrous or negligent parents, domestic violence, incest or adultery. This is the case of the TV series *Taboo* (2017-), which portrays a dysfunctional family whose foundations are based on colonialism, patriarchal violence and Oedipal relations. In this article, I examine *Taboo* as a neo-Victorian narrative of family trauma, which foregrounds and criticizes gendered violence, a phenomenon that was silenced in nineteenth-century literary and historical records (Lawson and Shakinovsky 2012a, 1). Moreover, I also scrutinise the incest trope, following Llewellyn’s three-fold approach (2010), based on a triangulation between ethics, aesthetics and psychoanalysis. Finally, I consider how *Taboo* reproduces the most characteristic traits of nineteenth-century adultery novels, so as to expose the sexual dissatisfaction of its female protagonist, Zilpha Delaney, and her desire to escape from her abusive and oppressive husband. As I show in this article, *Taboo* manages to disrupt the myth of the nuclear family as a natural and indisputable moralising institution. Likewise, at first, the series shows potential feminist and post-colonial drives, as it attempts to denounce nineteenth-century imperialist and misogynistic ideologies within the family. However, *Taboo* fails to grant its heroine independence and female empowerment in the end. This is so because it replicates



the ending of nineteenth-century adultery novels, where the adulterous wife committed suicide after being rejected by her lover.

**Keywords:** incest; adultery; gendered violence; neo-Victorian fiction; dysfunctional family

## 1. Introduction

The heteronormative nuclear family has traditionally played a pivotal role in Western societies. The importance ascribed to this institution, as well as the gender conventions and socio-cultural precepts it has instilled on us, were consolidated in the long nineteenth century (Kohlke and Gutleben 2010, 1). Nonetheless, there are currently new ways of experiencing family life and understanding gender roles and relations. This might lead to an eventual collapse of the nuclear family as the stabilising foundation holding the nation together. Therefore, it is not surprising that neo-Victorian fiction contributes to challenge its seemingly indisputable prestige by exploring its many potential dysfunctions. These include absent fathers and monstrous mothers, domestic violence, adultery or incest (Chambers 2021, 66).

Domestic violence is increasingly being foregrounded and criticised in neo-Victorian screen texts, following the feminist drive of excavating the silenced suffering of women across history. Indeed, “wifebeating” did not become illegal until 1853 in England (Clark 2000, 31) and “the secrecy and shame surrounding the abuse perpetuated the problem and delayed legal protection for women of all classes” (Wingert 2007, 3). Neo-Victorian fiction seeks to retroactively right this past wrong and denounce this phenomenon, which—sadly—is still present in contemporary societies. Incest is also a prominent trope in neo-Victorian narratives on screen, as it explores the psychosexual dysfunctions that take place within the nuclear family. This is the case of *Taboo*, the screen text analysed in this article. The incest motif has become a chief concern in narratives of family trauma, not only in neo-Victorianism, but also in other genres on screen—e.g., the TV series *Game of Thrones* (2011-2019), *American Horror Story: Coven* (2013) or *Pretty Little Liars* (2010-2017). In the case of *Taboo*, incest is accompanied by wifely adultery, a common late-nineteenth-century trope in Western Europe.

*Taboo* is a drama television series created by Steven Knight, Tom Hardy and his father, Chips Hardy, for the BBC. The series follows James Delaney (Tom Hardy), a former slave trader who returns to London, following his father’s death, after spending twelve years in Africa. *Taboo* is set in 1814, against the historical

backdrop of England’s war with the United States.<sup>1</sup> It also explores colonialism and Anglo-American imperialist endeavours, as well as political intrigues. Nonetheless, this article focuses on the more ‘domestic’ conflicts of the series, particularly the Delaney’s family relations and dysfunctionalities. These include James’s incestuous relationship with his half-sister, Zilpha (Oona Chaplin) and his distorted memories of his monstrous mother (Noomi Rapace).

In this article, I first provide the theoretical tenets of neo-Victorian studies, particularly in the case of neo-Victorian narratives of family trauma on screen. Second, I examine how the institution of the nuclear family is dismantled in *Taboo* through the neo-Victorian tropes of sibling incest, adultery and patriarchal violence. Finally, I conclude that *Taboo* manages to denounce domestic abuse and foregrounds the incest taboo, which enables the series to challenge the heteronormative nuclear family as an ideal institution. Nonetheless, despite its seemingly revisionist and feminist agendas, *Taboo* ends up replicating the patterns of nineteenth-century adultery novels, where the adulteress committed suicide after being abandoned by her lover. This arguably prevents the female protagonist from experiencing the freedom and agency she has always desired.

## 2. The Dysfunctional Family in Neo-Victorianism on Screen

Contemporary creators revisit the nineteenth century in order to question our popular beliefs about the period. They recuperate characters that were silenced in both literature and historical accounts due to their gender, class, sexual orientation or ethnicity (Llewellyn 2008, 165). Neo-Victorian texts also allow contemporary audiences to bear after-witness to the traumas of these marginalised subjects, so that they can develop empathy towards them. Moreover, these audiences might also find a link between the traumatic events depicted in the texts and those they might be experiencing at present.

Ann Heilmann and Mark Llewellyn define neo-Victorian fiction as cultural products that should “in some respect be *self-consciously engaged with the act of (re)interpretation, (re)discovery and (re)vision concerning the Victorians*” (2010, 4, emphasis in original). However, Kohlke offers a more inclusive definition, as an “integrative umbrella term to encompass virtually all historical fiction related to the nineteenth century, irrespective of authors’ or characters’

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1 The War of 1812 is a conflict that took place between England and the United States over trade disputes and America’s expansionist desires (Inohara, Hipel and Walker 2007, 181). America declared war against Britain on June 18<sup>th</sup>, 1812 despite its military disadvantage (Inohara, Hipel and Walker 2007, 184). Peace terms were drawn upon in the Treaty of Ghent (December 1814), which was ratified by Congress on February 17<sup>th</sup>, 1815 (Carr 1979, 273).

nationalities, the plots' geographical settings, the language of composition or, indeed, the extent of narratives' self-consciousness, postmodernism, adaptivity or otherwise" (2014, 27).

Despite the fact that the classification of *Taboo* as a neo-Victorian screen text might be regarded as problematic by some critics, since the series is set in 1814–some decades before Queen Victoria's ascension to the throne–, I understand the term 'neo-Victorian' in its most inclusive form, following Kohlke's definition. Indeed, some scholars argue that neo-Victorianism should not be defined chronologically, but aesthetically–i.e., taking into consideration common stylistic traits, plots and tropes of texts set in the long nineteenth century. Therefore, neo-Victorian texts would include adaptations and appropriations from "Romantic and pre-war fiction, ignoring historical data like the birth and death of the Queen" (Kirchknopf 2008, 55).

Owing to the popular and critical acclaim of neo-Victorian screen texts, visual adaptations of the long nineteenth century have flourished in the big and small screens in the last decades (Louttit and Louttit 2018, 1). As a result, they are increasingly being produced by digital networks and streaming platforms, such as Netflix, HBO, Amazon Video or Hulu. This is the case of *Penny Dreadful* (2014–2016), *Taboo*, *The Irregulars* (2021) or *The Nevers* (2021). According to Antonija Primorac, these adaptations attempt to reinterpret the past by translating it into a new medium, where it can be reinvented through a style that might be more attractive and comprehensible for contemporary audiences (2018, 1).

Family features prominently in neo-Victorian literary and screen texts. As explained above, during the nineteenth century, the institution came to epitomise the patriarchal, national and capitalist values of Western culture at a private level. Thus, neo-Victorian fiction strives to disrupt this idealised conceptualisation by portraying the nuclear family as dysfunctional and deeply flawed. Likewise, Kohlke and Gutleben contend that the neo-Victorian family helps us reflect on contemporary anxieties regarding our shifting family values, which might threaten the "institution's presumed stabilising and civilising function" (2010, 1).

One of the main family dysfunctions explored in neo-Victorian fiction is incest, which has traditionally been considered "a universal and trans-historical taboo" (Tate 2013, 181). Our current fascination with the incest trope seems to stem from its conflicting ethical and aesthetic theorisations during the nineteenth century (Llewellyn 2017, 135). Incest was then a salient literary trope, which flourished "at the heart of the Romantic movement" (Richardson 1985, 738), and mainly focused on brother-sister love. Furthermore, the emergence of psychoanalysis at the turn of the century was a turning point for the social and psychiatric understandings of incest, especially with Freudian diagnoses of primary desires, narcissism and Oedipal complexes in his publication *Three*

*Theories of Sexuality* (1905). Owing to the legal punishment of this practice and its treatment as a taboo, incest has now become a prominent motif in a wide range of cultural and artistic manifestations, particularly literature and cinema. There is a considerable number of neo-Victorian films and TV series explore this topic, including *Crimson Peak* (2015), *Penny Dreadful*, *Carnival Row* (2019-) or *Taboo*.

Regarding gender-based violence, Kohlke and Gutleben contend that neo-Victorian fiction can function “as a means of exploring wider patriarchal and societal ‘crimes against women’, from incest and domestic violence to sexual slavery, many of them still rife today.” Indeed, neo-Victorianism’s “engagement with such ‘historical’ abuses may be read as a cynical commentary on how (too) little has changed in real terms since the Victorians” (Kohlke and Gutleben 2012a, 28). This is the case of *Taboo*, whose graphic portrayal of domestic abuse can help its audience reflect on the multitemporality of this type of violence and how to prevent it at present.

Nonetheless, the adulterous and incestuous relationship between the Delaney siblings in *Taboo* might be symptomatic of what Kohlke defines as neo-Victorianism’s “sexsation,” characterized by a “contradictory celebration of libidinous fantasy, its parody of erotic fulfilment, and its political impulse to sexually liberate the past” (Kohlke 2008a, 11). Aesthetically, neo-Victorian texts like *Taboo* have arguably become “the new Orientalism, a significant mode of imagining sexuality in our hedonistic, consumerist, sex-surfeited age” (Kohlke 2008a, 12). Considering that Season 1 ends with the suicide of a fallen woman, Zilpha Delaney, the series’ seemingly liberating agenda turns out to be lacking and catering to the audience’s voyeuristic expectations.

Against this theoretical background, in the next section I examine *Taboo* following Llewellyn’s analysis of incestuous relationships in neo-Victorian novels, through a “structural and conceptual triangulation between ethics, aesthetics and psychoanalysis” (Llewellyn 2010, 135). Furthermore, I also consider the series’ take on gender politics, particularly in its portrayal of domestic violence and the nineteenth-century adulteress.

### 3. Dismantling the nineteenth-century nuclear family in *Taboo*

Legislative debates around the incest motif left their imprint on nineteenth-century England. Llewellyn claims that “the period between 1835 and 1908, from the Deceased Wife’s Sister Act through to the Punishment of Incest Act,<sup>2</sup>

2 The Deceased Wife’s Sister Act (1907) made legal that a man could marry his dead wife’s sister, which had been prohibited in England since 1835 (Kuper 2009). This law reversed the Marriage Act of 1835, which prohibited any marriage contract between a man and his

can be divided into four decades where incest was a question of ethics, morality and issues of legal (mis)conduct” (2010, 135). Incest, however, evolved over the course of the nineteenth century into “a structural, artistic and creative device or trope [that] played with, reinvented and reinterpreted these earlier ethical concerns” (Llewellyn 2010, 134). There are several literary examples in both American and English novels from the period that explore the aesthetic and ethical aspects of incest, including Herman Melville’s *Pierre; or, The Ambiguities* (1852) or Charles Dickens’s *Hard Times* (1854).

From an ethical perspective, incest came to be understood in legal terms as a punishable offence, particularly at the beginning of the twentieth century with the passing of The Punishment of Incest Act (1908), which “served as a statutory demarcation of the moment at which [...] incestuous actions [were] separated from the debates about consanguinity, deceased wives and their sisters, Darwinism, eugenics, and anthropological research that had marked the period from the 1830s onwards” (Llewellyn 2010, 144). According to Adam Kuper, incest—as bigamy and adultery—was a matter that had concerned ecclesiastical authorities alone, from the twelfth century to the early nineteenth century in England (2002, 158). However, after the abolishment of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 and the Catholic Emancipation in 1829, religious control of sex and marriage was progressively declining. First, the Marriage Act of 1836 acknowledged civil marriages. The Matrimonial Causes Act (1857) transferred jurisdiction of matrimonial cases from religious to civil courts and a Court of Divorce and Matrimonial Causes was established (Kuper 2002, 158).

This shift from ecclesiastical to secular legislation in family law was guided by a public debate that included the opinion of politicians, biologists and anthropologists, such as Darwinists, who were mostly concerned about the incest taboo. Religious courts had regarded incest “simply as a form of fornication or adultery, to be punished by a light penanalty” (Kuper 2002, 160), and this consideration did not immediately change when secular courts started to manage family matters. Incest was a complex concept that proved to be difficult to define. Traditionally, it had been regarded as sexual intercourse between individuals who were not allowed to marry “by church decree” (Kuper 2002, 160-161). However, these prohibitions “applied not only to blood relatives but also to certain relatives by marriage” (Kuper 2002, 161), as in the case of the wife’s sister. The biggest change in the conceptualisation of incest occurred in the 1880s, when the term came to designate sexual relations between close kin: fathers and daughters, or brothers and sisters. Moreover, incest started to be regarded as a form of child

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dead wife’s sister, although it maintained “those marriages already contracted under the terms of canon law, which allowed such a union prior to 1835” (Llewellyn 2010, 139).

abuse perpetrated by a male relative against a young female (Kuper 2002, 180). However, it was not until 1908 that incest—understood as the sexual abuse of a child by a family member—became a punishable crime (Kuper 2002, 183).

On a different note, from an aesthetic viewpoint, the sensationalist and morbid agendas of some contemporary screen texts that exploit sexual traumas “may serve to highlight past wrongs, [but] they might also be read as both opportunistic and voyeuristic, indicative of a contemporary fascination with personal narratives of trauma” (Cox 2014, 139). *Taboo* seems to be following this same pattern, especially in the case of the interrupted sex scene between the Delaney siblings, which is rather graphic (Knight, Hardy and Hardy, 2017, Episode 6, 00:46:19-00:47:29), as I further explain below. Likewise, Zilpha’s erotic dreams are characterised by an Orientalist and sensual imagery while she has sexual intercourse with a masked James.<sup>3</sup> This arguably contributes to the neo-Victorian “sexsation” of the past (Kohlke 2008, 11), as discussed in the previous section. Nevertheless, the series also defies the myth of the perfect nuclear family through the incest trope, as this deviant relationship reveals the fragmentation of the Delaney family and brings to the forefront James’s unresolved issues: the fact that his mother attempted to murder him as a child, his ambiguous feelings towards his father’s colonising practices and his clandestine love for his sister.

It is also worth noting that incest in *Taboo* seems to follow one of the three types of sibling incest in Richardson’s classification of Romantic poetry (1985, 739-740). The first one takes place between a foster-brother and sister that have grown up together, as in the case of Coleridge’s *Osorio* (1797). The second relation is that between a brother and a sister who are very close and share a common fate, but do not have sexual intercourse, as in Wordsworth’s *White Doe of Rylstone* (1815). Finally, the third one is the most common form of Romantic sibling incest: that between a sister and a brother who are sexually involved, as in Percy B. Shelley’s *Manfred or Laon and Cythna* (1817). What these categories of incest have in common is that they end with a death that separates the siblings, which is arguably a representation of “the consummation—whether physical or spiritual—of their love” (Richardson, 1985, 740). Incest was punished with death in primitive times, and Freud suggests that this fear persists in us at a psychological level (1913, 3). *Taboo* would fall under Richardson’s third category, as it features the relationship between a half-brother and a half-sister

3 In this article I do not examine *Taboo*’s ambivalent engagement with imperialist and Orientalising ideologies and stereotypes in its portrayal of James as a racial Other. For a further discussion on these elements of the series, see MOUSOUTZANIS, Aris. 2020. “Imperial Gothic for Global Britain: BBC’s *Taboo* (2017-present).” *Gothic Studies* 22(3): 1-16.

who are sexual partners and whose attraction is based on shared experience. This incestuous relationship culminates with the death of one of the siblings: Zilpha commits suicide at the end of Season 1.

From a psychoanalytical perspective, neo-Victorian fiction is concerned with the lack of proper representation of sexual and gendered traumas. Therefore, by verbalising those previously silenced experiences, neo-Victorianism helps to expose, and so work through, past experiences of violence. As Jessica Cox contends, “the traumas of the past—so often ignored at the time—must be written in order for us to come to terms with our collective history; we must write the traumas of the past in order to confront and ultimately deal with them” (2014, 140).

According to Heilmann and Llewellyn, the central locus of family trauma in neo-Victorian fiction is normally the family home: a space haunted by past tragedy and a female presence (2010, 35). In *Taboo*, the Delaney siblings grew up in a dysfunctional family that was haunted by the presence of its former mistress—James’s Native American mother—and the ghosts of slavery and colonialism. These imperialist endeavours made James’s father a rich man, but also drove him mad in the end. In the series, the siblings try to cope with these family traumas and dysfunctions by engaging in an incestuous relationship. As opposed to other neo-Victorian screen texts like *Crimson Peak*, where the relationship between the Sharpe siblings is not revealed until the end, in *Taboo* the audience is fully aware of the siblings’ liaison since the beginning of the series. James hints at their incestuous love as the reason why he left England in the very first episode: “One thing Africa did not cure is that I still love you” (Knight, Hardy and Hardy 2017, Episode 1, 00:13:17-00:13:22).

This incestuous relationship can also be interpreted as an instance of Freud’s uncanny and the overly exploited phenomenon of the double in (neo-)Gothic fiction. According to Freud, the phenomenon of the double takes place when two people are physically indistinguishable, share a deep emotional bond and the same vital experiences. These people would also identify themselves “with another person, so that his self becomes confounded, or the foreign self is substituted for his own—in other words, by doubling, dividing and interchanging the self” (2001 [1919], 234). The Delaney siblings share the same vital experiences regarding their family dysfunctions. Indeed, they used to know each other so deeply that they did not even need to communicate verbally with one another, as James reminds her: “We used to talk to each other without words in dark corners” (Knight, Hardy and Hardy, 2017, Episode 3, 00:35:18-00:35:22).

James and Zilpha represent the Freudian double in that they see themselves as two parts of the same being, as Zilpha tells her brother: “I used to think we were the same person” (Knight, Hardy and Hardy, 2017, Episode 3, 00:45:32-00:45:34). The representation of the double in the series seems to be associated

with what Llewellyn describes as the process of identity formation through “the trauma of excessively close familial relationships” (2010, 137). In the case of *Taboo*, the trauma is rooted in a dysfunctional family characterised by imperial dynamics, disputes over inheritances, but, above all, an “Oedipal family drama.” This trauma, according to Mousoutzanis, includes James’s “succession of his father Horace (Edward Fox), his traumatic fixation with his mother Salish (Noomi Rapace), and his incestuous relationship with his sister Zilpha (Oona Chaplin)” (2020, 4). Incest is polytemporal, in that incestuous relations are “repetitive, cyclical, and simultaneously reconstructive, and deconstructive.” Therefore, the trauma is part and parcel of the victims’ identities, “development” and “existence” (Llewellyn 2010, 137). The Delaney siblings were raised in a patriarchal and imperialist family with deviant psychosexual tendencies, so that James’s relationship with Zilpha seems to be a consequence of those dysfunctional dynamics.

Another fact that seems to point to the Delaney siblings as doubles is that James can project himself in his sister’s dreams. The siblings share a telepathic connection that has survived their long separation across continents, even though Zilpha tries to resist it through Christian penitence and her husband’s beatings: “My husband is harsh, and as a Christian, I welcome it. I deserve it” (Knight, Hardy and Hardy, 2017, Episode 3, 00:35:01-00:35:05). James’s projections to his sister’s dreams are graphically portrayed in Episode 4, where he performs what seems to be a tribal ritual, as he paints his face with ashes while casting a spell in an indigenous language (Knight, Hardy and Hardy, 2017, Episode 4, 00:19:53-00:21:08). In this scene, he acts as an incubus, seducing Zilpha while she moans and contorts her body on her bed. In her dream, she is having sexual intercourse in a snow-covered forest with a man in an African mask. Images of the dream overlap with others of James performing the ritual and Zilpha in her bedroom.

Then, Zilpha’s husband comes home drunk and realises that she has been with James in her dreams, so he forcefully undresses and rapes her. This is one of the many instances of gender-based violence that Zilpha has to endure in the series. Her husband is also aggressive towards her owing to the fact that he has not been able to get her pregnant, despite his many attempts. He blames her deviant sexuality for that, implying that she does not allow herself to bear the child of a man who is not related to her: “The dock boys I pay for pennies have litters of children. I just get blood. My dearest Zilpha, I apologise that I am not related to you... But you could allow your cunt to swallow the work of an honest man who will promise to buy you the finest china... If you just agree to stop fucking bleeding! (Knight, Hardy and Hardy, 2017, Episode 3, 00:49:00-00:49:43).<sup>4</sup>

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4 It is implied in the series that Zilpha and James had a child, and this was the real reason why he was forced to leave England. This child was left in the care of a farmer, who was



According to Maria Mikolchak, a woman's main role in the society of the nineteenth century was based on "marriage and motherhood as the only acceptable modes of self-definition" (2004, 31). Likewise, Anna Clark claims that "[t]he domestic ideal could excuse violence against those wives whom their husbands perceived as failing to fulfil their domestic responsibilities" (2000, 30). In this case, Zilpha's husband abuses her physically and psychologically as a punishment for her sexual transgressions, but also for her apparent incapacity to fulfil her role as a loving wife and mother. Female sexual desire or pleasure were inconsequential, since the only purpose of sexual intercourse between husband and wife was procreation. As a result, nineteenth-century authors portrayed marriages as sexually frustrating in adultery novels, where the female heroines had to experience their sexual awakening with other men (Mikolchak 2004, 31). *Taboo* replicates this portrayal of the nineteenth-century adulteress, as Zilpha seeks sexual pleasure with a man other than her husband: her own brother.

Domestic violence was a phenomenon that arguably ran counter to the nineteenth-century convention of the separate spheres, which "stressed the home as a woman's sphere, as the place of her security and her rule" (Lawson and Shakinovsky 2012a, 2). However, Victorian texts that include a female victim of gendered violence do not "urgently explore the violence visited upon these bodies as pressing social, political, or moral problems, and even in those that focus on these questions [...] where the beaten wife is at the center of the plot, the implications of these questions finally tend to be evaded, or set aside" (Lawson and Shakinovsky 2012a, 2). Therefore, *Taboo* subverts this Victorian convention, as it excavates the silenced and ignored reality of many nineteenth-century women by graphically depicting and criticising gender-based violence. Finally, it is also worth noting that, even though the use of the labels "domestic" or "gendered" violence might seem anachronistic when approaching nineteenth-century texts—since the terms used at the time were "marital cruelty" or "wife beating" (Lawson and Shakinovsky 2012a, 1)—I argue that this should not be the case when discussing neo-Victorian works, as they are contemporary cultural products. As discussed in the previous section, neo-Victorian fiction revisits the nineteenth-century past in order to help us reflect on both present and past anxieties. Given that gender-based violence is, unfortunately, still a reality in contemporary societies, *Taboo* enables us to both reflect on and denounce this phenomenon in both periods.

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led to believe that he was an illegitimate son of James's father. Upon returning to England, James gives a considerable amount of money to this farmer and tells him: "Fate can be hard, so you put money aside for his future in case he grows up to be rash, like me" (Knight, Hardy and Hardy, 2017, Episode 2017, Episode 1, 00:45:31-00:45:38). This latter sentence seems to point to the fact that the child is actually his son.

On a different note, *Taboo* also replicates the nineteenth-century trope of the adulteress that commits suicide at the end of the narrative. In the late nineteenth century, there was a type of novel that focused on wifely adultery, which flourished in continental Europe—although there were also some examples of this type of novel in America. With some minor variations, the plot of these novels revolved around an upper-middle class wife who is seduced by an unmarried man. She is then socially ostracised and finally commits suicide (Overton 2002, 3). These novels were usually written by a male author—with the notable exception of the American novel *The Awakening* (1899), written by Kate Chopin—and include: Gustave Flaubert’s *Madame Bovary* (1857), Leo Tolstoy’s *Anna Karenina* (1878), Theodor Fontane’s *Effi Briest* (1895), Leopoldo Alas, Clarín’s *La Regenta* (1884-5), or Eça de Queirós’s *Cousin Bazilio* (1878). Thus, despite its seemingly feminist agenda, *Taboo* reproduces the “nineteenth-century novelistic convention of adultery that includes broken marriage, woman’s guilt, and atonement by death,” which leads to a “moralistic ending” with “received notions of resignation and contrition” (Mikolchak 2004, 30).

After her lover rejects her, Zilpha experiences “a universal meaninglessness and her suicide from the end of a platform that offers nowhere to go” (Tanner 1981, 30) appears to be her only way out. Tory Tanner claims that Helen of Troy, who is arguably one of the most famous adulteresses in Ancient History, also experienced a meaningless existence with her lover Paris in his homeland. She felt like she was dead to her loved ones in Sparta, despite the fact that “legend generously restore her to her husband” at the end of *The Iliad* (Tanner 1981, 30). However, nineteenth-century fictional women after her were not given the same redeeming opportunity, so that they usually found “themselves intimate with death—but more usually it is their own” (Tanner 1981, 30).

This is often so because there seems to be no land in Western cultures that condones adultery, so that adulterers tend to be ostracised and rejected by society. These characters fantasise about a world where they could love each other freely and feel accepted. Consequently, fiction that focuses on adultery usually has at the centre of its narrative “[t]he quest for, or dream of, such an impossible world apart recurs constantly in the novel of adultery—for all available areas of the given world ultimately seem inhospitable to the adulterous lovers” (Tanner 1981, 34). In the case of *Taboo*, James dreams of leaving England and moving to a land where he can love Zilpha without any obstacles. An American organisation with which James is making a trading deal promises to help him and Zilpha escape to America and get them new identities, so that they can live as a real couple:

Now, I make no moral judgments [...] Well, you can have her as part of the deal, part of our second offering. So why don’ you just take her? Just take her

with you. No more hiding. We can guarantee you safe passage, anonymity, new worlds. Now, look, if you don't want to deal with the obstacle, we can certainly take care of that for you. Say her husband gets drunk, no surprise, falls from a bridge, something. Let me just make the point, from an American point of view: Love is now part of the deal that we are offering (Knight, Hardy and Hardy, 2017, Episode 4, 00:42:31-00:43:20).

However, James does not need to accept the Americans' offer, as Zilpha is the one that eventually murders her husband as a way to escape domestic violence. Likewise, James's dream of escaping with his sister is not fulfilled in the end either, as he breaks up with her. As discussed above, the series—which is set in 1814—is influenced by the Romantics' understandings of sibling love. As in *Taboo*, Romantic English poets tended to combine sibling incest with erotic love, in an attempt to create the perfect aesthetic foundation for “sympathetic love” (Richardson 1985, 744). Although at first it might seem that the combination of sibling and erotic love will create the most perfect sympathy, such a union never lasts in Romantic poetry, and nor does it in *Taboo*.

Even though Zilpha has been able to explore her female sexuality with her brother since they were children, the passage of time and her newfound Christian devotion seem to have severed the connection that the siblings once shared, as James no longer sees Zilpha as an extension of himself by the end of Season 1:

Zilpha: I know you. I know your nature. I know you.

James: No. I believed once that we were the same person.

Zilpha: We are.

James: We are not [...] Not anymore. Perhaps you should thank your God for that (Knight, Hardy and Hardy, 2017, Episode 7, 00:17:28-00:17:55).

Despite what James tells her, however, the real reasons for breaking up with his sister appear to be more rooted in his unresolved traumas with her mother than in Zilpha's newfound religious beliefs. After the latter kills her husband and acknowledges that she is in love with James, her behaviour becomes erratic and reckless, and James believes that she has gone mad, as his mother allegedly did before she tried to drown him. In the sixth episode of Season 1, a voice in her head compels Zilpha to murder her husband, and she believes that voice to be James's. Thus, she picks up a hatpin from her dresser while her husband is asleep. She then straddles him and sinks the hatpin in his stomach, while he cries for help (Knight, Hardy and Hardy, 2017, Episode 6, 00:32:56-00:34:35).

In turning the hatpin into “an assassin's” weapon, she is arguably subverting “the feminine ideal” (Noimann 2018, 95) of the domesticated angel of the

house, since the hatpin, like the corset, was used as a fashion accessory to further oppress women in the Victorian system.<sup>5</sup> Afterwards, Zilpha goes to her brother’s house and tells him what she has done: “I killed him, just like you said” (Knight, Hardy and Hardy, 2017, Episode 6, 00:35:52-00:35:55). In this, *Taboo* subverts the nineteenth-century conventions of the ‘beaten wife’, as not only does it bring to the forefront the physical and sexual violence she has had to endure, but it also allows her to get rid of that violence. Whilst James is worried about whether his sister might be found guilty of her husband’s murder, she seems to be content, freed of the man that had been abusing her.

After her husband’s funeral, the Delaney siblings hurry to Zilpha’s bedroom and engage in sexual intercourse. Nonetheless, James abruptly stops, as he starts having flashbacks of his mother, when she tried to drown him in the river as a baby. Here, his time perception of the chronological line seems to be disrupted by his PTSD.<sup>6</sup> Cuts of Zilpha’s face are superimposed with images of his mother laughing in the river. Therefore, in this scene James arguably associates—and even confuses—Zilpha with his mother. As Mousoutzanis claims:

[T]he editing clearly suggests [Zilpha’s] role as a substitute for the mother, as the scenes of their sexual encounter in bed are intercut with intrusive flashbacks of his mother trying to drown him. In fact, Delaney’s entire project seems to be propelled by his attempt to recover from this trauma as it is revealed to be one of a return, a return to his mother’s land (2020, 6).

Salish and Zilpha are analogous characters in that they both rebel against patriarchal oppression in a violent manner. Salish confronted the social impositions that her husband and society tried to instil on her, which eventually led her to attempt to murder their own child. Likewise, Zilpha turns into a murderess when she finally kills her abuser as a way to escape his violence and control. Owing to the similarities between them, James’s obsession with the women in his family might

5 The use of hatpins as deadly weapons is inspired by historical accounts of the period. By 1900, hatpins had caused several head and brain injuries. As a consequence, this fashion item was deemed to be particularly dangerous in crowded spaces (Godfrey 2012, 80-1). The hatpin also came to be used as a crime weapon, as an American paper of the period described: “A woman can’t very well carry a stick. But she has a weapon in a long hatpin” (qtd. in Godfrey 2012, 81). The hatpin was also used as a suicide method, as well as for “eye-stabbing,” “self-defence, revenge, or [...] jealousy” (Godfrey 2012, 81).

6 PTSD (Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder) could be defined as a number of responses to different kinds of personal and collective traumas, including “rape, child abuse, auto and industrial accidents, and so on” (Caruth 11). According to Freud and Breuer, patients might experience “memory gaps, but also repeatedly re-experienced extreme events in flashbacks, nightmares, and hallucinations months or even years afterwards” (1895, 500).

be understood as an unresolved Oedipal complex, which, according to Freud, is a universal phenomenon that affects both men and women in the nuclear family. While sons fall in love with the mother and want to get rid of the father, daughters are jealous of their mothers and plan to assume their role as their fathers' psychosexual partners (1985, 265). Consequently, James would have developed sexual desires towards his mother as a child, and wished his father's death in order to keep her to himself. Freud claims that overcoming the Oedipal complex—that is to say, accepting the sexual and emotional bond between our parents and fixating our desires on someone outside our family—is central to enter adulthood. Those who fail to work through this complex usually suffer from a form of neurosis (1905, 10).

This could be James's case, considering his obsession with his mother through his recurring flashbacks and his ferocious defence of her innocence. All these traits might be symptomatic of his unresolved Oedipal complex, which could have caused him a psychosexual trauma that was probably triggered by his mother's death. Consequently, he directed his sexual and romantic feelings towards the only other female member of his family: his half-sister Zilpha. Their incestuous relationship as children strengthened his Oedipal inclinations, but as soon as he redirects his desires towards someone he is not related to—i.e., when he meets Lorna Bow, his father's recent widow—, he realises that he no longer seeks familiarity and similarity in his partner, but quite the opposite. This is arguably why he abruptly stops his sexual intercourse with Zilpha: because she reminds him of his deceased mother.

Despite the fact that James has apparently overcome his Oedipal complex, Zilpha still feels attached to him. When he abandons her, she feels like she has nothing else to live for. Therefore, she commits suicide by jumping off a bridge to drown in the river Thames. It is worth stressing that the place and form of Zilpha's suicide are key in understanding *Taboo's* engagement with nineteenth-century literature and culture, since a fallen woman jumping off a bridge to commit suicide had become a trope in itself. As Nicola Onyett contends, the river represents "an appropriate resting place that connotes a fallen woman who can fall no further" (2010, 2).

Examples of this trope in Victorian literature and arts include Thomas Hood's early Victorian ballad "The Bridge of Sighs" (1844), which inspired a number of paintings: G. F. Watts' *Found Drowned* (c.1848-50), Augustus Egg's *Past and Present*, No. 3 (1858), Dante Gabriel Rossetti's unfinished painting *Found* (1854–1855, 1859–1881) and Abraham Solomon's *Drowned! Drowned!* (c. 1860). Even though the representation in these works varied from an endorsement to "the typical Victorian view that a married woman who destroys her own family deserves to die," as in Egg's painting, to a more sympathetic depiction in Watt's, they all portrayed

a fallen woman’s “guilt, remorse and fear over a failed love affair or illegitimate pregnancy” (Onyett 2010, 2). Another example of a fallen woman committing suicide by drowning in a Victorian novel could be found in Wilkie Collins *The Moonstone* (1868), where Rosanna Spearman drowns herself in the Shivering Sands, which, according to Anne Schwan, is “a trope typically associated to sexually fallen women” (2014, 87). In doing that, Collins is arguably portraying her male interest, Blake, as the “implied, if not actual, perpetrator, who shares his class of men’s responsibility in this woman’s ‘crime’ of suicide” (Schwan 2014, 87). *Taboo* follows this depiction of the male protagonist as an indirect perpetrator of the fallen woman’s death, as James’s rejection drives Zilpha to drown herself in the river Thames. James finds out about her suicide through a letter that she writes to him:

Dear James,

At last, I have found a way out of the cage in which I have been living. Eyes I didn’t know I had were opened. I saw the limits of my life, the iron bars around my soul. At last, I found a way to slip between them. I intend to leave society, leave London, leave England behind, travel to a place where I will be free. It is a place where, someday, I hope we will meet and be happy. [...] I’m planning to journey to heaven, James. I’ve realized the truth. My cage is my flesh; I can shed it. The River Thames will take me to God [...] (Knight, Hardy and Hardy, 2017, Episode 8, 00:02:12-00:02:53; 00:28:22-00:28:34).

The description of Zilpha’s feelings in this letter follows the prominent Victorian trope that depicted women’s role in society as caged birds. Examples of Victorian texts that explored this metaphor range from Charles Dickens’s *David Copperfield* (1850) or Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s *Aurora Leigh* (1856), where the ideal upper-middle-class Englishwoman is portrayed as “a stunted existence of dull domesticity in which women are expected to glory in the very limitations to their freedoms, knowledge and experience” (Primorac 2018, 96). Zilpha has always loathed her cage. However, she has come to realise that the very thing that was trapping her was her own flesh, a metonymy that stands for her female body. She feels that her biological sex has forced her to perform the social role of the submissive wife and tied her to a violent man that she does not love. As a result, the only way she can escape her cage—i.e., her own feminine body and the social constraints attached to it—is through death, where she hopes to be free at last.<sup>7</sup>

7 Contrary to Zilpha’s case in *Taboo*, the caged bird metaphor is often translated in neo-Victorian screen adaptations through the use of corsets and crinolines. In fact, in these neo-Victorian texts, “the image of a tightly-laced, corseted female figure in particular becomes an accepted visual shorthand for the notion of the literally and metaphorically repressed Victorian woman” (Primorac 2018, 98).

Hence, despite the potential that *Taboo* has in defying the nineteenth-century nuclear family as an institution that instils national and moral values, it fails to grant Zilpha a sense of female empowerment and independence. In replicating—rather than challenging—the tragical ending of nineteenth-century adultery novels, the series is subjugating its female protagonist both to her male counterpart—without whom she does not want to live anymore—and to the constrictive social rules of a society that cannot accept a woman’s active sexuality.

#### 4. Conclusion

As discussed throughout this article, the nuclear family has customarily held a privileged position in Western societies, as a domestic and private institution representing patriarchal gender conventions, national sentiments and capitalist values. However, there are increasingly alternative manners of conceiving family life—such as queer families, single parenthood, adoption or surrogate motherhood—, as well as new ways of interpreting gender roles. Consequently, neo-Victorian fiction has been exploring the inherent traumas and dysfunctionalities of the nuclear family to challenge the institution as the only natural family model and to advocate for alternative ones, as in the case of the TV series *Penny Dreadful*.

*Taboo* follows this disruptive pattern in neo-Victorian fiction, as it attempts to defy the prestige of the nuclear family by foregrounding its potential dysfunctionalities, particularly incest, gender-based violence and adultery. Nonetheless, the fact that the series mainly reproduces—rather than challenges—the main characteristics of nineteenth-century adultery novels condemns her female protagonist for her sexual transgressions. This deprives the heroine from subverting the social rules and conventions attached to her gender and sends a dangerous message to female viewers: if they try to transgress such conventions, they will be punished by the patriarchal status quo.

Finally, it is also worth stressing that *Taboo* is an incomplete TV series—its second season is likely to be filmed at some point in 2023. As a consequence, it has not been possible to analyse some key aspects of the series regarding its portrayal of the incest and adultery plotlines, including whether James will take responsibility for driving his sister to commit suicide. Another relevant topic for future research would be the comparison between *Taboo* and other neo-Victorian TV series that explore the demythification of the nuclear family, including *The Irregulars*, *Penny Dreadful* or *The Nevers*. I believe that a comparative analysis between these neo-Victorian screen texts would prove to be extremely enriching, especially in terms of their critique of the institution of the nuclear family and their advocacy for alternative family models.

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# A Bird's-Eye View over Sydney: Animal Imagery in *Amnesty* by Aravind Adiga

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**Abstract:**

The creative and meaningful use of animal imagery plays an important role in Aravind Adiga's novels. In his previous works, such as the 2008 Booker-prize-winning *The White Tiger* and *Last Man in Tower* (published in 2011), animal references frequently feature in the narration, thus conveying multi-layered meanings. However, animal references become particularly noticeable in *Amnesty*, his latest novel published in 2020. The aim of this paper is to investigate the use of animal imagery in *Amnesty* and unravel some of its possible meanings. Starting from interpretations of animal metaphors related to humans, the paper will then put under scrutiny other interpretations of animal references which progressively enlarge their reach, thereby involving not only the city of Sydney, but the whole novel. By making reference to specific passages, I will explore the meanings of the animal imagery with respect to the illegal immigrants, their condition and to isolation, which acquires particular relevance, since the narrator is a Sri Lankan illegal immigrant who initially reached Australia thanks to a student visa. Furthermore, other interpretations of the animal references could revolve around the city of Sydney, its curious representation as a jungle and its representational use of animal imagery in the coat of arms and official contexts. Finally, light will be shed on the interesting role played by animals in pivotal scenes and their unexpected powerful revelations, which allow readers to better understand some episodes in the novel and interpret them from a different, enlightening perspective.

**Keywords:** Aravind Adiga; animal imagery; Australia; immigrants

## 1. Introduction

While reading Aravind Adiga's thought-provoking novels, one is struck by the surprising abundance and elaborate meaningfulness of animal references scattered through their plots. In the 2008 Booker-prize-winning *The White Tiger*, Balram—the main character and narrator—informs the reader about the rapacious behaviour of the four landlords who profit from different resources in his native village—the Stork, the Raven, the Buffalo and the Wild Boar—who “did not need to come out into the village except to feed” (Adiga 2009, 25). As Khor underlines, the animal-landlords could also embody primitive forms of capitalism, aside from the specific resources they control (2012, 56). As far as the reference to the tiger of the title is concerned, it does not merely allude to the nickname given to young Balram—the future callous murderer of his own employer who is sacrificed on the road to self-realization—but it also hints at India's rise as a tiger economy (Mendes 2010, 276). Aside from symbology, though, a real fur-and-blood white tiger features in the narration. In a pivotal scene, Balram finally comes face-to-face with a white tiger which walks to and fro in its cage at the zoo.

Almost archetypal in its exemplarity, the awe-inspiring image of the tiger already sparked William Blake's imagination, who portrayed the flaming predator as striped with a “fearful symmetry” (2017, 78). Nevertheless, the white tiger is more redolent of Ted Hughes's superb jaguar. After listing a series of uninspiring and far-from-sublime animals, Hughes writes: “But who runs like the rest past these arrives/ At a cage where the crowd stands, stares, mesmerized,/ As a child at a dream, at a dream, at a jaguar hurrying enraged/ Through prison darkness after the drills of his eyes (Hughes 1957).” In a similar vein, Balram is charmed by the fierce beauty of the white tiger and its mesmerising power: “Black stripes and sunlit white fur flashed through the slits in the dark bamboo; it was like watching the slowed-down reels of an old black-and-white film. He was walking in the same line, again and again [...]. He was hypnotizing himself by walking like this – that was the only way he could tolerate this cage” (Adiga 2009, 276). In his interesting paper on the animal imagery in Ted Hughes's poems, Piciuccio states that the power of the energy-seething jaguar “is not only a means of capturing the zoo visitors' attention but it is the living force enabling the animal to remain deaf in front of its state of imprisonment” (2016, 195-196). The white tiger has a similar power which hypnotizes the feline itself, in addition to the viewers. The sight of the fierce tiger triggers a violent emotional reaction in Balram, who loses his senses and then takes the resolution to slit his master's throat in order to tread the path to entrepreneurship. In Walther's opinion, the encounter between the tiger's and Balram's gazes unleashes the previously-

obedient servant's transformation into a figure of contemporary capitalist power and acts as an eye-opener on his own identity (2014, 589).

*Last Man in Tower* is another meaningful novel in which animal references loom large. In a sense reminiscent of *The Visit of the Old Lady* by Dürrenmatt and *The Devil and Miss Prym* by Coelho, the novel is centred on the generous offer made by Mr Shah, an ambitious builder, to the residents of a flat in Mumbai: he will bestow upon each of them a large sum of money, provided that they all abandon their apartments. Mr Shah depicts the residents of Vishram Society as "social animals" (Adiga 2011, 63) and unflinchingly witnesses the gory sight of two hawks fighting over a mouse outside the window, which may act as a sort of mirror for Shah's rapacious and predatory nature: "The dead mouse, left behind on the sill, was oozing blood and grease. Shah's mouth filled with saliva" (Adiga 2011, 51). Eventually, only one resident—called Masterji—firmly keeps refusing the offer, thereby stoking the throbbing hatred of his previously-friendly neighbours. While Masterji is not even considered a human being by the residents anymore (Adiga 2011, 274), other characters take on animal characteristics, such as Ajwani, a seemingly ruthless man, who has "gill-like lines" (Adiga 2011, 179) on his cheeks. In the end, the residents of Vishram Society slowly but progressively degenerate and become even worse than the most deadly and unpleasant creatures. As Masterji desperately wonders: "Pigeon, crow, hummingbird; spider, scorpion, silverfish, termite and red ant; bats, bees, stinging wasps, clouds of anopheles mosquitoes. Come, all of you: and protect me from human beings" (Adiga 2011, 345; italics in the original).

In terms of abundance of animal imagery, Adiga's latest novel, entitled *Amnesty*, is no exception. Danny, the main character, comes across innumerable animals such as rats, a white cat, a huntsman spider, a goat, grasshoppers, a pitbull terrier and two pugs. Yet, it must be recognized that the birds take the lion's (or rather the hawk's) share. Indeed, the plot is finely interwoven with countless references to birds perched in the streets of Sydney or recalled by Danny, such as a colourful lorikeet, white cockatoos, black cockatoos, a crow, jabirus, mynahs, a white egret, cormorants, eagles, pelicans, pigeons, a magpie, seagulls and other unspecified birds. Even Danny's sayings hinge upon winged beings: "the kingfisher shows off, and the eagle hovers all day over water, but the crow is the one who always gets the fish" (Adiga 2021, 89). In *The White Tiger*, references to tigers and animals are imbued with several layers of interpretation which do not reduce them to a single coherent tropology, while the image of the tiger becomes a key symbol (Anjaria 2015, 119), as evidenced by the very title of the novel. In light of the recurring animals in the Indian author's literary works and of their connection to multi-faceted interpretations, I would like to analyse some possible meanings of the animal imagery in *Amnesty*. Several possible

interpretations will be put forward and analysed for their meaningfulness and implications. After having brought to the foreground interpretations related to human beings, the paper will put forward interpretations of animal references involving the city of Sydney and parts of the novel itself.

This analysis attempts to situate itself in the body of work that deals with Adiga's novels in order to understand the characteristics of his works, analyse the ways he tackles topics and unveil the meanings of recurring themes in his literary production, of which animal references are a powerful example. While several scholarly papers have engaged with *The White Tiger*—some of them were cited before—, *Amnesty* does not seem to have been a focus of scholarly research. Therefore, it is hoped that the present analysis on animal references in *Amnesty* and their multi-layered meanings might spur other scholars to engage with Adiga's works so as to examine whether animal metaphors are tackled differently or are linked to other social themes.

## 2. The Illegal Immigrant as a Chased Animal

One of the most interesting meanings of the varied animal imagery in Adiga's novel is the depiction of illegal immigrants as chased animals. This association is reminiscent of Balram's animalization, which derives from his subaltern position (Wälther 2014, 580) and the stifling and ironic image of the rooster coop, whereby the poor and destitute are equated with passive poultry, whereas the rich wear the uniform of the butcher who crams roosters into a cage (Khor 2012, 47). In her ecocritical analysis of Ortese's *L' Iguana*, Iovino stresses the dehumanization of those ruthlessly oppressed and marginalized in the eyes of their oppressors (2020, 86). Yet, in *Amnesty*, Adiga further emphasizes the equation of oppressed groups of people with animals from the beginning of the novel: "I asked, [...] 'what *are* you?'" (Adiga 2021, 3; italics in the original). Although she is merely joking, the Australian passerby unwittingly marks out Danny's status not only as an outsider, but also as an animal or object, all indistinctly mingled in the pronoun 'what.' That Danny is rather seen as a fugitive animal, though, is evidenced by some revealing expressions, such as "the leash tugged again at him" (Adiga 2021, 209) or "Who's after me? They all are" (Adiga 2021, 183). This statement is far from hyperbolic, since Australian immigration policy allows every citizen to report potential illegal immigrants, thereby creating an Australian example of "hostile environment," a phrase employed by Theresa May in 2012 (Hill 2017). There is even a telephone number of which those citizens who want to report potential illegal immigrants can avail themselves. With respect to this, the novel presents a scene which resonates with Fanonian references. On a train, Danny's cover as a blond-streaked Australian is blown by the attentive gaze of a baby: "The woman in a white shirt and jeans

was reading a newspaper, but her blond child, his head on his mother's thighs, like a cat on a lap, was looking at Danny. [...] his eyes began sparkling. The highlights don't fool me, mate. I know what you are" (Adiga 2021, 38).

Paradoxically, though, the novel goes one step further and implies that illegals are inferior to animals. When Danny decides to remain in Sydney after his student visa expiration date, which immediately turns him into an illegal, his callous 'landlord' forces him to clean dog poo in front of his shop several times. Danny's changed condition and the silent exploitation he is going to be subjected to are therefore strongly highlighted by this event. Similarly, Abe—another illegal and Danny's friend—is run after by a stray, confused pitbull. The dog is eventually collected by a police officer who is concerned about its safety, while absolutely unaware that Abe and other immigrants are toiling in an orchard nearby, picking cherries: "Abe recognized the look in his [the police officer's] eyes: the look of a people losing their grip on a continent" (Adiga 2021, 224).

Interestingly, though, Danny and the illegal immigrants are not the only people to be associated with animal imagery, which ripples over Radha and Prakash as well. Defined as 'Oscar and Lucinda,' thereby evoking "*the* historical novel of colonial Australia" (Bertinetti 2010, 325-326; italics in the original) by Carey in a very tongue-in-cheek manner, the two compulsive gamblers are intertwined with ornithic references. They are "lovebirds" (Adiga 2021, 116) and "migrate" (Adiga 2021, 93) from one pub to another on the lookout for bets to place and garish slot-machines. While Radha's mind processes the unexpected information that Danny is illegally living in Sydney, she looks at him from a new perspective: "like a parrot going upside down with an odd fruit" (Adiga 2021, 166). Although Prakash has "feathery" (Adiga 2021, 139) black brows, he is rather compared to a dangerous, unpredictable animal. Readers are told that "This is just an animal inside him. An instinct is sitting here, not a man" (Adiga 2021, 141) and Radha herself indirectly compares him to a caged animal by telling him: "'Prakash, [...] a man in prison has a choice: either break out or make his cell as big as the world'" (Adiga 2021, 203). Undeterred by her love, though, Prakash "attacked Radha, the way a lion attacks its tamer" (Adiga 2021, 205). Notwithstanding these telling and already explicit hints, the animalization of both Prakash and Danny surfaces during their encounter at the pub. Firmly holding Danny's wrist, the murderer refuses to let him go. While the TV screens in the pub show the evocative (and telling) images of greyhounds ready to start racing, Danny recounts the story of the bump in his forearm and the torture he was subjected to in Sri Lanka due to a misunderstanding at the airport. In postcolonial literature, storytelling is frequently seen as an act of metaphorical and symbolical survival, such as in *By the Sea* by Abdulrazak Gurnah (Steiner 2014, 113). In this case, though, storytelling literally enables Danny to survive by distracting Prakash's attention and catching



him off balance. Exactly like the racing greyhounds, Danny rushes out of the pub after hitting Prakash with a small cactus.

As far as Prakash is concerned, animal imagery does not merely involve comparison or metaphors, but also an astonishing mesh-up. Wandering through Sydney with the awareness that Prakash has killed Radha, Danny suddenly sees a totem: “Topmost on the pole was a ferocious eagle with a yellow beak. A mop of silvery hair appeared on the eagle’s face, and black-rimmed spectacles now framed its giant hazelnut eyes” (Adiga 2021, 213). While *The White Tiger* brought to the fore opposed images such as man/animal (Gajjarawala 2009, 22-23), *Amnesty* relates a powerful example of partial metamorphosis. It is true that Radha is frequently compared to a bird, whereas a police officer is described as “whalishly blue” (Adiga 2021, 21) and Danny’s employer’s hands as “froggy-white” (Adiga 2021, 175). However, the statue of the eagle with Prakash’s specific features goes one step further and involves assimilation and mixture of both human and animal traits. The fact that Prakash is not compared to a meek bird (like many which Danny sees while strolling around the city) but rather to an eagle further indicates his dangerousness and could put forward the eagle as a mirror of his true self. The peculiar ability of animals to make revelations and show what would otherwise go unnoticed will be further analysed later.

Since in this section I aimed to support the hypothesis that animal imagery points to the animalization of illegals in Australia, it could seem contradictory that Prakash and Radha are compared to animals, given their legal status. Yet, it should be remembered that the narration hinges upon Danny’s account and his perspective. While the Australian society chases him—an honest and willing worker—as if he were an unwelcome animal, Danny implicitly but effectively demonstrates that the real animals are two fully-fledged citizens, who are free to harm themselves and others. Rather than being flawless role-models, Radha and Prakash are both obsessed with gambling and involved in adultery. Having stolen large sums of money from her office to gamble, Radha even has a criminal record, while Prakash concisely recounts that he had a car accident while he was driving with a woman. Given that the woman’s father is angry at Prakash, it might be surmised that it was his fault.

Among the references to animals which contribute to strengthening the distressed situation of illegal immigrants, one could list an unusual artwork. Indeed, Danny twice comes across a mural depicting various animals trussed up and laid on a butcher’s table, in a sense reminiscent of the rooster coop in *The White Tiger*. Rather than mere roosters, though, in this case different animals are represented, exactly like the numerous nationalities of the immigrants whom Danny meets: “A deer with curved horns, a heron, and a rabbit. Three animals, three corpses, trussed up by wires from the ceiling of a kitchen, and below them,

on the butcher's table, a ram lay, its mouth bound with ropes, its tongue sticking out. The heron in profile had one eye open wide, as if to say: *We didn't even scream when the world was stolen from us*" (Adiga 2021, 74; italics in the original). Aside from the pain experienced by the animals, this passage emphasizes the wires and ropes tying and paralyzing the creatures. With respect to this, Danny interestingly mentions a huge net falling from the sky of Sydney to envelop him and drag him into the blackness: "From high above Kings Cross, spreading and widening, Danny saw a dark net, [...] spreading wide and falling faster, threatening to snare and drag him [...] into blackness" (Adiga 2021, 186). The passage resonates with the ropes and wires that have mercilessly trapped the creatures in the mural. Indeed, the ties might be a reference to the Australian immigration policy, which not only deprives illegals of basic rights such as healthcare, but also condemns them to live in constant fear and voicelessness, which slowly but surely cripples them.

Back to the prevalent ornithic references, another interesting occurrence takes place during Danny and Sonja's first date. Absolutely in the dark about Danny's status as an illegal immigrant, Sonja asks Danny what prompted him to leave his country and its shimmering lagoon: "Now I'll have to start lying, Danny thought, when the Parramatta River saved him: a white feather came floating along its surface, and he pointed it out to her. 'That's because they've privatized everything in Sydney,' the vegan said" (Adiga 2021, 25). The feather floating down the river could convey multi-faceted meanings. It could epitomize immigrants' isolation in Australia, their precarious and frail condition in society or even the fact that they are at the mercy of events, lost in the torrential stream of the motivations which spurred them to seek shelter in other countries. Further testifying to the immigrants' isolation, Sonja's misunderstanding of Danny's reference could exemplify the unbridgeable communication and comprehension gap between legals and illegals, the haves and the have-nots.

The image of the floating feather and Sonja's answer can smoothly introduce another possible reason explaining the numerous ornithic references which may also accentuate the contrast between animals and immigrants. In several occurrences, birds are presented in flocks or in groups, like the black and white cockatoos, the jabis, the pigeons, or the flock of unspecified birds which Danny sees while Sonja is driving. The fact that many of them are in groups highlights their tight community, whose members can rely on each other. On the contrary, illegal immigrants are utterly isolated and prevented from bonding by their very status of illegals. Purposefully unaware of each other's lodgings, the immigrants whom Danny meets in front of the public library do not share personal details, should they be arrested and asked to report the others. In the afterword to *Refugee Tales*, Herd writes that in the UK detained immigrants are likewise hindered from forging communities, inasmuch as they are frequently

relocated to other detention centres, which forcefully shatters and fragments their newly-formed ties (2019, 173). As Herd maintains: “The government’s word for this is ‘dispersal’ [...] – a process which has the consequence of breaking up such communities as they might manage to form” (2019, 173). Rather than the detention policy, though, in *Amnesty* it is the very marginalization and chasing of immigrants that hampers their attempts at establishing tight bonds of friendship, in spite of their ostensible freedom. The relationship between illegal immigrants is fraught with suspicion and weakened by the scantness and fragmentary nature of their encounters. Although Danny is on good terms with an Indian legal immigrant, he informs readers that “That guy *was* legal, though. Friendship could only go so far” (Adiga 2021, 19; italics in the original).

The discrepancy between the solitude of the immigrant and the tight community of birds is further underlined by the beginning of the novel. When Danny steals a boat with a friend with the aim of finding the mermaids who supposedly inhabit the lagoon of Batticaloa, he is not scared—not even of his father’s anger which inevitably awaits him at home—because “He had a friend by his side” (Adiga 2021, 3). Meanwhile, “cormorants, red-breasted sea eagles, broad-winged pelicans circled over their heads” (Adiga 2021, 2), thereby possibly highlighting the harmony between the fear-dispersing bond between the two friends and the similarly-close-knit community of the flocks of birds. However, such harmony is pre-empted and shattered in Sydney.

### 3. Hacking One’s Way through the Jungle of Sydney

As previously highlighted, animal imagery focuses in particular on ornithic references, which pepper the narration and Danny’s meanderings through Sydney. However, references to other winged elements are not missing: airplanes are constantly landing or flying above the city in the plot. In the first part of the novel, Danny mentions an Emirates and a Qantas flight, while other occurrences include an unspecified plane, another plane which writes a marriage proposal in the sky and planes seen in the distance. Moreover, Danny’s first view of Sydney is framed by the window of the airplane he has taken in order to reach the country and Sonja’s much-yearned-for trip to Cairns involves taking an airplane, which is impossible for Danny, since he possesses no passport.

In my opinion, the references to birds and airplanes are tightly linked and might convey opposite meanings and associations of ideas. Freely soaring over Sydney’s sky, birds could represent liberty, in keeping with their traditional representation (an example from classical mythology is Daedalus’s decision to escape Minos’s labyrinth by shaping wax wings and flying away). This archetypal meaning could be evidenced by the following excerpt: “Up in the air, a seagull,

catching a cross-building current, glided over the carnal entertainments of the Cross without moving a feather, only opening and closing its beak and emitting a series of loud squawks. [...] Danny, assuming he was the subject of the seagull's gossip, winced. He's free, but that's all he's free for: gossiping up in the air" (Adiga 2021, 137). Almost mockingly, the seagull circling in the sky underlines Danny's different condition of social outcast.

By the same token, airplanes do not convey the canonical idea of liberty, albeit winged and mimicking the unique ability of birds. In a way akin to birds, airplanes in the novel are shrouded in an aura of negativity, exemplified by numerous clues. Aside from the fact that Danny was tortured in an airport due to misunderstandings related to his flight, the airplane is the means through which he reached Australia, which undermines the credibility of his threatened existence in Batticaloa and therefore weakens his potential asylum request: "He had *not* come here on a boat: he had flown into Australia on Malaysia Airlines, economy-class ticket, and that was the problem" (Adiga 2021, 167; italics in the original). Rather than opening up the possibility to travel around the world without borders, airplanes remind Danny of his status of illegal immigrant and his curtailed freedom, as evidenced by the trip to Cairns which he keeps delaying and will never be able to do with Sonja. Paradoxically, the freedom to cross other countries' borders is not denied to Prakash, a murderer who wishes to escape to South Africa by plane and would be absolutely unhindered, were his crime not revealed to the police.

The association between artificial means of transport like airplanes and animals like birds introduces another interesting correlation, namely the indirect comparison of Sydney to a jungle. Interestingly, such connection could justify the noticeable presence of birds in the novel. In fact, the city is frequently portrayed as a jungle, which acquires a profound meaning given that the Blue Mountains outside Sydney are ablaze because of widespread, raging wildfires. With its suburbs hemmed by "tropical plantains, begonia leaves [...] and frangipani trees" (Adiga 2021, 8), Sydney is fraught with potential dangers for Danny, inasmuch as with white people "all you have to do is start thinking [...]. Like in a jungle, when you find a tiger in your path, how you're supposed to hold your breath and stare back. They go away" (Adiga 2021, 4). Criss-crossed by zebra crossings, the roads become "the painted and tattooed war body of the hunter. Called the City of Sydney" (Adiga 2021, 34). Even without these explicit references, the city would still take on wild characteristics. Buttressing the vision of the city as a jungle, Danny is extremely reluctant to alter his routine and the streets he follows. There is a "black line" (Adiga 2021, 46) that he must not cross, but rather painstakingly toe. Indeed, infringing the black line would mean getting involved with Radha's murder and having to hack his way through a city that is hostile to immigrants, thereby straying from the known, safe path to

penetrate a jungle. In a way, this is reminiscent of the episode of the Minotaur's labyrinth and Arianna's thread in classical mythology.

Far from being dark and gloomy, though, Sydney is described as imbued with light by Radha, who cannot resolve to leave the city because of its brightness, in spite of the attractive job offers she has received in other countries. However, readers should keep in mind that this is Radha's viewpoint, namely the perspective of a citizen. Even if we admitted that Sydney is a city of light in Danny's point of view as well, this would not make it less hostile to him, as Radha acknowledges: "*But for you, [...] this must be a terrible city, right? Some mornings, it must be. A prison of light*" (Adiga 2021, 47; italics in the original). Indeed, light annihilates shadows where illegals seek shelter at the margins of society, carving themselves a niche to survive, albeit precarious. Upon exiting a pub, Danny says that he "vomited himself out of the door and into raw sunlight" (Adiga 2021, 109). In such a dazzling environment, everything is laid bare, exposed and inevitably brought into focus.

In this jungle of light, it comes as no surprise that "the blondest animal in Australia [is] [...] their Rule of Law" (Adiga 2021, 111). Even in this field, animal imagery plays a key role. Rather than simple birds or other common animals, the creatures related to the law are magnificent, exceptional and typically Australian. Indeed, the Australian coat of arms features a kangaroo and an emu, while the judge in the courthouse sits "beneath a wooden pulpit mounted by a golden lion and a silver unicorn" (Adiga 2021, 219). As Cheuse points out, Adiga's stories in *Between the Assassinations* remind readers of the "strange mixture of the strikingly beautiful and the filthy, which is the nature of every Indian village" (2009, 13). The same mingling can be found in Sydney as well, as *Amnesty* shows. As far as the magnificent animals representing Australia are concerned, it is as if Adiga parodied them by using the same or similar creatures in different contexts and seen from different perspectives, thus revealing the downsides of Australia's ostensible flawlessness and adamant perfection. As for the unicorn, there is a scene where Danny spots a curious creature in a street: "inside a wooden enclosure, tied to a post, a white goat, belly distended as if it were pregnant, a trapped *unicorn*, gazing back at him like the emblem of everything the West was meant to be" (Adiga 2021, 92; italics added). A clamorous reversal strikes the superb kangaroo as well, which maintains its form but is imbued with darker, sinister connotations in Prakash's account: "this was in the Kimberleys, in the mining days. You're out there at night, in a caravan or in a tent, and you hear them gnawing. They chew on bones all fucking night long, kangaroos" (Adiga 2021, 116-117). While the dejected condition of the goat is ripe with shortcomings, the voracious, bone-smashing kangaroos may evoke the hostile attitude of Australia towards illegals like Danny.

#### 4. The Permanence of Animals and their Representational Power

Roaming around Sydney, Danny leads a phantom-like, evanescent and silent existence. The chasm between the insubstantiality of his life and the solidness of the birds' ones could be another plausible motivation for the numerous animal encounters he experiences. After quoting Berger's essay entitled "Why Look at Animals?," Cohn states that "Animals, in other words, become figural, and as figures, their enchanting, spectacular difference is appropriated or effaced precisely where it would seem to be most marked" (2015, 573). In this case, though, it is illegals' lives which disappear when compared to the animals which peacefully inhabit the Australian city. Lorikeets, cockatoos, jabirus, pigeons and many others glide past or swoop over the streets of Sydney with nobody inhibiting their stay in the city. Interestingly, the key to understanding the difference between the untroubled permanence of animals in Sydney and the precariousness of Danny's existence in the city is offered by a passage concerned with the sea. While Danny is pondering the eventuality of informing the police about Radha's murderer, he is addressed by the water: "*Are you going back to your country so easily? the blue water asked the man. Whether it's you or the white people here, it's all the same to me, the water told the man. I'll go on shining just like this*" (Adiga 2021, 127; italics in the original). In this passage, the stress seems to be placed on the terms 'man' and 'water,' thus highlighting their inherent difference and different conditions. Enlarging the discourse, the water underlines the precariousness of every human being and the fixedness or unflappability of natural phenomena, if compared to humans' insignificant rules or conflicts. Eventually, the water keeps shining, while Danny is arrested. In an interview, Adiga stated that Anglophone Indian fiction is too sentimental and that the "new dynamism and energy" of India ought to be reflected in its fiction (Derbyshire Interview 2001, 51). In line with this, *Amnesty's* ending is abrupt, sudden and heart-rending in its blunt depiction of Danny's silent arrest which is coldly and incidentally announced by the column of a newspaper.

Before concluding the analysis of the possible meanings of animal imagery, it should be pointed out that an important and interesting use of animal references pops up in pivotal scenes as if to mark their centrality and rippling consequences. At the beginning of his working day, Danny goes to the first house he has to clean, in which he finds a huntsman (a large but harmless Australian spider). Before killing it, Danny hears police officers going up the stairs of the building and is informed that a murder has been committed 'across the street.' Having killed the spider, he then goes to the window in order to dispose of the animal's lifeless body. While performing this action, he sees a police van below and looks at the building in front of the flat, which is Radha's house. It is at that moment that it dawns on Danny that the victim might be Radha, which he would have

never known or thought about, had he not killed the huntsman and gone to the window to throw it away. Indeed, the police officer told him that an incident had happened ‘across the road’ and not ‘behind the street,’ where the woman’s house is located: “*There’s been a murder across the road. Not behind the street.* So this, Danny told himself, can’t be the building—can’t. Just can’t” (Adiga 2021, 29; italics in the original). His worst fears are confirmed, though, when he spots a red-eyed man showing the view to a police officer from the window of Radha’s house, which he immediately recognizes because of the red tulips on it.

In a sense, the killing of the spider triggers a sort of “explosion of consequences” (McEwan 2006, 19), to use an expression featured in McEwan’s *Enduring Love*. The spider opens up a new dimension for Danny and forces him to step outside of his safe, hidden zone, due to his pricking conscience. Even the golden highlights in his hair that were supposed to facilitate his integration and invisibility in Sydney cannot protect him anymore. Indeed, the young Sri Lankan realizes that “he could feel the comic weight of all those gold-tinted, shampooed strands of hair on his scalp. It was a huntsman sitting on his head and he was carrying it around Sydney. Go back at once, said his shame, to the storeroom in Glebe and wait” (Adiga 2021, 47). Further touching on the relevance of the huntsman is the fact that the Australian spider features in the last conversation between Sonja and Danny. Unaware of Danny’s troubled day and of the fact that he has eventually called the police to prevent Prakash from committing a second murder, his girlfriend asks him: “‘Did you deal with that huntsman?’ [...] ‘Oh, you shouldn’t have, you really shouldn’t’” (Adiga 2021, 249), with all the unwitting weight and implications of her words. As a result, the figure of the spider circularly binds together the beginning, the middle and the heart-breaking ending of the novel.

In addition, animals have the interesting ability to reveal the actual appearance of specific situations, acting as a sort of mirror which provides clarification. Radha and Prakash are used to going to a creek and, after having hired Danny as a cleaner, they start bringing him with them as a sort of jester. On one of these occasions, Danny recalls that he saw two children with a black dog at the creek. The excerpt is worth quoting at length due to its meaningfulness: “It was a black dog, and it was shivering, uncertain of the edge between land and water; and in the creek, two white boys, stripped to the waist, buoying up and down, laughed and mimicked the animal each time it howled, raising their heads to the sky and letting loose long doggy noises—which confused or enraged the black thing that staggered about the rocks, adding its weak protests to theirs” (Adiga 2021, 120). Read as a possible indirect representation of Prakash, Radha and Danny, the image is enlightening and revealing: the couple of gamblers frequently displays childish and reckless behaviour, thus pointing to the two children. On the other hand, Danny is brought with them as a dog could be, an entertaining animal

which is not credited with the same status or agency as the two humans. If we add that Radha and Prakash are used to poking fun at Danny's observations and questions, the mimicked (or rather aped) black dog further dovetails with the young Sri Lankan. As Radha bluntly and insensitively says: "Say something. Make us laugh. That's why we bring you along and give you free food and drink, you know" (Adiga 2021, 116). Furthermore, at the creek Radha muses: "we really should adopt this cleaner as our baby, shouldn't we" (Adiga 2021, 117). From child to dog the step is soon done. Further revelations triggered by the sight of animals include Danny's realization of Prakash's true intentions, which happens while Danny gazes at a school of bats: "A brown-red smear of blood was illuminated in the bat's wing for just an instant, before it disappeared behind him. [...] Danny could see now that Prakash was certainly *not* on his way to the airport" (Adiga 2021, 240; italics in the original).

## 5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the animal imagery scattered throughout *Amnesty* lends itself to numerous and compelling interpretations. It could epitomize the fearful condition of illegal immigrants, who can be reported by any Australian citizen who has suspicions about their status. Moreover, the clash between the community of birds and the isolation plaguing the immigrants is perfectly exemplified by the difference between various flocks of birds and Danny's loneliness. Given that Sydney is portrayed as a jungle, the animal references might underline its wilderness, in spite of its evolution and cutting-edge technology. Not to mention the fact that animals can continue to dwell in Australia with no risk of being deported, thus showing a stability which is denied to immigrants like Danny, whose stay is transient and constantly threatened. In addition to the situation of immigrants and the description of the city, animal imagery plays an important role at the narrative level as well, by influencing pivotal scenes and acting as a revealing power which shows unexpected meanings or clarifies situations. In the light of all these thought-provoking interpretations, *Amnesty* creatively displays a unique and multi-layered use of animal imagery, thereby also offering food for thought to readers.

Thanks to its rich variety of animal references and their varied interpretations, *Amnesty* can throw new insights into the field of analysis of Adiga's other novels which display interesting animal metaphors. Indeed, multifarious meanings of animal references could be traced in the author's literary production and enlarge the knowledge on recurring themes and literary characteristics of an important contemporary Indian writer. At a higher level, the analysis of *Amnesty* might offer an interesting contribution to the field of animal studies, since they recognize human evolution as a form of animality, albeit unique (Wolfe 2009, 572). Added



to this, the analysis of animal references in *Amnesty* could also be interesting to ecocriticism, which “questions the very categories of the human and of nature” (Westling 2014, 2). As a matter of fact, the novel employs several animal metaphors and, more importantly, applies them to contemporary times with a surprising variety of aims, which I have tried to bring to the foreground in this paper.

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## Locating Violence in Kusum Kumar's *Suno Shefali* (*Listen Shefali*)

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**Abstract:**

India has a long tradition of social dramas that dates back to the 19th century. Such plays have been instrumental in raising social and political awareness among the masses. Located within this strong tradition of 'socials', is Kusum Kumar's hard-hitting play *Suno Shefali* (*Listen Shefali*). Originally written in Hindi in 1975 and published in 1978, the play is significant for it engages with violence and oppression at the intersection of caste, class and gender at a time when feminist scholars had not theorized intersectionality as an important analytical tool of analysis. The play also predates several important Indian plays, especially by the male playwright, that deal with the problems of caste system in India. In this essay, I will attempt to study various forms of violence committed on a Dalit woman at the intersection of gender, caste and class in Kumar's *Listen Shefali* using theoretical concepts like Kimberle Crenshaw's 'intersectionality', Johan Galtung's 'structural violence', M. Weigert's 'personal violence', Pierre Bourdieu's 'symbolic violence' and Gayatri Chakravarty Spivak's 'epistemic violence'.

**Keywords:** Violence; Dalit; untouchability; intersectionality; self-respect; feminism.

India has a long tradition of social dramas that dates back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Plays like Dinabandhu Mitra's *Neel Darpan* (*The Indigo Mirror*, 1859), Bharatendu Harishchandra's *Bharat Durdasha* (*The Plight of India*, 1875), G.B. Deval's *Sharada* (1899), Bijon Bhattacharya's *Nabanna* (*The New Harvest*, 1944), Jan Natya Manch's *Aurat* (*Women*, 1979) and Brijesh's *Shambukvadha* (*The Killing of Shambuka*, 2004) among others have been written over the past century and a half across various languages. Such plays have been instrumental in raising social and/or political awareness among the masses. While some of these have attempted to propose solutions, others have forced their readers/audiences to find their own resolutions. Located within this strong tradition of socials is Kusum Kumar's hard-hitting play *Suno Shefali* (*Listen Shefali*). Originally written in Hindi in 1975 and published in 1978, the play coincides with Datta Bhagat's *Avart* (*Whirlpool*, 1978) and predates Vijay Tendulkar's *Kanyadaan* (*The Gift of a Daughter*, 1983), Girish Karnad's *Taledanda* (*Death by Beheading*, 1990) Swadesh Deepak's *Court Martial* (1991) and Premanand Gajjee's *Kirwant* (1981;1991) all of which deal with social and political evils of caste system in India. In this essay, I will attempt to study various forms of violence committed on a young Dalit woman at the interstices of gender, caste and class in *Listen Shefali*.

Kusum Kumar is a poet, critic, translator and an accomplished novelist. However, she is primarily a playwright and has been one among those few women playwrights who have been conferred the coveted Sangeet Natak Akademi award (2016) for playwriting. While Kumar has written ten one-act plays including *Nirma*, *Khabgaah* (*The Bedroom*), *Salaami* (*A Guard of Honour*) and *Manch* (*The Stage*), she is best known for her full-length plays like *Ravan Leela* (*The Story of Ravana*), *Pavan Chaturvedi ki Diary* (*The Diary of Pavan Chaturvedi*), *Sanskar ko Namaskar* (*Farewell to Rituals*), *Dilli Uuncha Sunati Hai* (*Delhi is Hard of Hearing*), *Lashkar Chowk*, *Prashn-Kaal* (*The Question Hour*) and *Suno Shefali* (*Listen Shefali*). Her plays exhibit a variety of themes ranging from individual, social, and political issues. The play under consideration, *Listen Shefali*, involves a young self-respecting Dalit woman, Shefali, who refuses to succumb to the political manoeuvrings of her upper-caste Brahmin lover Bakul and his aspiring politician father Satyameva Dikshit. Instead, she chooses to resist the combined onslaught of patriarchy and caste only to find herself betrayed by everyone around her in the end. Since the plot deals with a social problem, Kumar uses realism as her mode of expression in the play and employs ordinary characters, everyday speech and a common-place setting. Though Kumar's play is proscenium-bound like most realistic plays in post-Independence India, yet there is a significant difference. While most Indian playwrights of realism, especially the male playwrights, have confined their dramas to the middle-class drawing rooms, Kumar's choice to

set her play (except one scene) on the open *ghats* of the Yamuna is significant. Moreover, the separation of *ghats* in the play depicted by a wooden partition is symbolic as it manifests social hierarchies implicit in the caste system. Pointing towards this social division in the Indian society, Nandi Bhatia notes that “it serves as a reminder to audiences of the separatism practiced in daily life ...” (2010, 93)

Indian realistic drama has explored various forms of realism ranging from social realism to psychological realism and playwrights have explored the theme of violence in such dramas as *Ghashiram Kotwal* (Ghashiram the Constable), *Sakharam Binder* (Sakharam the Binder), *Hajar Churashir Maa* (Mother of 1084) and *Holi* among others. Kumar also explores various forms of violence in *Listen Shefali* which will be discussed in this section. However, before analysing the play, it is important to consider as to what constitutes violence and how intersectionality as an analytical tool can help understand violence in a nuanced manner. While sociologists have debated as to what exactly constitutes violence, I find Johan Galtung's concept of “structural violence” which is “built into structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances” (1969, 171) quite useful in understanding the workings of violence. Galtung argues that,

... violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations ... Violence is here defined as the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual, between what could have been and what is. Violence is that which increases the distance between the potential and the actual, and that which impedes the decrease of this distance. (168)

Building up on Galtung's idea, Kathleen M. Weigert differentiates “structural violence” from “personal violence” as follows:

Structural violence (also called indirect violence and, sometimes, institutionalized violence) is differentiated from personal violence (also called direct or behavioral) and refers to preventable harm or damage to persons (and by extension to things) where there is no actor committing the violence or where it is not practical to search for the actor(s); *such violence emerges from the unequal distribution of power and resources or, in other words, is said to be built into the structure(s)*. (2005, 2005; italics mine)

Other than structural and personal violence theorised by Galtung and Weigert, I have also found Pierre Bourdieu's “symbolic violence” defined as “a gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims, exerted for the most part

through the purely symbolic channels of communication and cognition (more precisely, misrecognition), recognition, or even feeling” helpful in my analysis of violence. (2001, 1-2) The focus of all three scholars on the non-physical aspect of violence offers a nuanced understanding of violence.

In the late 1970s, several feminist scholars had begun to draw attention towards the inability of the mainstream feminist discourse to account for the issues of the non-White women. The following years witnessed such significant theoretical works like Susan Gilbert and Susan Gubar’s *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (1979), Audre Lorde’s “Age, Race, Class and Sex: Women Redefining Difference” (1980/84), Chandra Talpade Mohanty’s “Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses”, (1984/88) and Spivak’s “Can the Subaltern Speak?” (1988) that began to analyse class and ethnicity as important constituents of oppression alongside gender. Kimberlé Crenshaw, in her 1989 essay “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex”, coined the term ‘intersectionality’ in the context of black women that played an important role in theorising “intersection” as a crucial determinant in the ‘third world’ feminism. In yet another essay on intersectionality “Mapping the Margins”, published in 1991, she argued that,

many of the experiences Black women face are not subsumed within the traditional boundaries of race or gender discrimination as these boundaries are currently understood, and that the intersection of racism and sexism factors into Black women’s lives in ways that cannot be captured wholly by looking at the race or gender dimensions of those experiences separately. (1244)

Intersectionality, since then, has been used by feminists as an essential analytical tool to examine oppression and exclusion at the intersection of various categories like race, class, gender, caste, sexual orientation and so on.<sup>1</sup> I have found ‘intersectionality’ particularly useful for my analysis of violence in Listen

1 To read more on intersectionality refer to Kimberle Crenshaw (1989), “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics”, University of Chicago Legal Forum: Vol. 1989: Iss. 1, Article 8; 139-167 and “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Colour.” *Stanford Law Review* 43 (6): 1241-1299; Davis, K. (2008), “Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful,” *Feminist Theory*, 9(1), 67–85. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464700108086364>; Yuval-Davis, N. (2006), “Intersectionality and Feminist Politics. *European Journal of Women’s Studies*,” 13(3), 193–209. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506806065752>; Nivedita Menon (2015), “Is Feminism about ‘Women’? A Critical View on Intersectionality from India,” *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 50, no. 17, pp. 37–44.

Shefali as it focusses on the interconnectedness of several factors in propagation of violence and oppression against women especially from the marginalised sections of societies. Kumar's play can thus be called prophetic in a sense for it engages with discrimination and violence on the cross-roads of caste, class and gender at a time when intersectionality had not yet made inroads into the mainstream feminist theoretical models.

In a highly stratified society like India, intersectionality can play an important role in developing a nuanced understanding of violence, oppression and discrimination due to the interconnectedness of gender, caste and class. Borrowing Galtung's and Weigert's ideas on violence and Crenshaw's intersectionality, one can find both personal and structural violence committed at the interstices of caste, class and gender in *Listen Shefali*. Though, violence in the play does not take the overt form of physical or verbal abuse, yet it depicts violence that is subtle, covert and insidious, which is why it so often goes unnoticed by the perpetrator and the victim. My contention is that the very absence of physical violence seems to normalize other forms of violence that are either structural, symbolical or personal in nature. Kumar's play is, thus, prophetic for it engages with discrimination and violence on the cross-roads of caste, class and gender at a time when intersectionality had not yet made inroads into the mainstream feminist theoretical models.

Kumar presents her protagonist Shefali as an educated, strong, self-respecting and confident young woman who is a victim of violence which is structural, symbolic and personal and takes place at the intersections of caste, class and gender. Shefali and her sisters have experienced the trauma of being identified as 'Harijan' girls since her childhood.<sup>2</sup> Recollecting the humiliation, she tells Bakul: "Right from childhood, in the society, at every stage I found generosity surrounding me. We just had to accept it saying, 'yes sir'... In school, food, clothing books were given generously... in fact, given free ... we just had to declare that we were "Harijans" (2005, 195). What Shefali points out is a complex problem that cannot be grasped solely within the political and economic realm of the state. While the state may take affirmative action with regards to education and employment of Dalits, however the deeply entrenched

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2 *Harijan*: A term used by Mahatma Gandhi in 1933 to refer to the "untouchables" as "Children of God." The term was rejected by B.R. Ambedkar and several others who considered the term patronizing and that located the depressed classes within the larger Hindu religion and nation. Though the term 'Dalit' was part of Dalit parlance by the 1970s, the deliberate use of an older term 'Harijan' seems to be employed as a way of irony to present a subtle critique of Gandhian reformism. In fact, the failure of Gandhi's idea of inter-caste marriage as a step towards an upward mobility of Dalits constitutes the central conflict in the play.



caste system in Indian society does not necessarily facilitate their upward social mobility. It is deep-seated casteism that is responsible for crimes against Dalits on day-to-day basis despite the Indian Constitution criminalizing untouchability. In the play, the necessity to openly acknowledge their being 'Harijans' in order to receive the government aid plays havoc with the psyche of three young sisters affecting Shefali the most. Shefali doesn't complain about the lack of affirmative action on part of the state but points out towards the social unacceptability of Dalits by the 'upper' castes. Shefali's dignity and self-respect which do not let her accept herself inferior to anyone only further the conflict in the play. She tells Bakul that in the school the "three sisters never accepted such generosity" (195). Even as a child, she deconstructs the caste binary, though for a brief moment:

What must other people be ... I used to think that they must be 'janharis'. So, we three sisters wanted to remain 'janharis' in school ... why should we say that we were Harijans? The 'janhari' girls, are they better than us? They bring broken pens and pencils and borrow from us to write ... at such times they need our help... (195)

Her choice to be identified as a '*janhari*' instead of 'Harijan' is not just a linguistic word play but an index of her ideological landscape emblematic of her resistance against the oppressive caste system. In the overall schema of the play, Shefali's supplanting of the term 'Harijan' with 'janhari' is also suggestive of her rejection of the Gandhian Dalit reform which operated within the *varna vyavastha*<sup>3</sup> (the varna system) and did not seek a complete 'annihilation of caste' as emphasised by B.R. Ambedkar – the champion of the Dalit cause. Shefali makes her ideological position amply clear that she is an equal and does not seek the pity of the upper classes throughout the play.

Shefali, in the play, does not face physical violence as a child but her younger sisters do. What makes it worse is the fact that the young girls are beaten up by their own mother for not bringing "alms" from school in the form of food, books and clothes like other children from the community do. While the mother beats the younger sisters, Shefali is the target of verbal assault. This is one among several instances in the play where the reader cannot miss oppression at the intersection of various factors. Crenshaw has argued that 'intersectional subordination need

3 According to Monier, varna refers to "colour of the face" but also refers to "the four principal classes described in Manu's code, viz., Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras" in Monier-Williams, Monier, 2005, [1899], *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary: Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages* (Reprinted ed.), 924.

not be intentionally produced; in fact, it is frequently the consequence of the imposition of one burden that interacts with pre-existing vulnerabilities to create yet another dimension of disempowerment.' (1250) Extending her argument to the hierarchical Indian society, one can find that Dalit women are caught up at the ineluctable interstices of caste, class and gender. In the play, Shefali's mother faces a Janus-like situation where the only choice available to her is between self-respect and survival. She does not have the privilege to choose both. That she chooses survival over self-respect is guided by her working-class conditions that further complicate the relationship between caste and class. This constitutes what Galtung calls structural violence in which a clearly identifiable agent of violence cannot be detected but which is constituted in the unequal social structures. She makes her position clear while reprimanding her daughters: "Very fine people that you are ... We are Harijans ... Listen Shefali, you listen carefully ... you pass your tenth class and join me with my work. I can't educate you any further" (196). As Shefali grows up, her mother is unable to accept Shefali's reservation against getting married to a "respectable" man from an upper-caste and class. Unlike Shefali, she is unable to accept the fact that Bakul and his father are merely treating Shefali as a publicity material to expand their Dalit vote bank. Shefali tries to show the hidden agenda of the father-son duo:

I know why they want this marriage, at this moment ... right now ... both father and son want to announce to the world that they have contributed towards the upliftment of a Harijan girl. They want recognition on this basis ... for this they want to hear slogans of *zindabad* ... I'll merely be a means for their self-advertisement. (209)

Her mother, on the contrary, takes this marriage as the only possibility that will guarantee her family a chance to move up the social ladder. For her, what could be better than a rich Brahmin man proposing to her Dalit daughter for marriage! That is why she tries to coerce Shefali into this alliance saying, "The gentleman [Dikshit] came to our house twice, only to settle your marriage. *We're poor people* ... what else do we need? For the last so many years you have been meeting his son ... now marry him and be the *respectable daughter-in-law of a well-to-do family*" (209; italics mine). Respect that a Dalit woman would gain by becoming a member of a not just a rich but also an upper caste family!

It is ironical to see that the mother, a victim of the Brahmanical patriarchy owing to her caste, class and gender, has internalised it so much so that she herself becomes its perpetrator without realising it. Her normalising patriarchy can be seen as an act of what Bourdieu's calls "symbolic violence" defined as "a gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims, exerted for the

most part through the purely symbolic channels of communication and cognition (more precisely, misrecognition), recognition, or even feeling” (2001, 1-2). Explaining the internalisation of such patriarchal domination by women without any coercion, Bourdieu argues that “their acts of cognition are acts of practical recognition, *doxic acceptance*, a belief that does not need to be thought and affirmed as such, and which in a sense ‘makes’ the symbolic violence which it undergoes.” (34; emphasis mine) Following Bourdieu’s argument, the acceptance of a certain kind of ‘womanhood’ reflects “doxic acceptance” on part of Shefali’s mother and, in turn, constitutes “symbolic violence” by perpetrating it on her own daughter. The play provides several instances to prove this contention. Shefali’s mother, for example, is concerned about her daughter’s “honour” if the marriage is not materialised. Despite being a woman, she plays into the hands of patriarchy that she has internalised and accuses her daughter instead of supporting her. Patriarchy requires a woman to have no control over her own body since she is considered to be the custodian of not only her own honour but the honour of the family and community. The need for men to take absolute control, physical and cognitive, over women has been ingrained in the Hindu society through the sanctions of religious texts the origin of which lies in the laws laid down by Manu in 200 BC. For instance, the *Manusmriti* prescribes a complete control over woman by men as is evident in the following *sloka*:

*Pita rakshati kaumare, bharta rakshati yauvane,  
Rakshanti sthavire putra, na stree swatantryamarhati.* (Kavyatirtha, 364)  
Her father protects (her) in childhood, her husband protects (her) in youth,  
and her sons protect (her) in old age; a woman is never fit for independence.  
[Buhler, 1886, 139]

Kanchan Mathur in her essay “Body as Space, Body as Site” notes that “[V]irginity and chastity are virtues, which are entrenched as part of the socialisation pattern of girls... The typical image of a “good woman” is still one who upholds the honour of the family, maintains the “culture of silence” prevailing in the private domain and is obedient and sacrificing.” (55) Mathur’s argument finds ample echo in Kumar’s play. Equating “honour” with a woman’s body, Shefali’s mother asks her: “If you didn’t have to marry, why did you sell your honour to him? ... Shefali, why did you put us in this difficult situation?” (2018, 339; translation mine) Yet again, she asks, “You fell in love with him ... now why do you complain? If you knew that they were selfish people, why did you lose your honour?” (340; translation mine) The implication is quite clear in her mother’s accusation: it is not only about her honour but, by extension, the entire family’s honour at stake. Shefali confronts her by saying, “If dignity and reputation are

mere adjuncts of the physical then he too has lost something" (2005, 210). And like a typical patriarch, the mother replies, "It is a different matter for a woman, Shefali! If a girl loses her honour, her life is ruined" (210). Unable to bear her mother's arguments, Shefali "shouts in pain",

Enough amma, enough! You're still dreaming about against which you have seen resentment in my eyes right from my childhood ... you place that very thing before me and watch? Perhaps you're thinking of something else ... perhaps you're thinking what will happen to my defiled and used body? Nothing will happen to it ... nothing... *If anything has happened, it is within me ... much is ruined within me, mother. It would have been better if it hadn't happened so soon.* (210; italics mine)

Clearly, the emotional damage and psychological trauma that her relationship with Bakul has caused to her is greater than any physical violence or dishonour.

Among various forms of violence that take place in the play, there is one that can be missed easily for its impact may not be realised immediately. However, it is a form of what direct and personal violence as it can be attributed to individuals who perpetrate it on Shefali in the play. This is to be located in the persistent degradation of Shefali's self-respect by various characters including her own mother. Before I analyse this form of violence in the play, it is important to examine the concept of 'Self-Respect' as envisaged by Indian social thinker, activist and politician E.V. Ramasamy fondly called Periyar. Attributing self-respect as a crucial political tool to fight caste based social injustice in India, S Ramanathan, an Indian politician, had launched 'Self Respect Movement' in 1925 in Tamil Nadu and Periyar contributed immensely to the movement. The objective of the movement was to encourage the backward classes to have self-respect and eradicate caste-based discrimination. According to Periyar:

... he who is called 'man' embodies dignity in himself, and only through his right to this dignity, reveals his human qualities. That is why self-esteem is his birth-right. Man must cast aside his feelings of inferiority, the feeling that he is less important than other beings, and attain self-confidence and self-respect, it will automatically set right politics, nationalism and also theology. (As qtd. in Jha and Chouhan 2011, 194)

Thus, for Periyar, one can have a meaningful existence only if one has self-respect and dignity. In the play, the character of Shefali seems to be modelled on the lines of a young Periyarite who is not willing to compromise her self-respect at any cost. Throughout the play she refuses to be identified as an 'inferior' caste.

However, despite her courage and self-respect she has to pay a heavy price. As a Dalit woman, she is not entitled to have self-respect since the patriarchal *varna vyavastha* (varna system) reserves it only for the *savarnas* (upper-caste). Throughout the play, her self-respect is mocked, threatened and dismissed. It is not difficult to identify Bakul's inability to appreciate Shefali's self-respect given his social privilege that he enjoys being an upper-caste male. He refers to Shefali as a woman with an "enormous ego", a "sensitive" person and even pathologizes her self-respect as a "disease that should have been treated during her childhood" (2005, 195). He reduces a complex social and political problem to a mere personality trait and a "disorder" in Shefali. This is symptomatic of his unwillingness to acknowledge the social, psychological and political implications of caste system. It becomes even more ironical since Bakul is busy in the electoral campaign of his self-proclaimed 'social worker' father who is an aspiring politician. Given their approach towards a Dalit woman, it does not need much political acumen to foresee the future once the father-son duo occupies the center of power. Shefali faces this form of psychological violence from within her community too. Her own mother dismisses Shefali's resistance as "cold reasoning" and "false pride" (195) and Shefali as a "victim of her own pride" (210). A close look at the text reveals that Shefali is a victim not of her pride but a victim of betrayal inflicted upon her by everyone around – Bakul, Kiran and her own mother. This is perhaps the worst form of violence that one can find in the play.

Finally, Kumar deals with violence that relates with the production and dissemination of knowledge. Following Michel Foucault's exploration of "episteme" in *History of Madness* (1961) and *The Order of Things* (1966), Gayatri Chakravarty Spivak has used the concept of "epistemic violence" in her influential essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988) to argue that knowledge production by the dominant groups has its own forms of violence. Referring to the process of colonialism, she argues that the epistemic violence is particularly manifest when the dominant power, the colonist here, attempts "to constitute the colonial subject as Other" (1988, 280-81) thus creating knowledge about the colonial subject which becomes an 'objective' truth. Thus, the process of knowledge production and the knowledge produced both constitute violence against the colonial subject as it prioritises, and at times also invents, certain 'truths' over others. Kumar engages with this form of violence in two different ways in the play – one relates with the orientalist construction of India while the other with the Brahmanical hegemony over Dalits. Kumar's play critiques the typical orientalist image of India created by the West which is so often encountered in the colonial discourse. Scene II in the play presents Dikshit, the aspiring politician, meeting Manan, the astrologer. As he shows his palm to Manan to know about his future,

he is “disturbed” and “agitated by the loud *keertan*” on the other side of the ghat (2005, 200). When he asks the foreign tourist, who has organised the *keertan*, to stop the noise, he is told that the latter wants pictures of Indians singing *keertan* “with uneven expression of the faces” for his film (202). When Dikshit enquires about other pictures that he has taken, he tells Dikshit that he has already shot pictures of “Indian beggars” and want to photograph “snake charmers” which would be published in a cultural magazine back home. The message is loud and clear: India is understood by the West as its Other, as a spiritual anti-thesis of the scientific West even after the formal end of colonialism. It is interesting to note that Kumar’s problematization of such orientalist construction of India coincides with the publication of Said’s *Orientalism* (1978) which engages critically with the power of representation.

The second form of epistemic violence, in the play, inflicted upon Dalits by the Brahmanical patriarchal structures constitutes what Galtung calls “structural violence” that is “built into structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances” (1969, 171) and which Weigert considers stemming from “the unequal distribution of power and resources.” (2005, 2005) This relates with producing knowledge about Hinduism by the dominant group, the Brahmins in this case, and creating caste divisions based on that knowledge to exploit those belonging to the ‘lower’ castes. Such violence has been institutionalised as it is sanctioned by the religious episteme and has held a strong influence in Hinduism. Historically, the knowledge preserved in such religious texts called the *Dharmasastras* like the *Manusmriti* have played a crucial role in keeping Dalits on the margins of *varna vyavastha*. The very basis of the division of caste according to Manu is encapsulated in the following Sanskrit *sloka*:

*Lokana tu vivridhi-artham mukh-baahu-uru-paadatah,*

*Brahmanam kshatriyam vaishyam shudram ch nirvartyat.* (Kavyatirtha, 13)

But for the sake of the prosperity of the worlds he caused, the Brahmana, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra to proceed from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet. (Buhler 1886, 5)

And the following *sloka* establishes the Brahmanical hegemony clearly:

*Vipranan vedvidushan grihasthanan yashasvinam.*

*Shushrushaiv tu shudrasya dharmo naishreyasah parah.* (Kavyatirtha, 414)

But to serve Brahmanas (who are) learned in the Vedas, householders, and famous (for virtue) is the highest duty of a Sudra, which leads to beatitude. (Buhler, 1886, 164)

The *Manusmriti*, the foundational text on caste, is also problematic for it considers women much lower than men in the social hierarchy and lays down laws that are clearly anti-woman. One, among many such examples, in the *Manusmriti* is:

*Naasti strina kriya matrairiti dharme vyavasthitih*

*Nirindriya hyayamantrashch striyonritmiti sthitih.* (Kavyatirtha, 366)

For women no (sacramental) rite (is performed) with sacred texts, thus the law is settled; women (who are) destitute of strength and destitute of (the knowledge of) Vedic texts, (are as impure as) falsehood (itself), that is a fixed rule. (Buhler, 1886, 141)

It follows from the above instances that in Hinduism violence – symbolic, personal and structural – has been sanctioned by the religious episteme. Kumar represents such epistemic violence in her play that serves as an important principle of exclusion for Shefali and her people. In scene III, after Shefali has had an argument with her mother, she finds a young girl praying to a *tulsi* (Holy Basil) plant. Shefali, for whom “*tulsi* symbolizes steadfastness in love” and nothing more, is unable to comprehend the reason for praying to *tulsi*. (2005, 213) When enquired about the ritual by Shefali, the young and clearly an upper caste girl, though not mentioned explicitly, and for whom *tulsi* is an avatar of goddess Lakshmi, takes an offence and replies in agitation: “You are insulting our gods and goddesses – *chhi chhi!* All my prayers have been wasted. Can’t you differentiate between gods and ordinary folk? You call gods examples! Not only are you a sinner, you’re making me one too!” (213) The scene evokes the notion of spiritual pollution and ritual defilement which is so strongly entrenched in caste system that even the shadows of the *sudras* and ‘untouchables’ were considered potential sources of caste pollution by the upper castes. Hence, after the argument with Shefali, the girl “gets up quickly, goes to the river, washes, and wipes her hand with her scarf” and sits to pray (213).

Another manifestation of the caste pollution is manifest in the fact that traditionally the lower castes had been kept away from Hindu places of worship for centuries. Even the radical Kalaram Temple Entry Satyagraha by Ambedkar at Nasik, along with 15000 Dalit followers in the 1930s could not gain Dalits the right to enter Hindu temples. In fact, even after 67 years of criminalising untouchability by the Indian Constitution, the sight of Dalits being denied entry into Hindu temples is not uncommon. Kumar’s play, written in independent India, also highlights such social exclusion of Dalits in the name of religion through Shefali who has never visited the Shiva temple on the other side of the Yamuna ghat. Nandi Bhatia notes that it is a constant reminder to the audience about the fact that in India “temples have traditionally been the hubs of caste

exclusion.” (2005, 91) It is only in the last scene that Shefali is able to enter the Shiva temple in the company of a Brahmin male, Manan, only to experience another violent moment. Inside the temple, Shefali is shocked to see Kiran, her younger sister, in the company of her newly wedded Brahmin husband Bakul. Kumar's choice to end the play in a temple with a Dalit woman entering the traditional sphere of *savarnas* only expedites her tragedy. While raising questions about the intersectional nature of violence in a deeply hierarchical society, the play's ending is also significant for it raises an important concern in the Dalit literary discourse: whether Dalits writers need to reclaim space within the mainstream literature or should they focus on creating their own literary tradition guided by its own aesthetics?

Kumar's open-ending, devoid of a 'solution' or an ideological position, may seem pessimistic to the audience/readers as is the case with theatre scholar Jaidev Taneja who,

fails to understand why at the end of the play, the same Shefali – in spite of all her pain, guilt and anger – silently accepts and even blesses the surreptitious marriage of her younger sister, Kiran, with her lover, Bakul. It seems as if Shefali's struggle is a small and limited struggle against her own personal exploitation. Rather than fight and protest against her exploiters and their stratagems, she escapes into a self-destructive silence in the final, decisive moments. The play ends in darkness, hopelessness and defeat as Shefali is left all alone.' (2002, 87-88)

However, my contention is that such a judgement needs some re-thinking for it only looks at one side of the situation. Nandi Bhatia has critiqued Taneja's position by arguing that his argument does not take intersectionality into account, merely considers Shefali as a woman and not a 'Harijan.' (2010, 95) Such neglect is symptomatic of feminist scholars' inability/unwillingness to locate the intersection of gender, class and caste which reduces the complexity of issues concerning the 'third world' woman. Chandra Talpade Mohanty has critiqued such a position which assumes "that all of us of the same gender, across classes and cultures, are somehow socially constituted as a homogeneous group identified prior to the process of analysis." (1984, 337-338) Kumar's ending, on the other hand, prevents a cathartic moment in the play which is a significant feature of feminist drama. Tutun Mukherjee has argued that the anti-cathartic ending of what she calls a 'womanist drama-text', does not aim 'to leave the audience with a pleasurable equanimity. On the contrary, its intention is to roil the equilibrium, to disturb the mind, to resist closure, and deny a therapeutic purging of the mind. Often the characters are not well rounded off at the finale but are left at a highly nuanced state of transformation' (2005, 19). Kumar's



play successfully achieves this aim by not providing a denouement and instead compelling her audience/reader out of their comfort zones to probe deeply the complex issues of caste, class, gender and their inter-relationship. Though Kumar's play may not classify as Dalit drama in the strictest sense since the playwright is not a Dalit, it definitely is one of the earliest plays written in the post-Independence India that foregrounds the question of a Dalit woman at the intersection of caste, class and gender firmly.

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# Reading Doris Lessing's Short Story "England vs England" through the Lenses of Space, Trauma, and History

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**Abstract:**

Past armed conflicts and their aftermaths left everlasting traces hidden in the physical places as well as in the spaces generated by the survivors. The present article examines the treatment of traumatic spaces in the British author Doris Lessing's short story "England vs England" (1963) set in the years following the end of the Second World War. Even though Lessing's works have been studied from different perspectives—as the abundant scholarship shows—the poetics of space in her short stories set in European places other than London has not been widely analysed. This paper argues that the immediate past is present in Lessing's literature embedded in the spaces where the characters lead their everyday lives. The primary corpus includes the story under analysis and is supported by studies by scholars who have extensively researched the subjects of space and trauma and of literary critics who have examined the use of spatiality in Lessing's *oeuvre*. Analysing the traumatic spaces of post-war Europe in the narration, firstly, gives visibility to a narrative that seems to have been overlooked by the critics and, secondly, allows the study of its spatiality in its physical, psychological, and sociohistorical division. Scrutinising the physical places of the story and the atmosphere generated in them, I have found that they represent the trauma endured by the countless anonymous people who suffered the horrors of the wars and their devastating consequences and who have only been made visible by the author's skilled pen. In so doing my contribution adds another perspective to approaching the study of Doris Lessing.

**Keywords:** Space; trauma; literature; short story; war

*The old class struggle between bourgeoisie and aristocracy produced  
a space where the signs of that struggle are still manifest.*

Henri Lefebvre (1984, 57)

The short story “England vs England”, first published in 1963 in the collection *A Man and Two Women*, illustrates the fact that spaces acquire a traumatic charge due to historical events and political decisions whose ramifications reach younger generations. The present article focuses on the way in which Doris Lessing has depicted the spaces and explores the two-way connection between space and the individual with the objective of giving visibility to a story, mostly overlooked by critics, in a tripartite dialectic. The analysis is based on the works of, to mention just a few, Henri Lefebvre (1984), Yi-Fu Tuan (1977), Edward Soja (1996) and Soshana Felman, Dori Laub (1992), Cathy Carruth (1995) as well as Dominick LaCapra (1999), who have extensively studied space and trauma. The analysis also relies on the works of literary critics such as Christine Sizemore (1989), Arina Cirstea (2015) and Carmen García Navarro (2021) whose findings on Lessing’s use of space in her *oeuvre* also enrich this article. I explore the significant, defining, and far-reaching influence that spatiality exerts on individuals as well as the effects human subjectivity produces on space. In “England vs England,” Lessing centres the protagonist’s predicament not only on a particular spatiality which is depicted in very well-delineated physical spaces - that open a wide scope of exploration - but also on the atmosphere generated within them.

Doris Lessing’s short fiction set in European settings other than London also includes narrations such as “The Woman” (1956), the *novella* “The Eye of God in Paradise” (1957), “Wine” (1957), “Our Friend Judith” (1960) and “A Man and Two Women” (1963), to mention just a few. Even though their subject matters differ, they present a two-fold similarity: they are linked by the invisible thread of post-war Europe and have not been analysed from the spatial point of view as her African stories and novels have been. Margaret Drabble in the Introduction to *Stories* (2008) comments that “[t]he legacy of two world wars” weigh heavily on Lessing; therefore “in her stories we may find many signs of her own response to the violence of the twentieth century” (xiv). In my view, one of Lessing’s strategies has been to make that violence visible through the spaces where her characters interact.

All the fiction we read is not only a compendium of characters, situations, actions, and plots but also of the spaces where all the aforementioned develop. Barbara Piatti (2009) comments that “the topic of space and place in literature [has been] rather neglected” for years, although she also notes that in recent decades the term ‘spatial turn’, coined by Edward Soja in his book *Postmodern Geographies*

(1989) insofar as a replacement of the "paradigm of time with one of space" (Soja, 2), has been given "new academic attention" (179). Physical locations act as frames within which particular atmospheres generate giving rise to a distinct spatiality. Martin Heidegger (1951), considering the dyad place/space, concluded that they are not terms that exclude one another, on the contrary, the latter derives from the former since 'place' stands for the physical entity where human beings interact and 'space' for the atmosphere that emerges within the boundaries of a particular site (152). He contends that while 'place' is the physical setting 'space', as an abstract construct, is created and it can be assumed that this creation can take different forms: social, sociological, religious, moral, economic, and the like, according to the location and its characteristics; a definition endorsed by the aforementioned specialists on space. Furthermore, Kathleen Kirby (1996), sheds light on the topic claiming that the construction of a particular atmosphere within the limits of a physical place is a two-way process, "it is not only the space that defines the subject, but the subject that defines space. The subject is an effect of space, but the space that effects it is subjective" (quoted in Downey 2016, 11). These latter statements highlight the fact that there is a mutual dependence between place, space, and human beings since within the limits of a physical place a specific atmosphere is created which conditions its inhabitants but, at the same time, the occupants contribute to the construction of that distinct space.

Regarding traumatic spaces - namely spaces where emotionally disturbing events occurred, that stay etched to the minds of the collective in a two-way process of defining and effecting human subjectivity in space, trauma scholars argue that they are represented in literature through the acting out and working through (Freud 1914) of the protagonists. Their "historical experience" (Caruth 1995) is given prominence in that they are "witnesses to the crisis within history" (Felman and Laub 1992) in which the concept of "empathic settlement" (LaCapra 1999) - understood as the receptiveness to the victims' suffering and their spatial projection - stands as a mediator. Space, as a living and active entity created by the people who inhabit a particular place, is produced within the geographical boundaries and in the atmosphere created by the participants, in the bodies of its people, and in the texts that narrate the events. In so doing, the literary text, a space in itself, becomes the memory site that bears witness to the sufferings of the community, but also prevents the events from being forgotten and thus positions the reader in time and space. Doris Lessing, as Robin Visel (2010) states, "believes in the power of literature to change the world" (63), and she, therefore, uses her narratives as weapons to open the readers' eyes to the unbearable suffering brought about by the past wars. Thus, literature assumes a crucial and two-fold role that, firstly, preserves the past trauma in individuals and communities and, secondly, addresses the failures of

the theories formulated on the issue from different fields in that, sometimes, people's reactions to traumatic events do not meet the parameters established by the experts on the field. Moreover, literature creates a fictional space for readers to discover their vulnerabilities. Antonius Robben and Marcelo Suarez-Orozco (2000) argue that "[m]assive trauma inflicted deliberately on large groups of people by other human beings became a major psychiatric concern [. . .] during [the First World War]" (13) as well as in later years given the fact that World War II and the holocaust, in particular, have been explored from the traumatic point of view by many scholars such as those mentioned earlier. Turning specifically to the trauma experienced by coal miners, an issue of utmost importance for this article, Robben and Suarez-Orozco (2000) claim that "[t]raumatic neuroses, the so-called fright neuroses (*schreckneurosen*) had been studied at the beginning of the twentieth century but they concerned only small numbers of survivors of mining accidents" (13)) overtly disregarding the vast majority of accidents and their consequent trauma experienced by not only the people directly involved but also their families. All these tragedies create a distinct atmosphere, a space, charged with a gamut of overwhelming and destructive emotions which were hidden in order to survive but which fill the space's air, poisoning the area and its inhabitants. Therefore, as Laurie Vickroy (2002) states "[l]egacies of trauma can be passed on over to generations as children absorb the effects of trauma from parents" (58) a concept that E. Ann Kaplan (2005) and Roger Luckhurst (2008) define as 'vicarious traumatization', generating a vicious circle. Vickroy quotes the Israeli training analyst Ilany Kogan's study on the topic where she explains that "[t]he way in which events in the parents' lives were lived out often demonstrated that not only the content but the style of trauma was re-enacted". Moreover, Kogan states that when these children go into the outside world their "character structure, defensive and adaptive styles as well as life choices often [show] the disintegrative effect of a traumatic event that could not be adequately known, understood and remembered" (quoted in Vickroy, 2002, 58); hence the only solution for survivors, witnesses, and descendants lies in their acting out and later working through of the trauma suffered, acquired or inherited.

The story under study here is set in a small mining village in Yorkshire in the north of England. The central theme that runs through the narration is the clash of cultures: the working class, vividly represented by the Yorkshire mining community, and the upper class portrayed by the milieu of the University of Oxford. Charlie Thornton, the protagonist who is from a family of miners, is leaving home again after having spent some time with his family due to a nervous breakdown suffered when studying at Oxford University. The construction of the narration is based on a threefold spatial categorisation - physical, projected, and liminal - the first of which can be subdivided into the larger category of Yorkshire

and the smaller ones of, the village and the house where the action takes place. The second involves the locations of Doncaster as well as Oxford University while the third represents the locus by which the spaces are united, the pub. There are two places - the house and the pub - which bear considerable relevance in the story since they stand as the only spaces where the protagonist can act without pretence. The history of the physical environment and the trauma passed through generations acquire immense significance within the story since they appear as underlying layers, not overtly addressed by the author, but hidden in the palimpsestic spatiality of the narration.

### Physical Space

The first spatial categorisation deals with physical settings in a work of fiction. Depending on the characteristics with which the author has endowed it, its description - whether detailed or brief - creates the mood that may influence the reader's response to the literary text. Yorkshire is the largest county in England and coal mining had been undertaken in the area since earlier times. It continued to be active until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially in places such as Wakefield and Barnsley which is the most famous coal seam in the area. Coal was indispensable for the life led in Britain since "transport power and related industries were still heavily reliant on coal. Even in the mid-60s British Rail was still running on coal power (steam)" (Pettinger 2006, n.p.). The end of the First World War, however, marked the onset of its decline and the Second accelerated its demise. This led to a new way of life that left the pits and their coal miners as remnants of a vanishing world and which had "significant traumatic effects on the social organization [of communities]" due to the addition of acute economic problems posed by the situation and which damaged their social identity (Alexander 2012, 2) and the spaces where they interacted.

In addition, Yorkshire played an important role in both wars, its production of coal proving decisive during and after the armed conflicts given the fact that it was essential to power means of transport like ships and trains as well as to generate electricity. Not only was the region attacked by German Zeppelins during the First World war (2/5/1916) (Lewis 2016,n.p.) as well as experiencing Luftwaffe air raids in the course of the Second (29/4/1942) (Gordon 2017, n.p.) and becoming a bomb-ravaged post-war place, but also a great number of miners gave their lives or were badly injured either in the theatres of war or in the collieries because they were considered fit and qualified workers who were often put in charge of maintaining the trenches and building tunnels. Their traumatic experience must have been passed into the community they returned to, producing a major cultural trauma since they harbour the feeling of "[having]



been subjected to a horrendous event that [left] indelible marks [on them] marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways” (Alexander 2012, 6). As such, the miners who returned from the war presented themselves as different people, and the sufferings they underwent on the battlefields, together with the hardships endured by the villagers who stayed at home, created a collective trauma since the basic tissues of society had been damaged rendering the space into a traumatised one.

The village in the story is nameless but, taking into consideration some markers left purposefully by the author, it might be Armthorpe<sup>1</sup> which was approximately thirty minutes bus ride from Doncaster, a city that is mentioned in the text: “Yes, off you go to Doncaster [...] [i]t was half an hour on the bus” (Lessing 2008, 297). Moreover, the protagonist’s father is presented as chair of the miners’ union: “[t]he old miner had been union secretary, was now chairman, and had spent his working life as miners’ representative in a dozen capacities” (Lessing 2008, 295), important information to deduce the setting of the narration since the National Union of Mineworkers headquarters is in Barnsley, another mining town in the region. The village is described as having been built in the thirties, presumably after the heavy bombardment by German Zeppelins in World War I, by the company that owned the collieries, but it is no longer their proprietor due to the nationalisation of the coal mining industry in 1947. Doris Lessing opens a window onto the past of coal mining towns when Charlie’s father tells his children what the village was like in his times: “[y]ou’ve never seen what a miners’ town can be like. You couldn’t even imagine the conditions. Slums, that’s what they used to be” (Lessing 2008, 297). Emphasising her faithful stance on “the historical accuracy and emotional truth of fiction” (Visel 2010, 68), in only three sentences, Lessing brings to the fore a space from the past embedded in the palimpsestic spatiality of the new town in which run-down dwellings, poverty, illness, and death were the norm. The two hundred houses that make up the village are exactly alike, built on the same blueprint design (Lessing 2008, 296). From the protagonist’s point of view, what defines the village is its ugliness and the colours grey and black: “[t]hat morning he had stood on the front step and looked out on lines of *grey* stucco houses on either side of *grey* tarmac; on *grey* ugly lamp-posts and *greyish* hedges, and beyond to the *grey* minetip and the neat *black* diagram of the minehead” (Lessing 2008, 296 italics added). Reading between the lines, there is more to this description. For Charlie, the space is grey and black; there are no colours that give life to a place, therefore the existence of its inhabitants is in a state of unchanging. It is

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1 In *Walking in the Shade* (1997), Lessing comments about her visit to Armthorpe (*sic*) (pp. 62, 63).

as if the colour of the coal extracted from the womb of the earth has tainted the entire village. The spatial subworld where the miners perform their duties has made one with the village above, turning it into a space of eternal night, eternal death, where the ghosts of their ancestors intermingle with the new residents constantly reminding them of their ill-fated future. Charlie's father is still "on the coal face" (Lessing 2008, 297) meaning that he works in the underworld where the coal is cut out of the rock risking his life in terms of both accident and illness. Charlie and his siblings had "heard [their] father coughing through all the nights of [their] childhood (Lessing 2008, 297) the reason why the boys have avoided working at the pit since they could not tolerate either the spatial seclusion and invisibility the miners have to endure or the risk the work entails. George Orwell, in his essay "Down the Mine" provided a detailed and vivid account of what it was like to work in the depths of a coal mine, comparing it with the inferno: "[m]ost of the things one imagines in hell are in there – heat, noise, confusion, darkness, foul air and, above all, an unbearably cramped space" (Orwell 1937, n.p.)<sup>2</sup>. Just as the air of the space where they carry out their tasks is poisoned so is the atmosphere of the village; the black shadow of death is cast over it. The ambience of the village is presented as a toxic "mixture of anger, grief, and frustration" (Arnold 2018) not only for the miners but, and most importantly, for the new generations. Furthermore, Charlie hates his town to such an extent that he would like to demolish it: "[t]here's nothing in sight, not one object or building anywhere, that is beautiful. Everything is so ugly and mean and graceless that it should be bulldozed into the earth and out of the memory of man" (Lessing 2008, 296). For him, there is nothing that deserves to be rescued since there is only a post office, a library and "two miners' clubs for drinking" (Lessing 2008, 296). Jay Winter (2008) comments that in all European towns and villages there were war memorials built in prominent places for the people to grieve their dead (6), however, this village lacks just such an important site of memory and mourning so, in Elizabeth Maslen's (1994) words, they will "have to resurrect the sense of unity if they are to survive" (52) and heal the historically traumatised space created within its boundaries, an idea she reinforces in her article "Lessing's Witness Literature" (2018).

Regarding the library, Charlie comments that the only books it has are "romances and war stories" (Lessing 2008, 296), thus conforming to gendered preferences but highlighting the interest the World Wars still arouse in the people of the town since they are a constant presence in absence of bygone years and

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2 "Down the Mine" is chapter two of Orwell's book *The Road to Wigan Pier* (1937) in which he writes about the workers in Lancashire and Yorkshire who, even though they wanted to work, a vast majority could not do it because of the post-war unemployment.

relatives lost. Jörg Arnold (2018) also states that coal miners “embodied everything that had been left behind [. . .] in the ‘de-industrial revolution’ that had been underway since the 1960s” and that they were “living in a world that belonged to the past” (3, 4); therefore, Charlie’s familiar environment can be regarded as a ghost town which, despite still being populated, is gradually declining due to the dying off of economic activity and is bearing witness to the exodus of the new generations. The traumatic ambience is tangible both in the older inhabitants who have to remain and face the difficulties that lie ahead and in the younger ones who have to leave to seek a better future. In light of the situation and considering the circumstances, it is my contention that Lessing’s objective is to portray a traumatised community, a space, struggling desperately to not be wiped out and erased from the face of the earth. In the *novella* “The Eye of God in Paradise” (1957) Lessing approached spatiality from another perspective but with a similar motif. At first sight, the story appears to be set in a felicitous skiing village in Germany full of happiness and beauty but as soon as the protagonists start lifting its palimpsestic layers they are confronted with the devastation brought about by the Second World War intertwined with the American occupation, the ghosts from the past and the traumatic spaces that shape the physical place.

That said, in England vs England Charlie’s home environment emerges as an island within the village given the fact that it seems to have a future in himself and his siblings since it is “the only house with real books in it” if it had not been for this, he “wouldn’t be at Oxford” and he “wouldn’t have done well at school” (Lessing 2008, 295). In addition to this, the figure of his father as the man who is “better than anyone else in the village” (Lessing 2008, 295), despite his extreme commitment to the cause of the miners which resulted in the neglect of his children, may have acted as a catalyst for his decision to apply for the scholarship and pursue university studies. Through working in the mine’s underworld, the lowest spatial and social plane, he has catapulted his son to the highest one both physically and socially. Gaston Bachelard (2014) refers to the house as the quintessential “felicitous space” (19) due to the fact that it is not only the first universe of the human being but also the reservoir of memories and the space of happiness and intimacy. Home, as an abstract construct, stands as the archetypal safe and nourishing space whose creation falls to women while its physical, concrete counterpart, the house, is related to the masculine realm (Bachelard 2014, 88), but when both are merged it originates a sanctuary. Moreover, for Bachelard, inside and outside are both spaces that can be reversed by means of the door, the caesura, which stands as “an entire cosmos” (237) that can provide images of “hesitation, temptation, desire, security, welcome and respect” (239) and which invites to cross into the mysterious, to pass from the already known to the unfamiliar and vice versa; to enter the realm of revelations.

The house is a recurring trope in Lessing's *oeuvre*. Robin Visel (2010) states that "the house/mother is Lessing's fulcrum" (59) which is corroborated in her depiction of houses in *The Four-Gated City* and *The Sweetest Dream* in which they are turned into characters in themselves. Charlie hates the village but loves his home, "as soon as he step[s] inside his kitchen he [is] received into warmth" (Lessing 2008, 296). He has been damaged by years of living within the university's alien environment which has produced his collapse due to the immense stress he has been under. He, therefore, decides to rush home in search of refuge to overcome his nervous breakdown. In the description of the village and its houses, the narrator stresses that life in miners' homes is lived in the "brightly lit" kitchens, "where great fires roared all day on the cheap coal" and whose doors "kept opening as the miners came in from the pit for their tea" (Lessing 2008, 296). Claire Langhamer (2005) states that "the one post-war trend that stands out above all the rest is the growing significance of the home" (341). The image of the house/home and, in particular, the kitchen as the site where comfort and safety are found has a direct connection with the image of the mother since this room has been traditionally regarded as the 'woman's place'. Furthermore, Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) considers the house to be "at the centre of an astronomical spatial system" and as such, it becomes a "focal point of a cosmic structure" (149). It, therefore, stands as the cornerstone, the nucleus from which family members go out into the world or come back from it looking for refuge in that bubble they know will embrace them warmly. Following this line of thought, Clare Cooper (1974) states that the house not only "encloses space" but also excludes it (131). The former is represented in the interior that encompasses its dwellers and the latter by the exterior and everything that exists beyond the building itself. Moreover, she goes on to argue that the house mirrors the person's self in that the interior reflects how the occupants see themselves and the exterior what they choose to show to others (131), but its most important characteristic centres on its "symbolic maternal function" in response to the fears from the outside world (137). Carmen García Navarro (2021) asserts that homecoming means claiming one's "territoriality, both in physical terms and in terms of [the] relationship with [one's] mother" (69) which coincides with Charlie's decision. This notion, along with Bachelard's (2014) concept of the home as a special space built by women, finds justification in this story when Charlie seems to have returned to his mother's womb looking for a place of safety from which to find the love, nourishment, and protection he had been deprived of in the alien environment of the university. He feels fragile and vulnerable, therefore he has to return to his roots, and it is in the "maternal hearth" that he will be able to structure the world about him (Cooper 1974, 140-143) and find the strength and resilience he needs to deal with his final year at university.

Langhamer (2005) also claims with regard to the periods of war that at their height “women and men looked to ‘home’ as a centring value in their lives” since “the experience of war enhanced the significance of home” given that it “provided a counterpoint to and explanation of war itself” (343). It is my contention that ‘his’ home means just this for Charlie. The predicament he finds himself in has similarities to a war but albeit one between himself and the space of the university, since his desperate struggle for recognition at Oxford as a valuable human being despite the place he comes from has resulted in his nervous breakdown. He is going through an individual trauma which, as Jeffrey Alexander (2012) states, acts as “a blow to the psyche that breaks through one’s defences so suddenly and with such brutal force that one cannot react to it effectively” (6), hence his collapse. Trauma scholars, like Robben and Suarez-Orozco (2000), highlight the “transgenerational transmission” of trauma “from parents to children to grandchildren” (4) a notion also supported by Carmen García Navarro (2021) who states that “historical violence [is] transmitted through generations” (59). So, it is possible that the yearning his miner ancestors, as non-military war workers sent overseas, expressed for their homes during the war has been transmitted to the new generations in such a way that Charlie, a child of violence himself born during the Second World War, is experiencing an identical emotion towards his home, the space where he can feel safe. But by dint of the door, the element that Bachelard considers to be the nexus between exterior and interior and, particularly, in the figure of the father, Charlie’s idyllic homely space is penetrated by what Henri Lefebvre (1984) calls “the relations of production” because the space of the mines is transported to the inner space of the house, generating an awkward synergy that annoys Charlie: “[t]he old man was not alone. Three men came into view behind him [...] they all came crowding into the little kitchen bringing with them the spirit of facetiousness that seemed to Charlie like his personal spiteful enemy, like a poltergeist always standing in wait somewhere behind his right shoulder” (Lessing 2008, 294). The ideal and peaceful space of the home is thus turned into a space of conflict, anxiety, and trauma since Charlie’s father spends his evenings “giving advice about pensions, claims, work rules, allowances, filling in forms; listening to tales of trouble” (Lessing 2008, 295). In sum, the dark and poisonous space of the mine has entered the sacred sanctuary of the home in such a way that outside and inside have been blended, subverting the private and public spheres. García Navarro (2021) stresses the fact that Lessing’s literature “evokes the sign and traces left by traumatic episodes in the lives of children and adolescents” (59), namely, what is brought into the family house, the domestic space of the home affects the behaviour of its members and shapes them into the people who will go into the world either as strong human beings or traumatised ones; hence Charlie’s reaction.

## Projected Space

The second spatial categorization involves projected spaces. Barbara Piatti (2009) states that to "map a fictional space" the text "has to be read and prepared carefully by breaking down the spatial structure into single elements and their respective functions" (185). Among them, the projected space stands out as the location where the characters are not present physically, but they remember or talk about to include them in the narration (185). Its function, therefore, is to enlarge the physical space by adding other locations that will not only enrich the plot but will facilitate a fuller understanding of the sequence of events in the story. "England vs England" presents two distinctive projected spaces: the town of Doncaster and the University of Oxford.

Doncaster stands as a felicitous space that contrasts sharply with Armthorpe because, at the time of the narration – the 60s -, it has already shown its potential as a big industrial and commercial city since it "inaugurated an industrial development scheme which has attracted new industries" like confectionary (Doncaster n.p.). This commercial growth makes a big difference between the two locations given the fact that while Armthorpe relies only on its coal mines and has an oppressive, hostile, and stifling atmosphere, as Charlie's description has shown, Doncaster is thriving, convivial, and welcoming due to the improvements carried out that have provided it with schools, colleges, water, gas, and electricity, together with open spaces, recreation grounds, hospitals, health services, clinics, and cinemas among other facilities and institutions. In the story, Charlie's father comments: "Yes, off you go to Doncaster, I suppose, dancing and the pictures -that's all you can think about" (Lessing 2008, 297) making reference to the impossibility of youngsters finding any type of entertainment in Armthorpe since the only amenities the village offers are the "miners' clubs for drinking" and television (Lessing 2008, 296). To distract themselves from the tedium and daily life problems they need to leave the area and go to Doncaster where they can interact and establish relationships with other people in order to foster their physical and emotional health which is, literally, at risk in their native village. By comparing the two towns, Lessing has given prominence to what they provide their dwellers: Doncaster, life, and Armthorpe, death.

In the same way that the house/home stands as a closed space that safeguards and protects its inhabitants from the outside world there also exist closed spaces that swallow them and can provoke adverse reactions from the dwellers. The University of Oxford is a space that may strike fear into the hearts of new students given the fact that it breathes knowledge, learning, team spirit, and leadership. The 'City of the Dreaming Spires' housed, and houses, the brightest minds of the world, the reason why a student like Charlie Thornton, from a working-class background,

may find the experience unnerving, disturbing and traumatic due to the unrelenting pressure he is put under. Due to the changes brought about by the Second World War, he had the possibility of attending a grammar school in Doncaster - there were no schools in Armthorpe as stated by him in his description of the village - and continuing his studies at Oxford due to the university scholarships that were awarded based on academic merits, however, he must have felt way behind his fellow undergraduates who have attended public schools.

Claire Sprague (1987) explains that in her depiction of some spaces Lessing uses the same claustrophobic trait found in 19<sup>th</sup>-century fiction written by women (183) which is confirmed in this story in her description of an oppressive atmosphere. The space of the university, its unique ambience, may have appeared aggressive and hostile to Charlie due to a combination of several factors: the sense of being unfit for the environment, his strong regional accent that may have sounded awkward for the upper-class students referred to as “lords and earls” who speak posh English with an “upper-class English voice” (Lessing 2008, 286, 290, 291, 295), besides his lack of knowledge regarding the bourgeoisie eating arrangements, the dressing codes - particularly the university etiquette. Finally, the obvious lack of familiar faces must have worsened his feeling of loneliness and of being out of place. As García Navarro (2021) comments, he is “unable to identify with the space” (63) therefore, the years spent there have left their marks on Charlie’s psyche due to the mental effort put into combining the power exerted on him by the university spatiality, educational levelling with his classmates and resistance to preserve his identity. Moreover, Charlie read a leaflet written by the university doctor in which he stated that students from “working-class and lower-middle-class families on scholarships are particularly vulnerable” and one of the reasons he provided for such a statement mentioned their adaptation to “middle-class mores that are foreign to them” (Lessing 2008, 303), therefore, Charlie’s apprehension is based on concrete and disturbing facts: he is trying to enter a society, a space, beyond his reach; what is more, his body as a space of flesh, bones, and mind has felt the power exercised on him by the institutional environment what, in the end, causes the nervous breakdown that takes him to his family home to recover.

### Liminal spaces

The third spatial categorization is related to the concept of liminality, a term coined by Arnold Van Gennep (1909) but reformulated by Victor Turner (1964) who opened its use to other fields of study. Dara Downey (2016) states that “[l]iminal spaces are those which are, simultaneously, place *and* space. They are familiar, yet unknown; they are secure, and yet intimidating” (3 italics in the original). Insofar as in-between spaces, liminal spaces can be defined as

transitional sites, spaces of waiting between other *loci* that act as boundaries between two places; the thresholds that involve a change in the person's position or situation and allow for a particular transformation to take place. The individual finds him/herself in the margins since he/she is neither in the location from which he/she departed nor has he/she arrived at the new one (Kertzer 2019, xiii). In the story, there appear two representative examples of these types of places, the pub and the train which coincide with Downey's (2016) assertion because one is secure and the other intimidating.

Diametrically opposite to the space created in the house and the university, the pub stands as the place that creates the transitory relaxation Michel Foucault (1984) speaks about; the space to socialise. Arina Cirstea (2015) asserts that it acts as "an emblematic space in which the collective identity of a nation or region becomes manifest in a particular set of shared ideas and socializing customs" (87) while Christine Sizemore (1989) compares it with a theatre where different performances take place showing "fragments of people's lives" (58). This is evinced in other short stories by Lessing such as "The Woman" (1956) and "Wine" (1957) in which the Swiss resort and the French café, respectively, are turned into characters that embrace the masculine space created by the characters, the former, and the revival of traumatic memories, the latter. The Irish pub, where Charlie waits for the train to London, cannot be disregarded but read and decoded due to the significance it has in the story as the transitional locus between opposite spaces: the village and Oxford as it is located near the railway station signifying, as well, a space of departure from one physical position to another. Firstly, the owner is a foreigner, but not any foreigner, but an Irish one with the connotation it has due to the ancient rivalry between the two nations promoted by the gross injustices the Irish people experienced at the hands of the English. Hence, within the liminal space there appears the Irish national space expressed by the allusions to "Cromwell [. . .] the Black and Tans and Casement" (Lessing 2008, 306, 307) which refer to significant historical moments in Irish history. By their mentioning, Lessing opens a window to the past and, with only a few words, not only brings to the fore the historical suffering of the Irish people but also their traumatic space. Secondly, an important characteristic of Irish pubs is that they are designed for the working class. Charlie feels at ease there, there is no need to pretend, and he shares with the owner information he has concealed from his family in order not to upset them. "You look bad", said the Irishman [...] 'That's right', said Charlie. 'I went to the doctor. He gave me a tonic and said I am fundamentally sound in wind and limb, he said [...] parodying an upper-class English voice for the Irishman pleasure'" (Lessing 2008, 302,303). The man immediately understands what Charlie does not utter, his exhaustion due to overwork to pass the exams and not disappoint his parents who are working so hard to pay for his expenses



at Oxford, and replies: “You can’t burn the candle at both ends” (Lessing 2008, 303) and serving him a glass of whisky he tells him, “You drink that and get on the train and sleep” (Lessing 2008, 305). After that and due to the convivial atmosphere of the place, Charlie embarks on an honest confession about his feeling of not belonging in any of the environments in which he interacts, the village, his family, and Oxford University. The space created in the pub, due to its neutrality, is one of revelations, the complete disclosure of the innermost feelings. Foucault (1984) considers it within the heterotopia of temporary relaxation and along with the house/home they are the spaces where social practices are mostly produced, and where the relationships between human beings are established.

Finally, the train Charlie takes to return to Oxford functions as the nexus between two different physical places; in the case of the story, Doncaster, and London, but also between different worlds since people from diverse walks of life share a space. However, the ambience of the village and the coal mines Charlie wants to leave behind follows him, his background is also present in this liminal space as it is going to be revealed in the space of the train compartment. Foucault (1984) regards it as “an extraordinary bundle of relations” due to the multi-faceted quality it displays insofar as “it is something through which one goes [...] by means of which one can go from one point to another” and also as “something that goes by” (3). It has become the distinguishable characteristic of civilization since Victorian times and its importance as public service exceeds the private one showing its indisputable superiority. On the other hand, each railway car is a space within a broader space insofar as within its walls a particular spatiality is created in which time seems to have come to a halt and the dwellers of the car appear to conform, temporarily, a cohesive group in which individual privacy gives way to a moderate team spirit. Michel de Certeau (1988) concerning the space within a space, asserts that “[i]nside [the railway car], there is the immobility of an order. [...] Outside, there is another immobility, that of things” (112). Moreover, he claims that there exists a ‘caesura’ insofar as a break that connects the interior and exterior spaces represented by the “windowpane and the rail” because, due to the transparency of the pane, a distinguishable spatiality is created “between the fluctuating feelings of the observer and the moving about of an oceanic reality” (112). Charlie uses the window as a prompt to start a conversation with the upper-class girl sitting in the compartment: “[a]ctually it is rather cold, isn’t it? Wouldn’t you like to have the window up?” (Lessing 2008, 309) but it also fulfils its function of separating the cold night of the outer space from the cosy atmosphere of the railway car’s interior. Moreover, the working-class woman who arrives later also asks him to close the window to prevent the cold from entering the place; therefore, the feelings of the observers, mentioned by de Certeau, are reproduced by Lessing to separate them from the real world of the exterior and to

prepare the setting for the two social spaces in the compartment to collide. The last scene of the story lacks de Certeau's "immobility of an order" because Charlie's background follows him since within the enclosure of the train compartment the two spaces - upper-class and working-class - are confronted once more producing such an intimidating feeling in Charlie that it prompts him to misbehave mocking the old woman for her working-class way of speaking and causing the upper-class girl to embarrass him to the extent he has to leave the place. The cohesive order and team spirit in the railway car are destroyed until the moment the woman goes to the corridor where Charlie is standing in shame to ask him, motherly, to return to his seat, and, in so doing, the spatial order is restored.

## Conclusion

Doris Lessing has constructed the traumatic spatiality in the story by means of spatial antithesis, a technique also used in the *novella* "The Eye of God in Paradise", for the reader to enter an invisible warlike realm by lifting the layers of the text's palimpsest. On the one hand, there appears the dark mining village blended in with the surrounding mines and the University of Oxford with its oppressive class-ridden atmosphere. On the other, the house is a supplier of nourishment and affection, and Doncaster is the felicitous place where a promising future seems possible. Between them stand the pub and the train with their democratic characteristic. However, all these spaces are linked by the invisible thread of post-war Europe embedding the traumatic immediate past in the places where the characters lead their everyday lives and in which historical events and political decisions reach the younger generations as well. The traumatization of the space seems to be a never-ending two-way process between space and individual in which the former defines the latter and vice versa. In the story, this mutual relationship is generated by history and the trauma it creates, therefore, this reciprocity between spatiality and subjectivity, between the village and its inhabitants, between the university and Charlie, shows far-reaching effects and implications as depicted in the narration. The presence of the wars, embedded in the narrative tissue, can be discovered in the houses built after the bombardments, the educational laws that provided working-class children with better education and allowed them to dream of a promising future, the miners who returned from the trenches having to adapt to the new rules of the industry and the mentioning of Blacks and Tans in Ireland who were given the job due to the unemployment caused by the First World War. Therefore, I contend that both world wars act as a historical background that provides the text with the necessary support to allow the readers to gain a thorough comprehension of the story. By interweaving the contrasting spaces with the ones that come to the surface throughout the story, to the point

of acquiring visibility, Lessing has succeeded in creating the spatiality that shows the trauma suffered not only by the protagonist but also by the community of the mining village as a whole. In so doing, she has managed to bring to the fore her Poetics of Space which takes into consideration not only the physical places but also the atmosphere created by their dwellers as well as the trauma endured by its inhabitants in a sort of palimpsestic game.

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# Contradictions and Regularities in Webster's Works

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**Abstract:**

Noah Webster believed that a pure, regular and better form of the language existed, usually represented by a former variety that is more appropriate. However, he also believed that British English was not a model for American English because it did not follow "the analogy of the language."<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, he started a search to find the "true principles" of the English language. At that moment, his writings became more descriptive than prescriptive, but, because he was a successful textbook writer, he could not use the same model when he wrote schoolbooks. Consequently, his language analyses and his educational material became contradictory. Moreover, his earlier works and his later works are also inconsistent. This paper investigates the many inconsistencies found in Webster's writings and tries to interpret them under the light of linguistics historiography. The results show that the contradiction in Webster's work originates from his continued development as a language scholar and from his uncertainties arising from the linguistic practices of the time.

**Keywords:** Analogy of language; contradictions; general usage; language description; Webster

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1 The first time that Webster uses and defines "the principles of analogy" is in *Dissertations on the English Language* (1789, 27).

## 1. Introduction

Because Webster was a textbook writer, a language scholar and a political activist, his life and works have interested scholars in a number of fields. Accordingly, there are many biographical studies that concentrate on Webster's personal life and on his contribution to the characterization of the United States. For example, Scudder (1890) provides a detailed biography of the lexicographer while Partch (1939) explores Webster's corrections and comments in his personal copy of *A Collection of Essays and Fugitiv*<sup>2</sup> and Shoemaker (1966) details facts about Webster's life and discusses the educational situation before and after the *Spelling Book*. Rollins claims that Webster's motivation for writing the 1828 dictionary was to "counteract social disruption" (1976, 416) and goes on to examine (Rollins 1980) Webster's thoughts on politics, society, culture and religion. Monaghan (1983), meanwhile, delineates Webster's life and looks into the success of the *Spelling Book* and Bynack (1984) analyzes Webster's influences, principally after his conversion to Calvinism. Lepore (2003) inspects Webster's attempts to standardize American spelling and later (2012) explores American traits in Webster's 1828 dictionary. Micklethwait (2005) recounts Webster's life and examines his educational publications. Kendall (2011) describes the life of the author and explores his 1806 and 1828 dictionaries. Cassedy (2014) proposes that Webster's 1828 dictionary gave other people reasons to reflect on the identity of the nation. Fodde (2015) stresses Webster's contribution to the construction of an American identity. Martin (2019) explores the rivalry between Noah Webster and Joseph E. Worcester.

On other occasions, his linguistic achievements are discussed. Reed compares Webster's 1828 dictionary to Johnson's 1799 dictionary and concludes that the former "widened the scope of lexicography" (1962, 105). Shoemaker claims that Webster made an effort to observe and record the usage of his day (1966, 143). Southard explores Webster's observations about language and relates some of them to facts that "are being discovered anew today" (1979, 12). Miyoshi (2008) compares Webster's and Johnson's use of verbal examples in their respective dictionaries. Hallen and Spackman (2010) conclude that Webster has more biblical citations in his dictionary than Johnson included in his.

As a matter of fact, the number of studies that focus on both Webster's personal life and academic works has increased in the last 20 years. That might be a consequence of the growth of studies on theoretical lexicography, historical

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2 Webster's spelling and phrases have been transcribed *ipsis litteris* in all cases (names of books, quotes, etc.).

linguistics and history of linguistics (cf. Koerner and Konrad 1999; Fodde 2015) or because the 21st century has seen an increasing interest in issues of globalization and nationalism (cf. Statkus 2019).

From a linguistic point of view, the most important works by the author are: *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (henceforth *An American Dictionary*) (1828) and his *Spelling Book* (*Spelling Book* is the term used to refer to the different editions of the *Grammatical Institute of the English Language*, the *American Spelling Book* and the *Elementary Spelling Book* and whose first edition corresponds to 1783). Webster's *An American Dictionary* was both controversial and influential while his *Spelling Book* was the most popular speller of the 19th century. Webster was, however, not only a language scholar, he was also a political activist who called for strong central government. He was present in Philadelphia at the time of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and called for the ratification of the Constitution. As a nationalist he believed that education could perpetuate the Republic and bring cohesion to the new country. Moreover, he was a member of the Federalist Party and founded, in 1793, the *American Minerva*, a pro-Federalist daily newspaper. As a Federalist he supported the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 and the Hartford Convention, which opposed the War of 1812. Indeed, Fodde (2015, 126) considers "Noah Webster's contribution [on the American enlightenment thought to be] at the same level as Benjamin Franklin's, John Adams's, Thomas Paine's and Thomas Jefferson's."

After independence, Noah Webster stresses that it is time for the introduction of new social and political practices because the new nation has inherited many problems from the mother country. Additionally, because of the instability of the first years of the Early Republic (1776-1861) and in the face of the consequences of the French Revolution (1789-1799), Webster becomes worried about the future of the nation. He is determined to improve the character of its citizens through education so that the nation remains politically stable. To this end, Webster considers his speller and his dictionaries to be his contribution to the success of the republic.

The studies that focus on Webster's personal life hold that he was arrogant and may have even suffered from what is now called obsessive-compulsive personality disorder (Kendall 2011). Many of the studies that focus on his academic ideas state that his views were eccentric and inconsistent (Micklethwait 2005). Indeed, Webster's ideas are undoubtedly contradictory over time. His project to standardize the English language is based on some predominant misconceptions of his time which originate in a prescriptive approach to language. However, he condemns the English grammars of his time because they rely on Latin rules, which are different from the rules of the English language and he therefore claims that a detailed description of the English language is needed.



It is at this point that he develops ideas that could be considered contradictory to his initial proposal. One is represented by his assertion that a “phrase” may only be labeled as correct after analyzing how it fits into the structure of the English language. Another is that British English is not a model for American English because it is not correct according to, what he calls, “the analogy of the language.” Eventually, Webster acknowledges that a living language cannot be standardized, but continues his search for the “true principles” of the English language. Consequently, his writings become incongruent.

This current examination acknowledges that Webster may have been a difficult person, although it does not focus on his personal eccentricities. The objective of this research is in line with history-writing that tries to “contribute to a better understanding and appreciation of the history of ideas” (Koerner and Konrad 1999, 13) and that helps “delineate the development of western linguistic thought” (30). As such, it explores the inconsistencies in Webster’s works, seeking to complement Southard’s (1979) study, which claims that the contradictions are the result of Webster’s “growth as a language scholar” (15).

To accomplish its objectives, the article first presents Webster’s criticism of the grammars of the day, using as primary sources: *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language* (1784, 1800), *Dissertations on the English Language* (henceforth *Dissertations*) (1789), *A Philosophical and Practical Grammar of the English Language* (1807b), *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1817), *An Improved Grammar of the English Language* (henceforth *Improved Grammar*) (1833) and *Observations on Language, and on Errors of Classbooks* (1839). Next, the article will concentrate on Webster’s proposed changes and examine the following works: his speller (1793, 1800), *Dissertations* (1789), *A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language* (1806), *An American Dictionary* (1828), *Improved Grammar* (1833) and *A Collection of Papers on Political, Literary, and Moral Subjects* (1843). The following section will examine the inconsistencies from a linguistic point of view and a summary of earlier studies will be presented, namely Southard (1979), Lepore (2003 and 2012) and Fodde (2015) and the origin of the inconsistencies will be investigated. The present work specifically intends to follow and, at the same time, complement these four studies.

## 2. Webster’s ideas and works

### 2.1 Weaknesses of Grammar Books in the 18th century

Between 1789 and 1793, Webster encourages national development in all fields—politics, education and language (Rollins 1980, 69). Since Webster believes that the future of the nation relies on the uniformity of language, his main

objective becomes forging national bonds in the United States through language standardization (1789, 20). His nationalist ideas stem from the Enlightenment in Germany, which encouraged the search for a national character in terms of what is popular and colloquial in a nation (Bynack 1984, 105). As such, his plan of action includes promoting a standard language that is pure and emphasizes the cultural uniqueness of the country. Webster's proposals are therefore limited by his nationalism and by 18th-century prescriptivism, which advocated that there are "correct" versions and "incorrect" versions of a language.

Designing a pure and regular form of a language would appear a prescriptive aspiration. However, Webster repeatedly criticizes grammarians because they prescribe rules based on Latin grammar. Moreover, Webster's search leads him to conclude that a specific segment may only be labeled as correct after analyzing how it fits the "analogy of the language", which is anything but prescriptive. Standardizing language and finding the "analogies of language" are, in effect, conflicting ideas that may be interpreted as uncertainties or inconsistencies, but they may also be attributed to a discrepancy between his nationalistic ideas—which required language standardization—and his scientific attitude towards the study of language. As such, his writings reproduce the instabilities that arise from trying to describe language and, at the same time, trying to provide a standard for the nation.

Webster describes a "pure language" as having no foreign influence. He insists that to find America's "pure language" it is necessary to investigate the origin of the English language. For instance, he claims that the "confusion in spelling" happened during the Norman conquest, but that, by tracing the primitive spelling of words, it is possible to purify the language (1817, iv-v). Also, he suggests that the omission of <h> is a foreign corruption because, in America, it is not known among the unmixed descendants of the English (1789, 122). He declares that the people of America, particularly those of English descent, speak the "most pure English" because they hardly use foreign words and because their English is like that of Shakespeare, Addison and Chaucer (1789, 288; 1800, v). He claims that "mistakes are sometimes adopted by compilers of dictionaries, who copy from former works without investigating the origin of the words" (1839, 15).

Attributing "errors" in grammars and dictionaries to a lack of research regarding the language in question is a constant in Webster. In his *Dissertations* he observes that "it is astonishing to see how long and how stupidly English grammarians have followed the Latin grammars" (1789, 220). He claims that the most challenging task for advocates of pure English is to restrain the influence of men who are "learned in Greek and Latin, but are ignorant of their own tongue" (1789, ix). He criticizes the fact that because the English language is not agreeable to Latin rules, "some Latin student began to suspect it is bad

English” (1789, 284-287). Consequently, he concludes that grammarians have not described what the English language *is*, but what it *ought to be* according to *their* rules (1789, viii-ix, 37; 1800, v).

English grammars are wrong, he says, because they are opposed to national practice; because they break the regular construction of the language and because they oblige a nation to change their general customs (1789, 169). Grammars are defective because the principles they establish admit no controversy and because they are not based on the history of the English language (Webster 1807b, 28). For instance, Webster condemns Lowth’s grammar because it criticizes more phrases of “good” English, than it corrects those “of bad” English (1789, 287), and because it considers genuine English as “improper” or “obsolete” (1833, 175). He describes Dilworth’s grammar as “a mere Latin Grammar, very indifferently translated” (1784, 3). He criticizes Johnson’s writing style because it is a mixture of Latin and English (1789, 32) and holds that “neither Lowth nor Johnson understood the Saxon or Primitive English, without which no man can compile a real English Grammar” (1807b, 28). In fact, in his opinion, no grammar, except Priestley’s, explains “the real idioms of the language as found in Addison’s works” (Webster 1789, 287). In a later work, however, he acknowledges that both, Lowth and Priestley improved grammars, but “some important discoveries have been made in the origin of words and in the construction of sentences which have not been introduced into any grammar published in Great Britain at least as far as my knowledge extends” (1833, 3).

Webster’s proposal, in 1789, is to follow Horne Tooke, author of the *Diversions of Purley*, because Tooke provides an etymological analysis of the Saxon origin of English “particles” (1789, 182). Another author that he believes should be observed is Kenrick, whilst also observing that the opinions of the “learned authors” are respectable but should not be considered as decisive (1789, 38). In fact, he mentions, that grammarians do not adhere to their own rules, that the authors who wrote correctly in the English language were guided by their own intuition (1833, 149) and that the pronunciation of the higher classes in England is regulated by usage, not by books (1839, 17).

## 2.2. *Correcting Mistakes in the Grammars*

Webster declares that his objective is to examine the language to correct defective rules in grammar books (Webster and Warfel 1953, 372). A proper grammar should “ascertain the national practice” (Webster 1789, 204; Webster 1800, v), separate the “local” from the “general custom” of speaking and recommend that which is general or conforms to “the analogies of the language” (Webster 1789, ix). In fact, it is not correct to impose as a standard something which is not

common to most "ranks" (Webster 1789). Certainly, correct language should be based on "universal undisputed practice" and on the "principles of analogy" because "the practice of a nation, when universal or ancient, has the authority of law and implies mutual and general consent" (Webster 1789, 24-28). In fact, shaping English through either Latin or arbitrary rules is incorrect because rules are in fact formed through practice (Webster 1789, vii), meaning, then, that it is practice that determines what English really is (Webster 1789, 204). Mainly, language is a "democratical state" and nobody has the right to reject a variety or "dictate to a nation the rules of speaking, with the same imperiousness as a tyrant gives laws to his vassals" (Webster 1789 ix, 204).

After 1806, Webster abandons the idea of standardizing English when he acknowledges that a living language is not stable (Shoemaker 1966, 252-253) and assumes that standardization is not possible. Nevertheless, he continues to see the necessity of establishing uniformity in spelling and pronunciation "as far as a living language would admit" (Webster and Warfel 1953, 413). Furthermore, his proposals that "the principles of language" are an authority "superior to the arbitrary decisions of any man or class of men" (1789, 25) and that "usage constitutes the correctness of the phrase" (1833, 178) endure. Actually, Camboni (1987, 113) mentions that "the rules of the language itself, and the general practice of the nation" are often reformulated in Webster's work as "the rules of analogy" and "general custom."

Webster states that every segment that fits or follows the structure of the English language is an analogy. Analogies should be discovered by examining the language and "immemorial usage" (Webster 1789, 38). Occurrences will be labeled as correct if they match these models, and as corruptions if they do not. Webster explains that deviations from the "analogy of language" are corruptions that many times originated when the nations were "barbarous" (1800, v). He considers every addition to the anomalies of the language to be a corruption while every reduction is an improvement (1793, 75-76).

Universal practice is "a rule of propriety." However, when there is variation, analogy should be applied to resolve the issue (Webster 1789, viii). From this perspective, Webster concludes, in 1789, that the English spoken by the upper-classes in England and the stage English in London theaters are not models for American English because they represent corruptions—though he would later change his mind—his argument resting on the fact that these varieties do not represent all the speakers of the English language (1789, 28).

In some other cases, he says, deviations from analogy become the universal practice and, consequently, the standard of propriety (1789, 25). In these cases, speakers need to learn the rules through practice (Webster 1789, 98). Additionally, he alerts us to the fact that, "the English practice is an authority; but considering

the force of custom and the caprice of fashion, their practice must be as liable to changes and to errors, as the practice of a well educated yeomanry, who are governed by habits and not easily led astray by novelty” (1789, 129-130).

Webster continues to develop the ideas of “analogy of language” and “universal practice” until, in 1833, he reaches a definition of syntax: it is the true mode of constructing sentences. Also, he remarks that a rule is an established form of construction and that an exception to a rule is the deviation from the common construction (1833, 6). Furthermore, he states that grammar is

the science that treats the natural connection between ideas, and words and develops the principles which are common to all languages. These principles are not arbitrary, nor subject to change, but fixed and permanent; being founded on facts, and distinctions established by nature. The grammar of a particular language is a system of general principles, derived from natural distinctions of words and of particular rules, deduced from the customary forms of speech, in the nation using that language. These usages are mostly arbitrary, or of accidental origin; but when they become common to a nation, they are to be considered as established, and received as rules of the highest authority (Webster 1833, 7).

The first part of the definition —“grammar is the science that treats the natural connection between ideas, and words and develops the principles which are common to all languages. These principles are not arbitrary, nor subject to change, but fixed and permanent” (Webster 1833, 7)—could be roughly associated with the present-day concept of Universal Grammar. This notion has its foundations in the ideas of the 18th-century linguistic philosophers who made attempts to uncover the origin of language and develop a general theory of linguistic universals. They believed that it was possible to abstract a universal grammar from the arbitrary differences between languages. Nevertheless, Webster does not see language as innate. He, as a Calvinist, assumes that language was given to humans by God and that it has rules that cannot be manipulated (Webster 1828).

On the other hand, the second part of the definition introduces the idea that particular grammars rely on “customary forms of speech [...] in the nation using that language.” This idea adheres to an emergent perspective of language, emergentism being a philosophical idea that has recently been applied to language acquisition. According to emergentist theories of language, linguistic representations reflect patterns of language usage. Consequently, from an emergent perspective, language acquisition and learning rely on the amount and type of language input.

Nevertheless, Webster’s conception of grammar is settled. His concern, from this point on, is to find the “true principles” of the English language by

examining how the language is used—a practice he had been encouraging since 1789. Remarkably, Webster reaches a conception of language that prevails now and is certainly advanced for the time. According to Bynack:

unlike his predecessors, who approached linguistics from the point of view of the Cambridge Platonists' philosophical idealism, and unlike their materialist rivals in eighteenth-century linguistics, Webster did not treat language as a human construct, an artificial system of conventions fabricated to express truths that are external to language and that have to be grasped by non-linguistic faculties appropriate to their ideal or material location. He insisted instead that language is a natural phenomenon that has been present since the Creation (Bynack 1984, 112).

If there is an original language—that was given to humankind by God—Webster wants to find it and describe it. Consequently, on many occasions, he is descriptive. For instance, to explain “the true construction of the English language,” he analyzes many sentences and suggests that the same needs to be done with other languages (1833, 177). He claims that “the primitive language of the English nation” is the Saxon and, for that reason, all the rules of inflection and most of the rules of construction are Saxon (1789, 62). In the case of the “subjunctive form,” he holds that it exists only in books because “people in practice pay no regard to it” (1843, 354). As for connectives, he states that it is often false that they combine similar modes, tenses, and cases. His argument relies on the fact that “He lives temperately and he has long lived temperately” is a common “phrase” insists that “He is rich, but not respectable” is more common than “He is rich, but he is not respectable” (1833, 146-147). In addition, he describes that many participles “have become mere attributes as in writing paper; looking glass; spelling or pronouncing dictionary” (1833, 130). He observes that “in popular language, two negatives are used for one negation” which he considers an example of vulgar but “not incorrect language” and condemns those that “with a view to philosophical correctness, have rejected the use” (1833, 135). In fact, according to his explanations the use of two negatives would be derived from Saxon—meaning it is an example of pure language. In the case of irregular plurals, he argues that “the common practice in English is to form words in the plural number by adding s or es,” although nouns like “oxen” exist because usage permits, even though they are deviations (Webster 1843, 372). In his argumentation in favor of “to” at the end of sentences, he claims that it is correct to separate the preposition from its object. However, he holds that it is inelegant to make the distance too big as in Locke’s “of a space or number, which, in a constant and endless enlarging progression, it can in thought never attain to” (1833, 136). Also, he explains that

“plenty, as an attribute, has not yet been recognized by critics; but critics do not make language, nor can they reject what a nation has made” and since *plenty* is constantly used as an adjective in colloquial language, and is used by “the best writers”, “to cavil at this usage [...] is as idle as it is impertinent” (1833, 117). To explain the use of “who” as an interrogative—which he considers “an apparent deviation from regular construction”—he mentions that the use is both colloquial and “that of the best authors” (1833, 136).

On other occasions, mostly in his earlier writings, Webster is prescriptive. For example, he claims that the pronunciations ‘feerce’ (fierce), ‘peerce’ (pierce), ‘teerce’ (tierce) are not correct because they are “not fashionable on the English theater” (1789, 125) and argues that the pronunciation in England and in New England is ‘ferce,’ ‘perce,’ ‘terce.’ And consequently, this is the correct pronunciation. In many editions of his *Spelling Book*, he indicates that the correct pronunciation as ‘hinder,’ ‘seldom,’ ‘lantern,’ ‘spirit,’ not ‘hender,’ ‘sildom,’ ‘lantorn,’ and ‘sperrit.’ Also, he claims that the use of ‘should’ instead of ‘would’ in “If he were on earth, he should be a priest” is improper and not good English (1843, 341).

### 2.3 Analysis of Webster’s Inconsistencies

As has already been mentioned, Webster made “observations about language that are being discovered anew today,” although his linguistic ideas were not influential (Southard 1979, 12). As factors that contributed to Webster’s lack of influence on the study of language, Southard mentions his contentious personality, the inconsistency in his political and linguistic works, his claims that the language of the “yeomanry” should be taken as the “model” for American English and the fact that his claims were ahead of his time. However, the same author highlights that Webster identified “many qualities of what has become the American language” (21) and that he “made a number of theoretical, if not pedagogical, observations about language that have recently come to be accepted by linguists” (18). To reach those conclusions, Southard examines the *Grammatical Institute of the English Language* (1787), *Dissertations* (1789), the *Philosophical and Practical Grammar of the English Language* (1807b) and *An American Dictionary*, along with letters written by Webster.

Lepore (2003), a historian, traces Webster’s life and comments on his complicated personality. She also discusses his attempt to standardize spelling and his belief that the new country needed a national government and a national language. Moreover, she comments on the opposition that *An American Dictionary* faced. Later, Lepore (2012) details the dictionary-making process and analyzes *An American Dictionary*. She discusses the influence that Webster’s conversion to Calvinism had on the dictionary, maintaining that in *An American Dictionary*

Webster explained words with reference to American people and places, but that he listed few Americanisms. She describes Webster as a moody person who always looked for trouble wherever he went.

Fodde (2015) analyzes Webster's contribution to the definition of the American language and culture by looking into *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language* (1785), *Dissertations* (1789), *A Compendious Dictionary* (1806) and *An American Dictionary*. She too describes Webster's many accomplishments, concluding that "Noah Webster influenced the characterization and Americanization of the language spoken in America, thanks to his orthography reform, insistence on syllable respect, and on the principle of analogy" (2015 126).

This investigation follows, to a certain extent, the four studies above but adds to them by also investigating Webster's inconsistencies (rather than his contributions), by examining the influence that the historical context had on his ideas, and by tracing the development of his linguistic thought. The inconsistencies in Webster can be attributed to the fact that, as a textbook writer, he needs to author books that are "conservative enough to appeal to the masses" (Southard 1979, 15). Indeed, Webster is aware of the need to provide the upper classes with prescriptive rules since they had become overly concerned about their linguistic proficiency, but realizes that his publications are often rejected. In a letter to John Pickering in 1816, Webster states that he recognizes an "unfriendly disposition manifested" towards him "by men of high standing in the republic of letters" (Webster and Warfel 1953, 341). He even mentions that before giving his point of view, he needs to rigorously consider his claims because he knows that his words will be the object of scrutiny. Therefore, if Webster wants to maintain a successful career as a textbook author, he cannot be too innovative. Probably, for this reason, "in none of the many fields of endeavor [...] did he show his uncertainty and inconsistency more clearly than in his completion of grammars" (Shoemaker 1966, 128).

The inconsistencies in Webster's writings are also the result of a critical spirit that was permanently seeking to understand how language functions and of Webster's unconventional linguistic ideas (Southard 1979). Significantly, Webster always maintained this critical attitude. For example, he mentions that after his *Spelling Book* was published, he was surprised to discover new principles which "proved that many of the rules of our grammars and some of my own are not well-founded" (Webster and Warfel 1953, 262). He also declares that the differences between versions of his *Spelling Book* are not errors—as some reviewers were alleging—but rather that the later publications are "intended to correct the former ones" (Webster and Warfel 1953, 416-429). As a matter of fact, Partch (1939) reports that Webster's personal copy of *A Collection of Essays and Fugitiv Writings* (1790) is full of corrections and comments he made in 1838—most of them critical of his earlier ideas.



A permanent contradiction in his writings refers to the use of examples from the “best” authors. Webster had recommended against using them because many times the “eminent writer” may be a source of innumerable errors (1789, 168). Regardless of that, he mentions that his *Spelling Book* brings “examples from the best authorities” (1784, 4-6) and in 1789, he holds that his *Dissertations* are “framed upon a plan similar to those of the best lexicographers and grammarians in the British nation” (1789, x).

To confirm whether Webster in his later years still relies on “the best authorities,” this study investigated the frequently quoted sources in his *Improved Grammar* (1833), classifying them into three categories—British, American and biblical (see Table 1, 2 and 3 below). The number of times each author or work is cited is given in the tables.

TABLE 1. British sources mentioned in the *Improved Grammar* (1833).

Source	Date of birth/death	Times mentioned
John Locke	1632 1704	56
Alexander Pope	1688 1744	25
The Rambler	1750 1752	21
John Milton	1608 1674	21
Samuel Johnson	1709 1784	20
R. Lowth	1710 1787	14
G. Campbell	1719 1796	14
W. Enfield	1741 1797	13
F. Bacon	1561 1626	12
J. J. Barthelemy	1716 1795	10
W. J. Mickle	1735 1788	9
J. Thomson	1700 1748	7
J. Dryden	1631 1700	6
E. Darwin	1731 1802	6
W. Shakespeare	1564 1616	6
David Hume	1711 1776	6
William Cowper	1731 1800	5
John Hoole	1727 1803	4
Jonathan Swift	1667 1745	3
J. Addison	1672 1719	1

Webster had claimed, in 1789, that “the English language in its purity may be found in the best authors from Chaucer to the present time” (1789, 38). Table 1 (above) shows, however, that Webster does not cite Chaucer in his *Improved Grammar*, but he does mention Shakespeare, who he had characterized as a man of little learning and whose use of popular language is of “the grossest improprieties” (1807a, 10). Additionally, even though in 1807, he had described the 17th century writers as “versed in the learned languages” but having “neither taste nor a correct knowledge of English” (1807a, 8), they are frequently quoted in 1833. Actually, of the frequently mentioned British authors, nine could be considered his contemporaries while seven are from the 16th and 17th centuries (Addison, Bacon, Dryden, Milton, Pope, Shakespeare, Swift).

Furthermore, of the contemporary authors listed in Table 1, only six are exponents of the English language: Samuel Johnson, R. Lowth, G. Campbell, E. Darwin, W. Cowper and W. Enfield. Surprisingly, Webster had argued that Johnson's dictionary was not a model of correct English because he frequently quoted Shakespeare, whose language is “full of errors.” Also, he had claimed that although Johnson quoted from acceptable authors like Newton, Locke, Milton, Dryden, Addison, Swift and Pope, there is also an “injudicious selection of authorities” (1807).

Although Webster mentions Samuel Johnson twenty times, twelve of the instances correspond to quotes and eight to criticism of his ideas. At the same time, Webster quotes from *The Rambler*, a magazine written in essay form that focused on moral issues. Of the two hundred and eight essays that were published in *The Rambler*, only four were not written by Samuel Johnson. That is, by quoting from *The Rambler*, Webster is quoting texts that had been sanctioned or written by Johnson since he was the editor of this literary magazine.

Mickle, Hoole and Barthelemy are translators. The quotes from Mickle are mostly from the *Lusiad*. It is curious that he chooses three translators to quote from. Is it possible that he does not notice that a translation from another language would require, at least in the case of *Lusiad*, which is in verse, to ‘adapt’ the syntax of the English language? Webster is very critical of the translations of *The Bible*, so it is odd that he uses translations as examples.

Besides, the number of citations from Locke, Bacon, Hume and Anacharsis evidence that Webster chooses the examples not only for their grammatical adequacy, but also because of their philosophical value (see Table 1). Actually, the name J. J. Barthelemy is not even mentioned when Webster quotes from the Greek philosopher Anacharsis, indicating that knowing who made the translation is not relevant to him. His focus on philosophical value, rather than linguistic value, is even more evident when we consider his comment that Bacon uses words that are obsolete: if the words are obsolete, why quote from him?

The large number of British authors contrasts with the small number of American authors mentioned (see Table 2 below). He cites only Miller, Dwight, Trumbull and *Selfridge's trial*. There are three citations from *Life of Washington*, but there are no quotes from him. That is, of the twenty authors listed as distinguished American authors in the Preface to his *An American Dictionary* (below), he only cites Dwight and Trumbull.

At the same time, of the eleven English authors listed in the Preface to the 1828 dictionary, he cites only five in 1833: Addison, Cowper, Dryden, Milton and Thomson. Coincidentally, not even in his 1828 dictionary did he follow his own resolution, which reads:

I do not indeed expect to add celebrity to the names of Franklin, Washington, Adams, Jay, Madison, Marshall, Ramsay, Dwight, Smith, Trumbull, Hamilton, Belknap, Ames, Mason, Kent, Hare, Silliman, Cleaveland, Walsh, Irving, and many other Americans distinguished by their writings or by their science; but it is with pride and satisfaction, that I can place them, as authorities, on the same page with those of Boyle, Hooker, Milton, Dryden, Addison, Ray, Milner, Cowper, Davy, Thomson and Jameson. (Webster 1828, 2)

These findings are in line with Miyoshi's conclusion that "citations from American authors in Webster's Dictionary are quite rare, and far smaller in number than those from English authors such as Dryden, Pope, Milton, Addison, etc." (2008, 80). According to Miyoshi, the most cited sources under the letter *L* in Webster's 1828 dictionary are *The Bible*, Dryden, Shakespeare, Pope, Milton, Addison, Locke, Swift, and Bacon, in that order of frequency (2008, 78). That is, under letter *L* in Webster's 1828 dictionary *The Bible* is the most cited source. According to Hallen and Spackman (2010), under letter *S*, Webster cited 378 (three hundred seventy-eight) different sources, *The Bible* being the third most cited.

TABLE 2. American sources mentioned in the *Improved Grammar* (1833).

Source	Date of birth/death	Times mentioned
Trial of Thomas O. Selfridge for killing Charles Austin	1806	10
Samuel Miller	1769 1850	2
Theodore Dwight	1796 1866	1
John Trumbull	1756 1843	1

In 1833, Webster mentions *The Bible* more than he mentions American authors (see Table 3 below). Surprisingly—or maybe not—Webster frequently comments that the common version of the scriptures is not a model or standard of “pure English” because it presents many examples that are “contrary to established usage” (1839, 11-13). Among the many problems he identifies is “uncorrected popular language” and the use of words that are rude and unrefined (1843, 341).

As such, his preference for quoting from *The Bible* in both 1828 and 1833 can only be explained by his belief that religion is fundamental for cultural and political continuation (Hallen and Spackman 2010, 1; Rollins 1976, 418). Moreover, considering that he frequently cites from philosophical works, it becomes evident that Webster selected his examples not only for linguistic reasons, but also on the basis of their moral value, or, as Snyder puts it, his “writing never divorced the intellectual and the moral” (2002, 13).

TABLE 3. Books mentioned from *The Bible* in the *Improved Grammar* (1833).

Book	Times mentioned
Matthews	17
Numbers	17
Genesis	15
Acts	12
Corinthians	11
Bible	9
Romans	9
Luke	8
Psalms	4
Exodus	3

Nevertheless, when referring to the citations in Webster's 1828 dictionary, it is important to consider that he made use of Johnson's citations (see Hallen and Spackman 2010; Meirelles 2021; Miyoshi 2008; Reed 1962). For this reason, it is possible that the citations in the dictionary do not strictly reflect Webster's preferences. Yet, when the most cited sources in 1828 are compared to those cited in 1833, it becomes evident that they are the same. *The Bible* is the most cited source in 1833 with more than a hundred and five quotes (see Table 3). Some authors, like Addison, who were frequently cited in 1828 are only cited once in 1833, while others—like Locke, who was the seventh most cited in

1828—are very frequently cited in 1833, where he is the most cited author. That is, even though the prevalence of authors changes from one work to the other, Webster does not exclude the sources he used in 1828. Incidentally, American authors are never preferred in either.

It can be seen, then, that the many inconsistencies detected in Webster's works arise from four circumstances. First, his nationalism called for a standard language, or, at least, a language common to the American nation. Yet, as a language scholar, he had concluded that it is pedantic for grammars to provide unrealistic language models and therefore his political view and his linguistic ideas pulled in different ways. Second, he was not able to implement his linguistic ideas in his textbooks. He was a successful writer who could not risk his reputation in order to promote in his textbooks ideas he knew would not be accepted. Third, his growth as a language scholar resulted in him developing and improving his ideas over time. Consequently, his initial works and the last writings sometimes go in different directions. Lastly, he was very critical, not only of the work of others, but of his own. Accordingly, he frequently revised and corrected his ideas.

Many of the observations of the present study have already been listed by other authors. It might be said that this work resembles that of Southard (1979), but the present analysis in fact adds to it by presenting and comparing data from Webster's works, by considering his ideas from both a historical and a linguistic perspective, by trying to follow the progression of Webster's ideas over time and by trying to understand the motive behind the inconsistencies.

The present investigation also adds to Lepore (2003, 2012) in that it concentrates on Webster's linguistics ideas, rather than on historical events or on Webster's life or personal traits. Besides, the examination also complements Fodde's (2015) investigation because it analyzes Webster's contradictions, not only his contributions or accomplishments.

### 3. Conclusion

Webster, at first, encourages language standardization as part of his plan to promote national unity. At the time, his idea of a standard requires a model of "pure English", which could not be the English spoken in England. His solution is to search for the "true principles" in the English spoken by ordinary people since he believes that practice defines the rules of the English language, grammarians will not be able to dictate rules. He therefore abandons the idea of a standard English language (Shoemaker 1966, 252; Monaghan 1983, 124), but his proposal that English is regulated by "the general use" and "the analogy of language" persists. With time, he develops a roughly descriptive scheme to explain "the true construction of the English language" (1807b) that gives more attention to the popular use of

language. However, when writing his speller and his school material, Webster faces a dilemma because he cannot upset his readers by introducing novel ideas.

Hence Webster tries to be descriptive but follows the models current at the time, which are prescriptive. Specifically, the need to support his claims with citations from “the best authors” originated in traditional grammar. Significantly, Webster many times condemns Johnson and Lowth, who are considered “champions of prescriptivism” (Fodde 2015, 129), but other times he cites from them. Particularly, Webster exhibits convictions that are in line with the prescriptive grammatical tradition of the 18th century—reason, analogy, propriety and correctness (Fodde 2015, 129).

All things considered, four elements are always present in Webster's work through the years: reference to “the analogy of language,” reference to “the general practice,” criticism of grammar books and the citation of relevant sources. It is true that there is an oscillation between a prescriptive and a descriptive approach to language studies, but he eventually becomes mostly descriptive. Towards the end, his beliefs become more appropriate to an empirical view of language according to which knowledge comes primarily from experience. That approach to the study of language also emphasizes the need for evidence and the need to test hypotheses against observations. Principally, Webster succeeds in giving a definition of grammar that is somewhat modern and in considering the use of common people when describing language. In fact, Southard claims that Webster's linguistic ideas were innovative for the time (1979, 12). However, they have been ignored because of two factors: inconsistencies in his works and statements that were too radical for the time (1979, 12-14).

The present study may have implications in future research. First, it signals that for a better contribution to the development of the history of linguistics, “historians of linguistics must also be linguists” (Koerner and Konrad 1999). Second, it shows that the author's conflicting personality and the inconsistencies in his work often received more attention than his constant claims, i.e., his claims that it is necessary to separate what is “local” from what is “general,” that rules are formed by practice, and, mainly, that the “analogies” and the “true principles” of language should be the focus of language studies.

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# Dramaturgy and the Plausible Wonder in Restoration Fiction, 1660–1670<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:**

Mackenzie's roman-à-clef *Aretina* (1660) seems to foresee or, indeed, to capture the reopening of theatres when, at the end of Book 1, a group of actors present a monster (and a show) "upon a stage, whereon the Commedians used to act," and the narrator subsequently summarises the performance taking place on the palace's neglected stage. Nevertheless, the reopening of theatres had little or no immediate influence on the new English prose fiction published in the 1660s. As far as prose fiction is concerned, scholarly criticism about the Restoration theatre–novel interface addresses the period after—not before—1670. Yet, if areas of intersection are investigated, then a spectrum of quite different, isolated instances will emerge; from Margaret Cavendish's remarks on her contemporary plays to events inspired by theatrical contrivances. This article therefore seeks to explore the presence of theatre and dramaturgy in the new English fiction published in the early years of the Restoration. The first part offers a comprehensive survey of theatrical thumbprints in this corpus of texts by considering the issues raised in literary criticism on the topic, such as dialogues, epistles and soliloquies, historical novels and first-person narratives. The second part pinpoints the episodes in high romances where wonder is no longer caused by magic, enchantment or any other supernatural intervention, but arises from calculated staging effects and devices. Authors of romances in the early years of the Restoration period contributed to the development of the English novel by making the moments of wonder more spectacular for characters, and more credible for readers, in line with the emerging scientific culture.

**Keywords:** English novel; Restoration fiction (1660–1670); Theatre; Wonder

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Theatre became a decisive influence in the formation of the English novel at the end of the seventeenth century. Paul Salzman has remarked that William Congreve's *Incognita* (1692) "produces the effect of watching a play" (1985, 336), and, indeed, in the preface, Congreve himself claimed to have pioneered a new kind of novel when he resolved "to imitate Dramatick Writing, namely, in the Design, Contexture and Result of the Plot" (1692, A6v). More recently, Gerd Bayer has discussed the theatrical influence in novels such as *Peppa, or The Reward of Constant Love* (1689) and *Alcander and Philocrates* (1696), among other works published in the late seventeenth century (2016, 156). However, three decades earlier, drama and fiction had stood worlds apart. The 1660s was a decade of transition in many respects. As far as fiction is concerned, it was characterised by the persistence of established genres, but also by intense experimentation. Salzman has succinctly summarised that "the anti-romance, the picaresque novel, and the last of the long heroic romances, all jostled for attention" (1985, 308), while James Grantham Turner has celebrated the "fascinating experiments with the romance genre, [...] and a general move towards realism, loosely defined" (2017, 73). Nevertheless, in response to the question of whether the reopening of the theatres had an immediate impact on the new British fiction of the 1660s, the reasonable answer would be negative. This can be demonstrated by the fact that scholarly studies of the Restoration theatre-fiction interface take into account narrative works published after—not before—1670, coinciding with the beginning of Aphra Behn's career, while the 1660s' literary texts mentioned in academic discussions are plays, not the fiction of the decade, which remains largely unexplored (despite notable exceptions such as Richard Head, Margaret Cavendish and Henry Neville) and at times completely ignored. This explains the lack of secondary bibliography on this particular matter. Nonetheless, if areas of intersection between drama and fiction are examined, a spectrum of very different, albeit occasional, instances can be identified. This article explores possible debts to, or the imprints of, theatre and dramatic art in the new English fiction published from 1660 to 1670. It offers a comprehensive survey by considering explicit or indirect references to theatre and dramaturgy, as well as the presence or lack of certain issues discussed by Jenny Davidson in her "Restoration Theatre and the Novel" (2017), a recent approach to the topic (though it still exclusively focuses on prose fiction published after 1670). The final part will pinpoint the remarkable incidents of wonder in heroic romances produced by means of dramaturgy or displaying a great dramatic intensity.

The corpus of the new fiction originally written in English and published between 1660 and 1670 comprises 37 titles according to the catalogue produced by Robert Letellier in 1997 (based on previous compilations). He included for the first time Margaret Cavendish's *CCXI Sociable Letters* (1664)

and John Bunyan's spiritual autobiography, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (1666). While Cavendish's letters do not create an epistolary story, they do sometimes contain short narrative sketches. Bunyan's first narrative lies on the border between truth and fiction, an ontological status shared with criminal biographies and Mary Frith's pseudo-autobiography, albeit that they are quite different in style, matter and purpose. The corpus—though small—attests to the impressive variety of genres and generic hybridity that characterise Restoration fiction, as Bayer has noted (2016, esp. 1–52). The 37 texts of the corpus include examples of twelve of the twenty-five generic categories Salzman has proposed to typify the fiction published in Britain in the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> Although his classification remains valid, he sometimes emphasises a particular feature of a given text in ascribing it to a certain category, though not dismissing the possibility that it could be located in other categories. In his discussion, Salzman himself mentions some texts as examples of another subgenre. This is the case with *Eliana*, classified as a Sidneian romance but also as qualifying as a heroic romance, while *The English Lovers* is labelled as picaresque but also used to illustrate the impure romance. Salzman includes *The Memoires of Monsieur du Vall* in the category of Restoration novel, though he also counts it as a criminal

2 The new English fiction of the 1660s was classified by Salzman into the following categories: Sidneian Romance: anonymous [Pordage's] *Eliana* (1661). Political/Allegorical Romance: Howell's *The Parly of Beasts* (1660), Mackenzie's *Aretina* (1660), Herbert's *The Princess Cloria* (1661). Religious Allegory: Ingelo's *Bentivolio and Urania* (1660). Didactic Fiction: Burton's *The History of Eriander* (1661), Howard's *The History of the Seven Wise Mistresses of Rome* (1663), Brathwaite's *The History of Moderation* (1669), Preston's *Angliae Speculum Morale [...] with the Life of Theodatus and Three Novels* (1670). French Heroic Romances: Boyle's *Parthenissa* (1651–1656, 1669). An English romance closely imitating the French heroic romances). Criminal Biography: *The Life and Death of Mrs Mary Frith* (1662), *The Life and Death of James ... Turner* (1663), *The Triumph of Truth* (1664). Imaginary Voyage/ Utopia/ Satire: Cavendish's *The Blazing World* (1666), Neville's *The Isle of Pines* (and *A New and Further Discovery of the Isle of Pines*) (1668). Picaresque Fiction: *The Practical Part of Love* (1660), Dauncey's *The English Lovers* (1661/1662), Head and Kirkman's *The English Rogue* (1665), Croke's *Fortune's Uncertainty* (1667). Popular Chivalric Romance: *Guy Earl of Warwick* (1661). Anti-Romance: *Don Samuel Crispe* (1660), Flatman's *Don Juan Lamberto* (1661), *Sir Firedrake* (1663). 'Impure' Romance: Crowne's *Pandion and Amphigenia* (1665). Restoration Novel: Pope's *The Memoires of Monsieur du Vall* (1670). Popular Non-Chivalric Fiction: *The Noble Birth and Gallant Achievements of Robin Hood* (1662), *The Pleasant and Delightful History of Floridon and Lucina* (1663), Head's *The Life and Death of Mother Shipton* (1667), Winstanley's *The Honour of the Merchant-Taylors* (1668), *The Life and Death of Rosamund* (1670). The category of continental romances does not, obviously, apply in this research, while no new English fiction originally published in the 1660s is listed in the following groups: Attenuated short romance, didactic romance, jest book, popular compilation of history, the novella, memoirs, scandal chronicles/secret history, nouvelle historique, nouvelle gallante, political/allegorical novel and oriental tale.

biography. Additionally, it should be noted that some databases catalogue many undated books as published in the 1660s, although most have been found to be reprints or are dated on the grounds of extrinsic factors such as the printers' and booksellers' period of business activity. For the present research, all the corpus texts in Letellier's catalogue were studied, and the influence of drama was mainly observed in certain of the major romances, as will be shown later.

Margaret Cavendish—Duchess of Newcastle—is undoubtedly the most appropriate author to start with, not only because of the astonishing variety of her interests and the genres she wrote within throughout her prolific literary career, including drama and fiction, but also because of the enormous critical attention she has received in the twenty-first century, especially in connection with gender and scientific matters, although aspects of theatre in her fiction are not as relevant to contemporary approaches. Cavendish was a pioneering writer in many respects. In *CCXI Sociable Letters*, in letters CXXIII and CLXII, she articulated “the first general prose assessment of Shakespeare’s drama ever written” (Whitaker 2002, 258). She also sometimes mentions poets when referring to writers in general. Furthermore, her *The Description of a New World, Called the Blazing World* (1666) is the only book in the whole corpus that contains references to the Restoration world of theatre and playwrights, first when the Duchess (who fictionalises the author) and the Empress of the Blazing World attend a performance, and later when the Emperor wants to construct a theatre and seeks the Duchess’s advice. Autobiography and literary criticism also find expression in Cavendish’s fiction. Not only does the Duchess complain that her own plays are refused staging, but she also declares her views on the ethics of theatre stating that her contemporary plays “will prove a Nursery of Whining Lovers, and not an Academy or School for Wise, Witty, Noble, and well-behaved men” (part II, 29). Besides the ethical vocation of theatre, Cavendish also appreciates all other entertaining aspects of the show (such as acting, dancing and music) in her explanation to the Empress that the new plays updated old stories: “it was true, that all or most of their Plays were taken out of old Stories, but yet they had new actions, which being joined to old stories, together with the addition of new Prologues, Scenes, Musick and Dancing, made new Plays” (part I, 107).

Critical approaches to *The Blazing World* do not commonly highlight the influence of drama, though dramatic art is often invoked to describe Cavendish’s public appearances during her 1667 London visit: “Her idiosyncratic dress combined masculine and feminine elements in a parodic masquerade of gender, while her rare and highly theatrical public appearances never failed to draw an audience” (Lilley 1994, xii–xiii). Bowerbank and Mendelson have remarked that Cavendish “included a number of interesting masques and masque-like effects in her writings” (2000, 18). According to these authors, from Ben Jonson’s *Love’s*

*Welcome at Bolsover* she borrowed the episode when the Empress went to fight the enemies of her native country and showed herself to her own people as a goddess-like creature walking on the surface of water, though she was actually stepping over the fishmen who “support her without being seen, and who also carry firestone to illuminate her body. Thus, the hidden labour of her subjects is made visible in the text, though not to her countrymen whom the Empress wishes to subdue or, at least, impress with her might” (Bowerbank and Mendelson 2000, 19). This well-known episode illustrates an instance of a romance’s climactic moments of wonder being triggered by a character deploying staging effects to generate the illusion that a supernatural intervention or force is responsible, but can be rationally explained according to the romance’s intrinsic logics—even when they may be thoroughly fanciful, as in *The Blazing World*.

When the Empress learns that the comedies and tragedies in theatres are not real but feigned, she expresses her desire to attend a performance: the fictional nature of the dramatic story apparently, in her view, adding more charm to the entertainment. This is important because it reminds us that the choice of one specific literary fiction genre among the many available depended on the appropriateness of both the subject matter and mode of persuasion with which to address an increasingly complex and varied public. However, in the early years of the Restoration, while English theatre could boast a solid and glorious tradition, prose fiction was undergoing a phase of instability and hybridity in terms of narrative genres. For instance, Salzman has aptly catalogued *The Blazing World* as “Imaginary voyage/utopian/satire,” although much of it seems to be conceived as a didactic romance to instruct readers on natural philosophy, or at least combined different types of narratives, according to the author’s prefatory note “To the Reader”: “The first part [...] is Romancical, the second Philosophical, and the third is meerly Fancy, or (as I may call it) Fantastical” (Cavendish 1666, b2r). Even though *The Blazing World* represents an extreme case of blending and fluidity of genres, it instances the extent to which early 1660s’ fiction was seen as an arena within which to address a variety of issues and topics that have no place on stage or interest in verse.

Gerd Bayer has examined the ways in which paratextual material, both in drama and in fiction, helped draw attention to the “process of genre making” (2016, 74) at a time when “the pragmatic do-it-yourself approach of would-be novelists” (2016, 91) was paving the way for the future novel. However, while fiction would absorb much of the dramatic dynamics of staging stories by the 1690s, in the 1660s romance authors endeavoured to defend the genre in the face of censorious critics as well as distinguish it from history. The form of Dryden’s “Essay of Dramatick Poesie” (1668) suggests the growing influence of drama in Restoration literature, although it is not so conspicuous in fiction,

either because genres overlap or because the external perspective and plurality of narrative voices blur that potential influence.

The development of literary genres in English literature sometimes converge to the point of hindering sharp divides when theatre and prose fiction are considered. Printed in 1660, James Howell's *The Parly of Beasts; or, Morphandra, Queen of the Incharnted Iland* consists in a collection of dialogues between Prince Pererius and a gallery of human beings transmuted by Morphandra into animals. They inhabit a strange island, which is described as a "theatre of wonders" (1). It does indeed provide an experience close to that of a playhouse performance in that Pererius feels curious about the animals' former identities and Morphandra—to please him—restores the animals' ability to speak so that he can converse with them. Howell borrowed the story from Giambattista Gelli's *La Circe* (Florence, 1549), but updated the allegorical, satirical, utopian and ethical elements of Renaissance dialogues by widening the scope to include the contemporary European context. Though in prose, Pererius's conversations with the Mule (formerly a Spanish doctor) and the Hind (formerly a Venetian courtesan) could be turned into alluring and delightful pieces for the stage. The genre of the dialogue therefore lends itself to theatre, except for its essential part—performance—still forbidden at the time that Howell conceived this project. Similarly, a debate on the nature of love and friendship between Argelois and Euripedes occupies most of the overarching story throughout the first four books of *Eliana* (1661), a romance attributed to Samuel Pordage, while the individual stories and the resolution of the frame narrative provide a wide variety of instances demonstrating the excellence of friendship over erotic love. Moreover, the narrator of *Eliana* only recounts what the male hero does, sees and hears. Like other Baroque romance narrators, he never describes the characters' thoughts, which are instead rendered through speech and action. Despite this dramatic presentation, the external perspective seeks to reinforce the teller's credibility and objectivity when narrating what is perceived through the senses, while the characters themselves speak their minds and about their memories. Similarly, past events are not narrated by the overarching voice. Instead, the protagonist or a close witness recounts events to one or several listeners, enacting a kind of theatrical communication for the reader to partake of as just another passive recipient. It goes without saying that the protagonists' or witnesses' stories function as individual monologues about the episodic reports of events, which also include dialogues, speeches, soliloquies and sometimes even letters or other writings. As such, then, the credibility gained by the polyphony of competent narrators is belittled by the unreliable, monologist delivery of past events.

Jenny Davidson has suggested that "the epistolary novel owes a great debt to drama [...] in the sense that it allows individual characters' voices to be heard most

distinctively and with only occasional authorial or editorial mediation” (2017, 445). With Richardson’s *Pamela* (1740) in mind, Davidson not only includes the unmediated rendering of the characters’ consciousness, as if in soliloquies, but also the heroine’s description of “her own actions that recalls the precision and accuracy of an actress or a theatrical professional” (2017, 445). In this, Davidson is, of course, considering the dramatic imprint of late seventeenth-century theatre. However, eighty or seventy years before *Pamela*, letters—as well as soliloquies—represented compelling passages in prose fiction. They were often highlighted by the use of a heading or a different type of font. In high romances (where narrators observe a strictly external perspective), letters, soliloquies and speeches allowed authors a suitable, natural way “to express inward passions and hidden thoughts” (Person of Honour 1661, A3r), while readers were “put [...] in mind of what they may say or do another time, with more advantage to themselves or employment” (1661, A3r). Moreover, soliloquies and letters as a means to communicate the character’s interiority implied an important step towards formal realism when compared with the songs, sonnets, and eclogues in some Elizabethan romances, such as Thomas Lodge’s *Rosalynde*, where the artistic, poetical craft prevailed over the realistic or instructive aspects. Furthermore, it must be remembered at this point that romance reading was often communal, and possibly some parts were recited or performed before an audience, whether of the domestic circle, guests or both. The only text of the corpus that mentions this practice is *The Princess Cloria* (Person of Honour, 1661). In its prefatory note, the author distinguishes two types of “communication, either of recreation or Discourse”—i.e., silent reading or reading aloud to an audience. He complains that this latter way of “communication” sometimes takes five or six hours, without intervals, which makes people “tired, either with hearing or making such relations; and indeed almost impossible to be performed by any of what profession soever” (A2r). In addition to reports of events, speeches and soliloquies, the high romances contained many episodes of great dramatic intensity, as will be illustrated later. However, exactly which parts of a romance were conceived or shaped by their authors with an eye to being recited or performed is a matter still to be explored.

Adaptations and borrowed stories constitute another field of interest. In Mackenzie’s *Aretina*, at the King’s daughter’s wedding festivities at the end of Book 1, a fellow entered and “told his Majesty that he was to shew him a Monster. The King desired he might present it upon a stage, whereon the Comedians used to act” (1660, 68). Though set in ancient Egypt, *Aretina* explores the political upheavals that had taken place in the recent past in Britain in roman-à-clef format and, as such, it recorded the period of inactivity in the theatre, this being the sole reference to this historical fact in the whole corpus of texts. The character who appears on this neglected stage is described as “an old



fellow, with a pair of large Harts Horns” (1660, 68) and the narrator’s ensuing summary recalls a play in the style of Molière’s *Sganarelle ou Le cocu imaginaire* (*The Imaginary Cuckold*). What is more, some of the stories that the characters tell are likely inspired by plays. For example, Megistus’s landlord’s tale in Book 2 echoes the plot of Molière’s *Les Précieuses ridicules*—if the sex of the characters is changed. Megistus’s tale of an Old Man who woos a young lady, and is eventually ridiculed by a young suitor, could also have been inspired by an interlude or a short play considering its dramatic potential. However, it is unlikely that a naked body ever appeared on a Renaissance stage, which is what happens at the end when the Old Man rises in haste from a chair, and his breeches fall down “leaving his thighs like two leafless and withered branches, in whose top an Owl nested; or like an Egyptian Mummy embalmed by Art” (Mackenzie 1660, 139). The lawyer Mackenzie had recently been admitted to the Edinburgh bar when he undertook the writing of *Aretina* in order to improve his language skills and, as he puts it: “to form to my self a style” (1660, A5v). Although Mackenzie’s literary interests principally focused on legal, political and moral matters, and he was eventually appointed Lord Advocate, his early and only romance also contains other episodes inspired by theatre and dramaturgy, as will be shown later.

In Thomas Howard’s *The History of the Seven Wise Mistresses of Rome* and in the anonymous short romance *The Pleasant and Delightful History of Floridon and Lucina*, both published in 1663, there are also elements which recall previous plays. In the former, the Fifth Mistress’s exemplum freely sketches Robert Greene’s *The Pleasant Historie of Dorastus and Fawnia* rather than Shakespeare’s *Winter’s Tale* (Monterrey 2021, 23). *Floridon and Lucina* recalls to some extent elements from Shakespeare’s *Measure for Measure* with two of the female characters, who number only three, being called Isabella and Mariana. Sir Malpas, who has long desired Lucina, abducts her when her betrothed Floridon is captured and held prisoner by robbers. Eventually, Sir Malpas’s falsehood and lechery are exposed when Mariana discloses that he was formerly her suitor but never fulfilled his promises. Nonetheless, there is no governor’s ban on love that triggers the plot of the romance, as is the case in both the play and its Italian hypotext.

John Dauncey pioneered the first—or one of the first—novelisation of a play into high fiction. He was a translator and historian, and is best known for his biography of Queen Henrietta Maria. *The English Lovers* (1661) signifies an exceptional experiment and a major contribution to the development of English fiction in its conversion of Thomas Heywood’s two-part *The Fair Maid of the West* into the format of a Baroque, heroic romance—in vogue in the early 1660s. Instead of merely retelling in straightforward fashion the storyline following Heywood’s linear chronology, Dauncey reshaped the dramatic plot to meet the in-medias-res convention of the Baroque romances. This involved creating two levels of narrative

and their calculated segmentations, a gallery of narrators, new characters and the illusion of a stage or setting. Nonetheless, Dauncey did faithfully reproduce the original tale of the English characters' adventures against a late sixteenth century historical background (when the Earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh attacked Faial, in the Azores) and the intermittent conflict between two north Italian duchies. However, he also added stories of his own creation, and introduced some variations that invite a reinterpretation of the play in the context of the Restoration. Apart from the plot and characters, what sounds fresh and modern in Dauncey's craft and style does not derive from the language of theatre, but rather from the syntax and style of history. This is a significant point because Dauncey possessed the narrative skills and the appropriate hypotext to enable him to have written the first English novel: his prose avoids the elevated style of heroic romances, and Heywood's main characters are neither royal nor aristocratic, while the improbable plot earns some credibility with the benefit of involving a stage performance.

Heywood's play achieved some popularity in the early years of the Restoration and, perhaps for this reason, *The English Lovers* was deemed to be a sales hit. Three or four booksellers participated in its publication by the end of 1661–early 1662, prefacing the narrative with several commendatory poems.<sup>3</sup> Dauncey had clearly succeeded in producing the kind of romance readers enjoyed. He strove to retell *The Fair Maid* in the mosaic-like, labyrinthine structure characteristic of the Baroque romance, with his gallery of narrators and reinforcement of the heroic atmosphere of the play, and the “constant loves and invincible Courages of Hero's [and] Heroins, [...]” (Congreve 1692, A5v). Though the genre was doomed to decline and disappear, Dauncey's “Language and Contrivance” was also praised by William Winstanley in his *Lives of the most Famous English Poets* (1687, 206), which attests to the critical esteem of Dauncey's literary achievement.

In contrast, the rendering of this decade's fiction into performing arts is exceptional since novels—rather than romances—are more suitable for adaptation. In 1662, Mme de La Fayette's *La Princesse de Monpensier* appeared in France. It set the model of the *nouvelle galante* or *nouvelle historique* and is thus considered one of the first modern novels—the antecedent of La Fayette's *La Princesse de Clèves* (1678). Despite its aura of formal realism, *The Princess of Monpensier* received a cold reception in Britain when it was translated in 1666, and was not reissued until the contemporary age (1805). This suggests that a realistic, historical account about real characters involved in factual events

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3 Besides Henry Marsh, Francis Kirkman and Henry Broome, it is apparent that Dorman Newman also participated in the publication of the romance, since his books are advertised at the end of the copies for Marsh. The romance must have appeared in March 1661/2 (Julian calendar), i.e., March 1662 (Gregorian calendar).

could be written in the 1660s, but this type of narrative did not yet appeal to the taste of the English readership.

La Fayette's *The Princess of Monpensier* combines authentic historical background, balanced structure, credible characters and a powerful story of seduction, passion and dis/honour—a story suitable for performing arts. Indeed, in 2010, the eponymous movie was released in France, to general acclaim. The first years of the Restoration cannot boast such a text for a film or a play with realistic characters; nonetheless, *The Memoires of Monsieur Du Vall* (1670), attributed to Walter Pope, or at least the highwayman's life, inspired the Victorian comic opera *Claude Duval* (1881), by Edward Solomon.

Salzman classified *Du Vall* as a "Restoration novel," and explained that it "satirized criminal biography and Francophiles" (1985, 377). The narrator in *Du Vall* adopts a journalistic point of view, relying on informants and claiming to have evidence to support his version of truth. His growing intimacy with the reader turns him into a kind of dramatised character (Booth 1983, 212; Davidson 2017, 444). He becomes an increasingly personalised subject because of his animosity towards the charismatic highwayman and his strong anti-French sentiment, which eventually causes him to be hated and abandoned by his own wife. One of the exceptional narrators in the new fiction of the 1660s, he turns out to be biased and prejudiced, and consequently dishonest and unreliable.

Novels such as *Du Vall* and criminal biographies and autobiographies can therefore show—as Davidson has argued—that "[t]he novel more generally—particularly first-person fictions—can be considered a transitional genre, with the performative aspects of storytelling in the first person representing a natural and comfortable alternative for writers reared in the oral and performative world of the theatre" (2017, 437). However, the new fiction of the 1660s owes more to romance and history than to drama. Certain parts of the intense dramatic action in criminal stories were not actually invented by their authors, rather the facts were already well known by the public, and they expected to find them on the printed page. One of the most theatrical (and humorous) such episodes occurs in *Du Vall*, when the highwayman and his gang stop a certain knight travelling with his wife and carrying 400 pounds in 'cash'. The lady plays the "flageolet" (Pope 1670, 8) to show she is not worried by the highwaymen, who themselves play the flute. *Du Vall* asks her husband's permission to dance with her. After the dancing, *Du Vall* tells the husband he has forgotten to pay for the music. The husband replies that he has not, and produces a hundred pounds that he gives to the thief. This action satisfies *Du Vall* and prevents him from demanding the other three hundred from him.

Criminal biographies, autobiographies, prostitute stories and picaresque fiction all contain occasional episodes rich in dramatic action. They generally lack a solid plot, but recount the protagonist's life in full, focusing on the most famous

episodes, aiming for satire or moral instruction, or meeting the market's demand for the full life of certain infamous characters, such as the fictional autobiography of Mary Frith (the "roaring girl"), and the journalistic reports of the life, robberies and death of Colonel Turner, who became so popular that at least two versions of his life and death, and the proceedings of his trial were published. Unlike romances, these stories do not explore character, perhaps with the exception of Mary Frith because of her bizarre singularity (cross dresser, smoker, pickpocket, among other peculiarities) and because her home was a notorious headquarters of the London underworld.<sup>4</sup> Bunyan's spiritual autobiography *Grace Abounding* (1666)—though very different in design and purpose—could also be included in this group. However, it should be noted that many of the vigorous descriptions of the protagonist's daily life, so full of dramatic potential and narrative appeal, are in fact missing in the first edition, only being added later—the only record of them being in the third edition of 1678/9 since there is no extant copy of the second edition.

The influence of theatre on fiction is more evident in some of the high romances by younger writers (George Mackenzie, John Dauncey, Samuel Pordage, John Bulteel, John Crowne) than in those by senior writers Roger Boyle and Percy Herbert, the earlier part of whose romances were published in the 1650s, and clergyman Nathaniel Ingelo's religious allegory *Bentivolio and Urania* (1660). The younger writers, as in the example from Cavendish's *The Blazing World* above,<sup>5</sup> made use of dramaturgy to parody or experiment with the genre, and to contrive plausible moments of wonder by introducing theatrical effects in the plot of the only romance written by each of them, with the exception of Bulteel.<sup>6</sup> His *Birinthea* (1664), inspired by the biography of Cyrus, follows the French heroic models of La Calprenède and Scudéry more closely than the romances by Dauncey, Pordage and Crowne, and no influence of theatre is noticeable in any of the stories, all of which were in fact unfinished.

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4 Mary Carleton's autobiography (1663), and thus formally non-fiction, must be mentioned here since her life was nothing but theatrical because of the false identities she enacted in her numerous relationships with men. She even played herself (Madam Moders) in Thomas Porter's *A Witty Combat, or, The Female Victor* (1663). Francis Kirkman wrote her fictional autobiography in *The Counterfeit Lady Unveiled* (1673).

5 Margaret Cavendish was the same age as Ingelo and Boyle, but she wrote most of her plays before *The Blazing World*. The younger writers published their respective romances before they became playwrights. This was also the case of Roger Boyle who wrote *Parthenissa* in the 1650s and plays in the Restoration. In 1669, he added a sixth part to *Parthenissa* at the request of Queen Henrietta Maria, but he himself became tired of the project and put a definite end to the story by suggesting that his characters' lives had turned out to be unpleasant for a romance.

6 John Bulteel, the author of *Birinthea*, translated Corneilles's *Amour à la mode* as *Amorous Orontus: or, The Love in Fashion* (1665).

These young authors' relationship with the theatre varies considerably. As shown above, although Mackenzie was a man of laws and eventually appointed Lord Advocate, *Aretina* contains several episodes inspired by theatre and dramaturgy. Very little is known about translator and historian John Dauncey, the author—as mentioned earlier—of *The English Lovers*, the romance adaptation of Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West*. Samuel Pordage, to whom *Eliana* is attributed, translated and edited Seneca's *Troades* in 1660, and is also attributed with two tragedies.<sup>7</sup> His romance, which he described as juvenilia, offers a series of well-plotted stories (some of them including cross-dressing male characters—Lonoxia and Dardanus), substantial philosophical dialogues in the overarching narrative and psychological insight in soliloquies, letters and actions of his characters. *Eliana* also contains scenes of high dramatic tension, such as when the hero Argelois speaks his mind, tries to kill himself and is saved by his friend Dardanus (Anon 1661, 186–190), the episodes where Caligula attempts to rape Dardanus (212–214, 218–220), and in Araterus and Queen Amarilis's love story (245–286). Pordage, for his part, timidly observes the unities of time, space and matter within the frame story, at least to the extent that a 200,000-word Baroque romance permits it. It should be added that the individual stories are told in the exuberant grotto of two misanthropic male characters, which thus creates a utopian dwelling space for imagination and storytelling. John Crowne published *Pandion and Amphigenia: or, The History of the Coy Lady of Thessalia* (1665) in his mid-twenties, and would later make a career in the theatre world.<sup>8</sup> His romance is probably the most histrionic of all, especially because of the confusion of characters' identities, through either appropriation (there are two Pandions, one of whom changes his name to Danpion) or disguise. The most notable example of this is when Pandion carefully dresses his page up as an angel and makes him fly, singing, over Amphigenia as she slumbers.

He [Pandion/Danpion] attires his beautiful Boy like one of heavens swift Pursivants, with golden Wings, which by reason of a private Engine, so poyzed his body in the Air, like Archytas Dove, that as if some secret spirit lurkt in those gilded plumes, he could convey himself whether he pleased. About his fair naked body was girt a silken weed, which partly of a Caerulean-colour, sweetly intermixed with purple streaks, seemed as if he had been clothed in a piece of Aurora's mantle, and partly of a misty gloomy colour, artificially interwoven with Gold, looked as if he had snatcht a Sun-beam, sheathed in a dewy cloud; that

7 *Herod and Mariamne* (1673) and *The Siege of Babylon* (1678).

8 He wrote several plays, including *Juliana; or, The Princess of Poland* (1671), *The History of Charles VIII of France* (1672) and *The Country Wit* (1675).

golden Zone that encompassed his middle, looked like the Zodiack, the Jewels wherewith it was embost, like the Planets, and the rich Carbuncle, that served for a button, whose nature is to be most resulgent in the darkest night, shone with so much resplendency, as in the midst of that darkness, it most lightsomely represented the Sun. In the one hand, he put a Harp, and in the other a Letter, which was thus superscribed.

Venus Queen of Beauty, to Amphigenia, her Successor.

In this Garb he conveys him into the room, through a secret passage, like a trap-door, made in the roof of the Chamber, that he had carved out for that purpose. The lovely Boy, being thus entred into the room, and instructed in all things, gently moves his Air-dividing Pineons, and marrying his sweet quavering voyce, to the Harpes ravishing Airs, as he flies, sings this Song. (1665, 175–176)

Though medieval theatre also made use of similar devices, this enchanting event in the story recalls the closing scene of Thomas Thompson's play *The Life of Mother Shipton* (1670), which is partly based on Richard Head's *The Life and Death of Mother Shipton* (Gómez-Lara et al. 2014, 471).

The element of wonder is an intrinsic aspect of prose fiction. In the new English titles published in the first decade of the Restoration, the exciting moments of wonder involve practices and contrivances of dramaturgy. Most probably influenced by the emergence of the scientific mentality, the manifestation of awesome wonder does not find its explanation in the supernatural, occultism or magic but rather in the rational, dazzling illusion that only dramaturgy can create. Like Pandion's page in angel attire playing the lute and flying above the heroine, these episodes occur in the realm of the household, in the domestic, familiar, private world, enacted or devised by (one of) the hero(es), sometimes in collaboration with his page, and to the awe and amazement of other protagonists. Ironically, readers usually know the cause of the illusion in advance and enjoy both its staging and the characters' reaction to the wonder they are experiencing.

In addition to the Empress's revealing her identity to the army of her native country in Cavendish's *The Blazing World* and Pandion's flying page in Crowne's romance, there are two more occurrences of this kind in the new English fiction of the 1660s. In *The English Lovers*, Dauncey transforms Heywood's Muslim character Joffer Bassa into the hero's (Spencer's) brother—and thus into an Englishman despite his dark skin and senior rank as Viceroy of Algiers and chief bashaw at the court of King Mullisheg of Fez. When Joffer Bassa discloses his true identity, “[t]he whole presence was left in great admiration at this strange adventure, being unwilling to believe what they yet did believe; but at the return of the Bassa (for we shall still so call him) their wonder [...] increased to see him so soon changed from a deep black, into a pure white complexion” (1661, 159–

160). His black hue has important moral, racial and cultural implications in line with Dauncey's perception of Muslims at the outset of the Restoration period. However, for the purpose of this paper, this metamorphosis (once the tincture is removed from his face) creates the romance's most spectacular element of wonder, produced not by any curse, spell or magic, but by a rationalistically explainable cause—ironically by means of theatrical make-up—and in front of those at the Court of Florence. In his new, natural appearance, Joffer Bassa tells his tale, where the mystery of the tincture is disclosed.

In Mackenzie's *Aretina*, when Philarites meets the heroine, he bows "as low as the verge of her garment, being deserted by strength, and overpowered by admiration, did fall dead at her feet" (1660, 15). After the confusion, cries and tears, and actions to revive him, he "began by groans, to vomit up his Melancholy" (1660, 16) and was taken to his chamber. Philarites's friend Megistus, to accelerate his recovery, devised a stage-like contrivance to convince him that Aretina was destined to be his wife. Mackenzie presents this episode in three steps. First, the theatrical contrivance is explained to the reader:

He [Megistus] commanded him [Kalodulus, Megistus and Philarite's page] to convey himself secretly up to the Seiling of the Chamber, and to take a hollow tree with him, through which he should (after he found Philarites awake, and beginning to complain) cry with a counterfeit voice, Philarites, the gods, as a reward of thy vertue, have allowed thee ARETINA for thy Wife; and, to confirm thee in this truth, have desired thee to send to morrow to that great Oak, which is sacred to Iupiter, and there thou shalt find a Ring, with this inscription, Believe the Gods. (1660, 17)

The second step, like the gods' designs in the Homeric poems, is the realisation, the performance itself, just as it has been previously announced to the reader: "Kalodulus, who waited this opportunity, spoke as he was taught, and that so cunningly, as that Kalodulus passed really for Mercury (the trunche-man of the Gods) in Philarites conceit" (1660, 18). Finally, there is the comic effect of irony as Philarites is led to believe he truly received a message from the gods: "Philarites called for him [Kalodulus], asking if he heard any thing? who answered, No, sure, for he was asleep: but the other pressing an answer, Kalodulus said, that it was only the effects of his distemper. The night being past, Philarites entreated Kalodulus, to go and dig under the root of the sacred Oak, to see what he could find" (1660, 19). This episode pertaining to a moment of wonder at the beginning of the romance parodies the conventional oracle—as in Sidney's *Arcadia* or in Boyle's *Parthenissa*—which introduces the supernatural formulation of a character's destiny or the unfolding of the future, and, thus, sketches the story's design. Megistus had got

the ring with the inscription *Believe the Gods* “from one of his fathers Magicians, who had foretold him many fortunat events, and at his departure had bestowed this Ring upon him” (1660, 17). In Mackenzie’s experimental, quasi-metafictional romance, the magician’s job and foretelling are seen as antiquated activities (albeit not completely void of sense, at least for the romance narrative), while Megistus’s theatrical contrivance underlines the move from the previous generation’s faith in the supernatural and the occult to his generation’s lack of belief in such practices contrary to rationally explainable phenomena.

Other incidents in *Aretina* have performative potential, such as the sudden appearance of mad Moragapus when the heroes and heroines are talking about love in the garden at the beginning of the fourth book (1660, 349–352), and when Philarites, Aretina and Aristobulus are kidnapped by a group of masked people (1660, 408–413). However, despite their dramatic intensity, their significance lies in Mackenzie’s consistent parody of the genre in these episodes, in particular the question-of-love scene and abduction by pirates or bandits in the structure of traditional high romances.

The influence of theatre on the new English fiction is more conspicuous after 1670, as scholarly publications have shown not only in the vernacular production, but also in translations.<sup>9</sup> Walter Charleton’s translation of Erycius Puteanus’s *The Cimmerian Matron* was published in 1668. In this story full of dramatic potential, while the female protagonist is enjoying her lover, her angry husband cuts off the nose of the bawd, who had arranged the adulterous encountering, wrongly thinking she was his wife. In 1671, Puteanus’s dream of the orgiastic party at the god Comus’s palace was translated by Bryce Blair as *The Vision of Theodorus Verax*, which is striking because of its completely scenic presentation (the dream proper) of what the attendants—including the noseless bawd—are doing. The narration produces an effect that comes closest to reporting action as if it were staged at Comus’s palace.

In the 1660s, as we have seen, the influence of theatre on fiction was very limited, though at times it was remarkable, such as in Dauncey’s adaptation of Heywood’s *The Fair Maid* and the use made of dramaturgy devices to generate plausible wonders, matching the context of the emergent scientific thought. With the exception, perhaps, of Crowne’s *Pandion and Amphigenia*, theatre costumes, staging and painted landscapes did not enhance the writers’ imagination. In general, the 1660s was not yet the decade in which descriptions of space or the characters’ gestures and acting subtleties would move into English fiction

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9 During the 1660s, see for example the ending pages of the anonymous [Alonso de Castillo Solórzano’s] book of picaresque stories *La Picara, or The Triumphs of Female Subtilty* (Anon. 1665, 290–304).



and gain prominence over the merely episodic narration and codes of symbolic signification. Nevertheless, theatre provided resources and contrivances to enact moments of wonder that amazed characters due to their uncanny weirdness, and delighted readers of their crafty ingeniousness.

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# *The Anti-Jacobin* and its Parodic Strategies: Parodying Jacobin Ideas and Authors

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**Abstract:**

This study highlights the parodic skills employed in the literary section of *The Anti-Jacobin* (1797-1798), a periodical edited by William Gifford, written mainly by G. Canning, J. H. Frere and G. Ellis and supported even by Prime Minister William Pitt. Parody is its main mechanism, being generated across an extraordinary range of genres beyond poetry and scholarly and popular prose, thereby demonstrating its malleability and creativity in the Romantic era and demonstrating its versatility and originality. Due to its peculiarity, it is necessary to provide a description of the work's nature and structure, while examples are selected and analysed in order to clarify this original use of the parodic resource in the literature-politics binomial.

**Keywords:** *The Anti-Jacobin*; romantic parody; Southey; Fox; Canning;

## 1. Introduction

In order to understand the spirit of *The Anti-Jacobin*, it is necessary to start from the term “Jacobin”, used in France, the origin of which Jarrells clarifies stating that “a Jacobin was originally a friar of the order of St. Dominic” (2005, 6). He also explains that the term would later be used to identify the members of the political club focused on the principles of “extreme democracy and absolute equality” (2005, 6), constituted in 1789 in France, that met in the convent of St. Jacques. Morley, at the end of the nineteenth century, in the part devoted to “Canning and Frere from 1788 to 1798” in his edition, describes them thus: “The revolutionary Jacobins, who took their name from their club quarters, were politicians pledged to root and branch reform” (1890, 149). Their originally utopian ideas of reform, equality and democracy evolved into radicalism and influenced English ideology as Bohls (2013) explains: “The Jacobins were the most famous political club of the French Revolution; moderate at first, they turned radical and implemented the so-called Reign of Terror in 1793-4. The term came to be used pejoratively for leftists and suspected French Revolution sympathisers during Britain’s conservative reaction” (13).

That said, the French liberal spirit found shelter in radical groups in England, where in the 1790s the Jacobin movement—“a group of liberal intellectuals who sympathised with the revolutionary principles of liberty and equality” (Lázaro 1998, 102)—was linked to important essayists and novelists such as Burke, Paine, Godwin and Wollstonecraft who are fundamental to understanding the parody in *The Anti-Jacobin*. Wallace (2008) describes its effect on the so-called “Jacobin novels” that between 1790 and 1805 were sympathetic to the reformist projects associated with the French Revolution. The term, which became generalised following the studies of Gary Kelly (1976) and Marilyn Butler (1975), describes narratives mainly written by Godwin, Wollstonecraft, Holcroft, Mary Hays, Elizabeth Inchbald, Robert Bage, Charlotte Smith, Eliza Fenwick and John Thelwall. Lázaro (1998) analyses many of their works, highlighting their low satirical impact, whilst also pointing out that they promoted an excess of sensitivity that, logically, resulted in many parodies that form part of the Romantic canon.

Rooted in literature, the radical or revolutionary ideas of British Jacobin sympathisers were reviewed, criticised and made the focus of attacks in *The Anti-Jacobin*. The parodic exposition of these ideals and the direct attacks on their representatives make this periodical a rich source of detail for reflecting on the political situation of the time in literary and intellectual terms, and a voice against those that were not in favour of the conservative government of Pitt the Younger.

Edited by William Gifford (1756-1826)—a self-taught satirist who did not hesitate to use the publication to attack the liberal works and attitudes of the day, and considered by Strachan to be “the foremost classical satirist of the age and a worthy successor to Alexander Pope” (2003, 4, xiii)—*The Anti-Jacobin* published 36 weekly issues that covered the vicissitudes of the parliamentary year from November 20, 1797 to July 9, 1798, among many other topics. Its subtitle, *The Weekly Examiner*, indicates its role in the conscientious week-by-week monitoring of political news through a literary sieve that raised the tone of creativity and depth of its texts, mixing the seriousness of political, historical and social witticisms with imitation of Romantic authors, texts or ideologies across very different genres.

Gifford’s ideas and intentions synchronised well with those of the main authors: George Canning (1770-1827), the leading voice, statesman and major contributor to the publication; John Hookham Frere (1769-1846), diplomat and man of letters, a great connoisseur and imitator of classical literary sources, and George Ellis (1753-1815), the most literary of the three. United by ties of friendship and work, they had a high degree of intellectual preparation and were well connected in the political arena. Canning was Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office from 1796 to 1799, a position which he combined with his active contribution to *The Anti-Jacobin* through accentuating the mockery in the portrayal of English and French republicans. However, as Thompson (2013) asserts, Canning was in fact more restrained in the periodical than the public realised. He was recognised for his commanding wit and difficult character. He had the backing of William Pitt from 1792 on and had won his seat in 1793. He was greatly influenced by Burke, which made him wary of the consequences of the French Revolution. Frere was Canning’s colleague not only at Eton, but also at the Foreign Office. He later became a diplomat and was recognised as a great poet, an admirer of Byron, a writer of epic mockery and a translator of Aristophanes. Ellis also worked under Canning at the Foreign Office and had demonstrated his qualities as a liberal satirical versifier in *The Rolliad, in Two Parts: Probationary Odes and Political Eclogues* (1795).

Significant smaller-scale contributors to the periodical also participated, the so-called “loyal correspondents”, among them, many illustrious Members of Parliament and figures from politics and the military. These included John Hiley Addington, Henry Hiley Addington’s brother, a friend of Pitt, who became Prime Minister; Bragge-Bathurst, Pitt’s minister; Sir Brooke Boothby, a friend of Erasmus Darwin and a landowner; Sir Archibald Macdonald, Attorney-General and Member of Parliament for Pitt’s term of office; and Prime Minister Pitt himself contributed through full-length issues such as “Lines Written by a Traveller” or by writing lines in shared contributions such as “New Morality” (No. XXXVI).

The parodic effect in *The Anti-Jacobin* also extended to the contributors, or rather through the inclusion of fictitious *personae* who also commented on the state of the country, and supposedly anonymous contributors who supported or attacked the paper. Prominent among the former is “Mr. Higgins,” a so-called poet, philosopher and playwright who represents the extreme values of Jacobinism and who, as a mass agitator, defends exaggerated ideals and represents selfish altruism in very exalted language. Also significant is the role of “Letitia Sourby”— a lady who complains bitterly about the disgrace and domestic consequences of having a father turned Jacobin, as well as the simple, deluded “Sam Shallow”, son of a cobbler, who recounts his father’s upheaval, metamorphosed by the radical ideas of the day.

Canning had Pitt’s approval for the publication. The Government did not at the time possess such a propaganda weapon and through *The Anti-Jacobin* it would be able to show the public a different version of the liberal newspapers of the day, versions that sounded credible and logical, defended conservative principles and incorporated apt jokes and mockery “to set the mind of the people right upon every subject”, as Stones (1999, lii) states in his edition of the periodical—volume 1 in the collection *Parodies of the Romantic Age*, collection edited together with Strachan. It is this edition of *The Anti-Jacobin* by Stones the one used throughout this study.

Produced stealthily at first, *The Anti-Jacobin* was composed secretly in an empty house next to that of J. Wright, who was in charge of publishing the paper. The location and address, however, were made public so that it could act as a point of reference and receive contributions, as stated in its launch issue: “Published by J. Wright, No. 169, opposite Old Bond Street, Picadilly; by whom Orders for the Papers and all Communications of Correspondents, addressed to the Editor of the ANTI-JACOBIN, or WEEKLY EXAMINER, will be received. Sold also by all the Booksellers and Newsmen in Town and Country” (Stones 1999, 10).

Group composition favoured not only the particular and individual structure of this cooperative miscellany, but also the diversity of styles and the variety of content addressed in different issues. Hawkins commenting, in the 3 May issue of *Notes & Queries* (1851), how *The Anti-Jacobin* was written and edited recounted that: “What was written was generally left open upon the table, and as others of the party dropped in, hints or suggestions were made; sometimes whole passages were contributed by some of the party present, and afterwards altered by others, so that it is almost impossible to ascertain the names of the authors” (348). Stones, however, in his 1999 edition, has rigorously identified the authors of the literary contributions in *The Anti-Jacobin*, noting only 8 texts whose authorship is unknown. This volume encapsulates the 36 issues that were published between 1797 and 1798, with an annotation in each issue of the

corresponding month and day of the week. It included the “Prospectus”, the initial promotional issue and marketing strategy of the newspapers of the time that announced the content and purpose of the magazine in the first issue of its publication—this was a custom that was advocated throughout Romanticism for the dissemination of works and authors, as Hudson (2016) demonstrates when analysing the prospectus and biography of Byron in the first two issues of *The London Magazine*. And it proffered novelty and truth as the key to the falsehood of other newspapers, specifically therefore challenging the seven journals of the time that opposed the government, among them *The Morning Chronicle*, *The Morning Post*, *The Courier* and *The Star* (9). Issues are not dealt with to the same extent in terms of number of words, nor with regard to the genre of the text. In general, though, they fall into the following categories: LIES, MISREPRESENTATIONS, MISTAKES, POETRY, FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE, FINANCE and MISCELLANEOUS. This variety does not, however, break the common thread of the compendium, which is based on a sustained attack on any hint of a radical attitude against the government.

The “Prospectus” and the introductions of the editors in certain issues are fundamental to establishing the serious and direct tone, or the open creative mockery, of the merciless diatribes against any ideology or political act that was counter to the policies of conservative government. These sections are fundamental in some of the issues to mark the serious and direct tone or the open creative mockery of a merciless diatribe against any ideology or political act that was counter to the ideas of the conservative government. As such, parodic texts contrast with serious texts in support of the ruling conservatism. This includes political poems, Latin verses by Wellesley and translated by Lord Morphet, letters, epigrams and songs co-authored by Canning, Ellis and Frere. There were also eulogies to the periodical itself, and a proud defence of the British fleet in issue XXXV “De Navali Laude Britanniae,” in Latin and with translation.

While the overall effect is a display of pride in the homeland in the face of the external French incursions that were seen as damaging England’s supremacy, the periodical is essentially a Romantic product due to its genius in creating a symbiosis of political propagandistic effect through creative literary parody. The miscellaneous nature of *The Anti-Jacobin* also entertains and demonstrates the knowledge and cultural level of both the authors and the publication’s readers, who would be able to identify both the parodies based on Horace’s odes, popular songs, letters to the editor and the verses of Southey, the most parodied author in this publication. All this was an attempt to ridicule those attitudes that encompassed different degrees of rebellion against the government including religious reactions, Francophile idealism and literary novelties. In Lessenich’s words, “Dissent, Romanticism and ‘Jacobinism’ often went hand in hand” (2012, 42). Thus, *The Anti-Jacobin* made



multiple references to the context of scientific research and discoveries of the time such as those of Erasmus Darwin (1731-1802)—grandfather of the well-known Charles Darwin (1809-1882)—and other similar figures in science in order to ridicule the political overtones of English Jacobinism and the implantation of ideas in England about the revolution in France.

Variety also applied to the number of victims parodied and imitated—a gallery reminiscent of those later used by Peacock in his novels and essays. The long list includes radical poets such as the aforementioned Southey, liberals such as William Roscoe, Francis Russell—Duke of Bedford and friend of Fox—and representatives of religion, politics and science, groups of demagogues, explorers and philosophers. The parody also extended to Godwin and his defence of anarchy, Paine’s simple style, Erasmus Darwin’s flowery style and Payne Knight’s philanthropic ideas, as well as to well-known works and authors of essays, such as Cobbett and Lamb, and to important political figures such as, logically, Pitt’s antagonist, Charles Fox—“a controversial figure with civil and religious liberties as cardinal tenets of his political creed,” as Howe (2019, 4) describes him.

The compendium recomposes and transforms genres and also uses themes that are in vogue, such as the sensationalist dramas of the time. It appropriated well-known literary discourse formats—German tragedy, the Gothic novel, Latin epigrams, odes, sonnets, etc.—popular discourses—fashionable songs, letters to the editor—political discourses—harangues, minutes of radical societies, etc.—and mixed them arbitrarily over the months of its publication. This structure of such a diverse range of subject matter ensured that each issue stood in stark contrast to others, although the same political background of course pervaded the entire journal and the leitmotif of the French Revolution appears in parodies in many forms and on many occasions.

Also significant is the periodical’s creative use of letters, the authors posing as loyal or enemy contributors. All of them parody the epistolary pressure of the public at the time and are used to exaggerate the calamities endured by supposed citizens who complain to the editors about the harmful effects of the exalted English Jacobins.

## 2. Parodic Strategies

Stones lists the extraordinary range of genres through which parody is generated, many of them categories that today would be difficult to find in literary journals, including “attentive travesties, Horatian odes, epigrams, doggerel songs, mock-medieval ballads, political diatribes in verse, spoof drama, bogus reportage, bitter sarcasm, sham correspondence, new sciences harried into absurdity, old ones hauled from obscurity, mandarin classicism, captivately silly didactic

epics, slander, libel, blasphemy, and grace” (1999, lv-lvi). Selected examples of parody are analysed below to clarify the original use of the resource in the literature-politics binomial.

### 2.1. *Parodying Jacobin ideas and authors: Southey*

Issue I of *The Anti-Jacobin* sets the tone and purpose of the literature selected to fill its pages, which over the course of the 36 becomes progressively more sophisticated. The introduction, written by Canning in an excellent burlesque tone, gives voice to the editors of the periodical, who present themselves as admirers of literature. They claim to be looking for good poets among the radical versifiers whom they derisively call “Bards of Freedom” (13). They justify their use of imitation as proof of their admiration. But they confess that they cannot find a good example of Jacobin poetry—“we have not been able to find one good and true poet, of sound principles and sober practice” (12). They warn of the danger of the poem they have finally selected— —“an expedient full of danger, and not to be used but with the utmost caution and delicacy” (13)—and present a poem by Southey along with, for the edification of the reader, “our own imitation” (14).

These two contrasting poems set the initial scene for *The Anti-Jacobin* not only in terms of the technique that will be followed in subsequent issues, but they also highlight the fact that each issue focuses on the presentation of a current burning issue. In this issues, this is the debate about laws that imposed severe punishments without taking into account the degree of wickedness in the crimes, something that the authors recognise as a matter of general interest that has transcended the political sphere and entered the literary: “This principle has of late years been laboured with extraordinary industry and brought forward in a variety of shapes, for the edification of the public. It has been inculcated in bulky quartos, and illustrated in popular novels” (19).

The mechanism of parody works impeccably, and the authors boast of having given Southey’s poem a twist, or a “poetical dress” (19). The rhetorical effect in this first issue is striking because it not only inaugurated the newspaper with a parody of a well-known poet associated with Jacobinism, but also because it represented a direct attack on those liberal Jacobins who questioned the execution of judicial laws.

The well-known poem on which it is based is “INSCRIPTION. For the Apartment in Chepstow Castle, where Henry Marten, the Regicide, was imprisoned thirty years”, a tribute by Southey to Marten, one of those responsible for the imprisonment of King Charles I and the person who signed his death warrant. The tone of admiration for Marten is undeniable, and Southey defends the individual’s desire for freedom against the authority and domination of the king. Marten is depicted as a victim in prison: “He never saw the sun’s delightful

beams” (15) and his crime is exaltedly explained with a touch of emotion, and as an impossible dream:

Dost thou ask his crime?  
He had REBELLED AGAINST THE KING, AND SAT  
IN JUDGEMENT ON HIM; for his ardent mind  
Shaped goodliest plans of happiness on earth,  
And peace and liberty. Wild dreams! (15)

The wholehearted support for his cause is reinforced by quotations from authorities such as Plato and Milton on freedom, and the poem concludes with the hope that freedom will be achieved at the final judgement “When Christ shall come, and all things be fulfil’d!” (15).

The brilliant anti-Jacobin parody is called “IMITATION. INSCRIPTION. For the Door of the Cell in Newgate, where Mrs. Brownrigg, the Prentice-cide, was confined previous to her Execution.” The burlesque imitation mimics all aspects of Southey’s poem, while altering key elements and transforming them. It democratises the protagonist and invokes the ideas of French liberty as the only hope against the penalties imposed by an unjust England. The historical and well-known character of Elizabeth Brownrigg, a matron of the poor in the parish of St. Dunstan’s, whose famous trial demonstrated her cruel mistreatment of her apprentices and the murder of two of them, is used. The parody automatically unsettles Marten’s status by presenting a counterpart who is a hard-working usurer. The “Regicide” of Southey’s poem seeks its alternative in a working woman of popular character, in this case the “Prentice-cide”, i.e., “apprentice-killer.” The tragic issue of royalty in the first poem becomes domestic in the second, and its contextualisation—the questioning of laws in the face of the misuse of freedom—is evidently related to negative influences from France. The praise of Marten in the first poem is undermined by the presentation of the criminal Brownrigg with her shouting, profanity and dependence on gin, along with her low-life environment. The lines questioning her crime are repeated with the same exaltation as Southey does with Marten, but with evidently different tones:

Dost thou ask her crime?  
SHE WHIPP’D TWO FEMALE PRENTICES TO DEATH.  
AND HID THEM IN THE COAL-HOLE. For her mind  
Shaped strictest plans of discipline. Sage schemes! (16)

The parody follows the model faithfully and, in addition, it includes quotations from weighty classical authorities such as the Greek lawgiver Lycurgus, and

Milton. Like in the model, the poem concludes with despairing wishes for hope, but this time imagining that harsh laws will be eradicated by the French influence, which will put an end to all legislation: “Harsh laws! But time shall come, / When France shall reign, and laws be all repeal’d!” (16).

Thus, it is not only Southey’s lines that are parodied, but also French radical ideals and the desire for democratisation and uncontrolled equality. The parody works consciously through the witty comparison of the defence of Marten, the instigator of the king’s execution, and the trial of a popular figure, also found guilty under the law. The effect of this parody would be further amplified in issue II, where the basis of criminal justice is again alluded to, whereby the reader guesses at the systematic and subliminal attack on the Jacobin ideas of Godwin, known for his work *Poetical Justice* (1793). Stones notes the important relationship between Southey and Godwin, describing the latter as his “intellectual mentor” (11), which allows us to better understand the parodic attack in the first issue. This one creatively exposes not only the exalted reception of Jacobin ideas, but the original and creative literature that grew from them. Clearly, this starting point in the first issue revitalised the use of parody and established the indissoluble line between literature and politics that is played with in the rest of the issues.

## 2.2. *Parodying ideas of equality: rich vs. poor*

Issue II sets an exaggerated scene that questions Godwin’s ideas through a parody of another poem by Southey. Godwin’s authority and arguments were proverbially well-reasoned, but the anti-Jacobins represent the potential danger of their blind application of a system of equality that recognises no faults and sets out no penalties. They argue that liberal principles were spreading dangerously. In this issue, the authors specifically focus on the analysis of the extreme defence of equality between social classes, in italics in the editorial comment: “Another principle no less devoutly entertained, and no less sedulously disseminated, is *the natural and eternal warfare of the POOR and the RICH*” (19). This understanding, they argue, is based on the Jacobin’s exalted ideas: “He considers every rich man as an oppressor, and every person in a lower situation as the victim of avarice, and the slave of aristocratical insolence and contempt” (19). They also point out the ease with which Jacobin rhetoric can convince the needy classes: “A human being, in the lowest state of penury and distress, is a treasure to a reasoner of this cast” (19). Thus, they exaggerate and parody this idea of equality by imitating and manipulating Southey’s Sapphic verse, whose authority is therefore undermined. They offer a stanza of the original, conscientiously marking the imperfections of the Sapphic metre, and then announce their creation: “We proceed to give our imitation” (20). The parodic effect is further amplified by the subtitle—

“IMITATION. Sapphics. *The Friend of Humanity and the Knife-Grinder*”—where the protagonists are presented not with proper names, but with designations that associate the former with the universal benevolence and good nature of the Jacobin as opposed to the representative of the working class, a grinder.

Composed by Frere and Canning, its originality lies in the transformation of the dialogue of Southey’s original poem, “The Widow” (1797). Halliwell describes how this poem describes “the effect of the war against France upon rural society by focusing on the experience of the widow who represents an underclass of dispossessed and abandoned females” (2008, 46). The parody, however, exalts the melodramatic elements of the original poem and instead of creating empathy towards the disadvantaged class, the knife-grinder, it shows their authentic way of acting while revealing the hypocrisy of the Jacobin, defender of equality. The parody questions the ideas of equality that are challenged in the conversation between the compassionate “Friend of Humanity” who in the first five stanzas seems to pity the poor grinder, whom he calls “Needy Knife-grinder” or “Weary Knife-Grinder.” He blames the deplorable state of this worker on a long list of oppressive class figures. He begins by asking, “Did some rich man tyrannically use you?” (21) and goes on to run inquisitively through possible culprits, cataloguing the different strata of power—“squire”, “parson of the parish”, “the attorney”, “covetous parson.” He even goes so far as to enquire about the grinder’s knowledge of liberal ideas: “Have you not read the *Rights of Man* by Tom Paine?” (21) and urges him to reveal his sorrows—“Drops of compassion tremble on my eyelids/ Ready to fall as soon as you have told your/Pitiful story” (21). The parody then goes on to present the opposite of what the reader expects as the grinder explains that his miserable state is due to the previous night’s drunkenness, and openly displays his indifference to political issues—“I never love to meddle/ With politics, sir” (22). He bluntly asks the “Friend of Humanity” for a sixpence so that he can drink to his health. This causes the exalted Jacobin to burst into expletives and harsh epithets in the final stanza that show his true opinion of the deprived classes: “Sordid, unfeeling, reprobate, degraded/ Spiritless, outcast!” (22). This effect is amplified by the sarcastic, theatrical remark that brings the poem to a close and describes the Jacobin’s assault on the grinder and his ironic exit from the scene: “*Kicks the Knife-Grinder, overturns his Wheel, and exits in a transport of Republican esthusiasm and universal philanthropy*” (22).

Evidently, Southey’s original poem recreating the tragic and pitiful complaint of a widow—“a poor Wanderer struggled on her journey/weary and way-sore” (20)—is in this way burlesquely undermined. The parody transforms this original character into a drunken grinder involved in street fights who must be imprisoned as a vagabond by the parish who must take care of him. The grinder, moreover, represents the total ignorance and indifference of the workers

to the abstract ideas of universal benevolence that characters like the “Friend of Humanity” represent. The philanthropic republican enthusiasm of the latter collapses Jacobinism into open mockery.

This same pattern is repeated in similar parodies in other later issues. Issue V includes the poem written by Canning and Frere, “The Soldier’s Friend,” which takes as its protagonist another member of the most deprived classes, a soldier at war, and departs from Southey’s original poem “The Soldier’s Wife.” In addition to mocking Southey as a versifier, the parodic recreation of the poem aims to present liberal ideas as empty of content in a real world where the army is precisely fighting to avoid their implementation. The opening text of the introduction of this issue mentions the existence of a “Jacobinical Sect” characterised by its lack of charity and alludes, as an example, to Southey—ironically referring to him as “The Bard”—who reveals little empathy with the protagonist: “the Bard very calmly contemplates her situation which he describes in a pair of very pathetic stanzas” (48). Not only is the erroneous versification in the computation of the dactyls shown, but the parody is contextualised by reference to a naval mutiny and rebellions in the artillery, underlining the attack on Thomas Paine’s ideas in *The Rights of Man* (1791).

The pathetic and tragic image of the soldier’s wife in the original poem is radically transformed in the parody poem in a dialogue where a soldier’s friend encourages the drummer to carry into the trenches “[n]ice clever books by Thomas Paine, the philanthropist” (49) and pamphlets communicating that a mutiny of sailors is in progress. As the drummer walks away, the soldier’s friend intones in the last stanza of the poem a set of absurd dactyls, imitating the humming of a nursery rhyme. The list of important values fought for is thus reduced to a banal and absurd song that seems to have no end:

Liberty’s friends thus all learn to amalgamate,  
Freedom’s volcanic explosion prepares itself,  
Despots shall bow to the Faces of Liberty,  
Reason, philosophy, “fiddledum diddledum,”  
Peace and Fraternity, higgledy, piggledey,  
Higgledy, piggledey, “fiddledum, diddledum.”  
*Et caetera, et caetera, et caetera.* (49)

Later, issue VI mockingly reiterates the effect of this parody in another of the periodical’s many “late Jacobinical Imitations” (52). It offers a twist again on Southey’s poem “The Soldier’s Wife.” Written by Canning and Gifford, it announces itself with a straightforward title—“IMITATION”—and a long ironic subtitle: “Quintessence of all the Dactyls that ever were, or ever will

be published.” It invokes the mediocre composer of such original sonnets as “Wearisome Sonneteer, feeble and querulous” and “Moon-stricken Sonneteer,” and directly attacks his composing: “Dactyls, call’st thou ‘em? ‘God help thee, silly one!” What is of interest in the parody is not only this direct literary attack, but also its clear connection with politics, as vain attempts to expose democratic ideas of equality through bad versification are exposed: “Painfully dragging thy demo-cratc lays” (53).

### 2.3. *Parodying Jacobin meetings and Fox*

Issue IV gives a clear indication of another focus of attention that the government feared: the spread of Jacobin ideas, either through the creation of societies based on Jacobin ideas or through the attractiveness of their hymns, songs and popular expressions. Written by Canning and Frere, they highlight the ideas of the Liverpool Francophile William Roscoe (1753-1831) in their song “La Sainte Guillotine: A New Song, attempted from the French.” Roscoe was a figure admired by Fox and supported the letters that the so-called “Friends of Parliamentary Reform” sent to Paris expressing their support for the Revolution. His effusive and exaggerated style is maintained in the parody, which the editors describe as a “specimen of Jacobin Poetry,” as well as imitating songs by Roscoe that were sung at Jacobin meetings. The parody recreates joyful voices watching Jacobin ideas enter England:

How our bishops and judges will stare with amazement,  
When their heads are thrust out at the National Casement!  
When the National Razor has shaved them quite clean,  
What a handsome oblation to Sainte Guillotine! (31)

The effect of this song is multiplied because it is introduced as a hymn that will be useful at a future meeting: “We are informed (we know not how truly) that it will be sung at the Meeting of the Friends of Freedom” (30).

A lengthy recreation of such a meeting is the subject of the following parody. Written by Frere, it describes, in journalistic style, a meeting of many liberal reformers, with no shortage of dull speeches by speakers such as Fox. The narrator’s mockery is evident when he describes the difficulty of recording Fox’s words, as they are so full of sentiment: “while we do justice to his sentiments and general style of argument, it is impossible for us, in a report of this kind, to give our readers any idea of the language in which those sentiments were conveyed” (38). The chronicle covers a meeting where Jacobin values are exalted and details of the attendees Francophile admiration are recreated. Fox’s speech

and the audience's response to it are recorded. To the justification of the French Directory's action, the French insurrection and even the defence of a possible invasion of England, the audience responds with applause: "Fresh life and vigour had been infused into the whole system [...]—they were now preparing for the invasion of this country! (Loud applauses)" (35). The reader is able to recognise the hints of exaggeration, mockery and sarcasm in the transformation of this peculiar chronicle. Not only is the exaggerated enthusiasm of the audience, carried away by Jacobin ideas, mocked, but so too is the repetitive sequence of speeches by the audience:

Lord John made a very neat, and Lord William a very appropriate, speech.  
Alderman Combe made a very impressive speech.  
Mr. Tierney made a very pointed speech.  
Mr. Grey made a very fine speech. He described the Ministers as "bold bad men"—  
their measures he repeatedly declared to be not only "weak, but wicked."  
Mr. Byng said a few words" (39)

Furthermore, with respect to detailed and lengthy speeches, such as those by Erskine, Frere specifies not only their duration, but also their effects on the audience—"successive fits of fainting between the principle subdivisions of his discourse" (42).

The last long speech recreates the pomposity with which the possible reforms of Parliament are described. It is a caricature of Sir Mackintosh, a friend of Fox's called Mr. Macfungus in the periodical who explains the poetic and exaggerated vision of a temple of liberty that will rise from the ashes of tyrants: "Cemented with the blood of tyrants and the tears of aristocracy, it will rise a monument for the astonishment and veneration of future ages" (44). The anti-Jacobin author also emphasises the exaggerated sentimentality of the arguments. Hence, after a long speech where the tone is fanatical and increases in passion as it progresses he ends like this: "Then peace, and freedom and fraternity, and equality, will pervade the whole earth; while the vows of republicanism, the altar of patriotism, and the revolutionary pontiff, with the thrilling volcanic sympathies, whether of holy fury or of ardent fraternal civism, uniting, and identifying, as if it were, an electric energy" (45).

The end of the chronicle presents a "progressive and patriotic festivity" (46), a euphoric moment where songs are sung with jubilation and the Jacobin spirit pervades the mood of the attendees, who rejoice with toasts, chants and lively conversations, far removed from the political concerns discussed.

In the depiction of the Jacobins' meetings throughout the periodical, many scenes are repeated that relate to events that took place around Fox. For example,



“Mr. Fox’s Birthday”, called by Stones “a spoof account” (94) is another chronicle that recounts the dinner on Fox’s birthday on January 24. *The Anti-Jacobin* delights with presenting this account by popular demand: “The public, distracted with the various accounts of the celebration of Mr. Fox’s birth-day, naturally turn to us for an authentic detail” (100). The parody begins by presenting the story as “a genuine narrative of the whole proceeding” (100), which will describe the chosen venue—the Smithfield neighbourhood—the price of admission—“eight shillings and six pence per head” (101)—and a whole series of tumults including a liberal who tries to enter by presenting his speech instead of the ticket and the fact that all those waiting discover that their wallets have been stolen. Against this chaos, only the figure of a waiter tries to bring order.

The longest part is a parody of the chronicle of the speeches. The Duke of Norfolk praises Robespierre, Collot d’Herbois and Fox, who is continually referred to in pompous tones by his full name, Charles James Fox. The parody also incorporates details that accentuate the alcohol intake due to the large number of toasts: “This was drank with three times three” (103). Fox’s speech is parodied, reproducing his words which include slogans in favour of Jacobinism—“at the sight of so numerous and so respectable a body of free and independent citizens” (103), as well as against its enemies, *The Anti-Jacobin* itself, which is labelled a “contemptible publication” (103). The parodic transformation is emphasised by the fact that Fox’s speech will end with a song, which will be followed by a series of songs about many well-known liberal figures. All those present are described as being in a drunken state, especially Captain Morris, whose state is recorded comically in Latin, as “*sumno, vinoque gravatus*” (105). As well as the known members, however, there are naïve ones such as one referred to as Citizen Gale Jones who tries to advertise his book and repeatedly toasts the health of Horne Tooke, who tries to bring order (106). The final point is the well-known toast of Norfolk, who instead of toasting the health of the sovereign, toasts the health of “The Majesty of the People,” which causes a commotion that makes the narrator put an immediate end to the scene: “A disgusting scene of confusion and uproar followed, which we shall not attempt to detail.” (108). This parodic journalistic chronicle also highlights the denunciation of *The Anti-Jacobin*, and its sign in favour of the “royalist” attitude also indicates a continuing unease associated with the chaos with which this kind of gathering is associated.

The chronicle, therefore, is a parody of subjective sign that is intentionally designed to relate incident after incident involving a group of unworthy politicians in chaotic scenes reminiscent of Fielding’s pitched battles in *Tom Jones*, the mayhem in Rowlandson’s cartoons or the headlong comic scenes Peacock inserts in his novels. Disorder and carnivalesque chaos, confusion and noise surround the portrayal of well-known figures amidst alcoholic effluvium where Jacobin slogans are ridiculed.

This unfortunate toast will reappear later in Ellis and Canning's XVIIIth issue, "ODE." Parodying Horace's Ode 25, Book III, which copies the original structure of the poem and offers an amusing dialogue with Bacchus, who is asked about the inspiration of Fox and North that night.

#### 2.4. *Ad hominem* parodies: anti-Jacobins vs. Fox

Of all the focuses, the most repetitive and exacerbated is the direct attacks on Fox, the symbol of liberals and of opposition to the government. Issue XII includes "A Bit of an Ode to Mr. Fox" written by Ellis. The author clearly shows his interest by starting from an imitation: "*The Poem is a free translation, or rather, perhaps, imitation of the 20th Ode of the 2d Book of Horace*" (97). The swan of the poetic voice of Horace's ode is transformed in the parody into a "grey goose" (98). This image presents the flight of a bird that follows in the footsteps of Adair, the spy sent by Fox to different places in Europe and Russia. This bird is ironically presented as being erudite "well form'd from Burke's best books—/From rules of grammar (e'en Horne Tooke's)" (98) and the animal metaphor is clearly and logically maintained by relating it to Fox's name:

I mount, I mount into the sky,  
 "Sweet bird" to Petersburg I'll fly:  
 Or, if you bid, to Paris;  
 Fresh missions of the *Fox* and *goose*  
 Successful treaties may produce;  
 Though Pitt in all miscarries. (99)

Attacks on Fox are also made in the realm of parody by commenting on his friendships and animosities with his own colleagues. Issue XIII, "Acme and Septimius; or the Happy Union," written by Ellis, imitates Catullus' poem 45. The original characters were Septimius and his beloved Acme, who receives promises of love from her beloved, who will leave Britain for her. The parody recreates this love affair by changing the protagonists to Fox and Tooke, originally considered Fox's enemy. The voices of these "lovers" are recorded exchanging promises of eternal love in the title poem "ACME AND SEPTIMIUS OR, THE HAPPY UNION Celebrated at the Crown and Anchor Tavern." Tooke's amorous response includes his passionate admiration for Jacobin reform:

So, my dear Charley, may success  
 At length my ardent wishes bless,  
 And lead, through Discord's low ring storm,

To one grand RADICAL REFORM!  
 As, from this hour I love thee more  
 Than e'er I hated thee before! (110)

The final point of the poem leaves the narrator enraptured by the union of these two souls, which makes the reader reflect on the false relationship of convenience in politics as opposed to the portrait of true love that Catullus distilled in his verses. The differentiating element is what makes the reader enjoy the witty parallels.

In issue XIV the parody starts from a composition published by the *Morning Post*: “Lines, written under the Bust of Charles Fox at the Crown and Anchor” which had praised Fox’s blameless nature—“Fox is above all Price” (117). The parodic attack of the anti-Jacobins is not only based on the ridicule of the poetic composition, which they call “miserable doggerel”, but also on the mocking transformation of the content. They present the counterpart by also describing other lines written under an apparently unidentified bust—“a certain Orator”—which the reader will come to guess the identity of from allusions to Fox. The title is thus altered in the parodic composition, now long and sophisticated—“Lines written by a Traveller at Czarco-zelo, under the Bust of a certain Orator, once placed between those of Demosthenes and Cicero”—where Fox, as an enemy, has lost the status and dignity to be among classical orators. Four stanzas praise Demosthenes’ triumph in his time as “The Grecian Orator” and present Cicero as “The Roman Sage,” pointing to the extraordinary deeds they each undertook for their respective cities:

Their country’s peace, and wealth, and fame,  
 With patriot zeal their labours sought,  
 And Rome’s or Athen’s honour’d name  
 Inspired and govern’d every thought. (118)

In contrast, the last two stanzas question Fox’s validity as a political leader, presenting him as “The advocate of foreign power” or “The Catiline of modern times” and comparing him to Cicero’s enemy, the flamboyant consul Lucius Catiline. The wit of the mockery of the English politician through the imagining of lines on his bust, imitating those that extolled classical orators, denigrates Fox, his person and his authority and political action. Published in a journalistic format, it would reach an audience that would easily relate elements and understand the parodic play.

A final composition on Fox is in issue XXV and entitled “Brissot’s Ghost.” Composed by Frere, it parodies the poem “Admiral Hosier’s Ghost” by Richard Glover (1712-1785). In the original, the dead from the battlefields and those

buried at sea were solemnly invoked as witnesses to praise the important role in the war against Spain of Admiral Hosier, who had succeeded in preventing the Spanish from seizing English treasures. In the parodic poem, the battered spirit of Jacques Pierre Brissot, a French writer and political leader who was the leader of the Girondins during the French Revolution, appears to Fox's crew. Described as "Brissot's injur'd Ghost" (185), he warns the English against Jacobin speeches and the radicalism of the politician.

## 2.5. *Sham letters*

Issue VI includes "Letter from a Lady," signed by one of the characters acting as voices or *personae* in *The Anti-Jacobin*, Letitia Sourby. The genius of copying the format lies in the reconstruction and imitation of a letter to the editor written by a woman. The authors recreate the dramatic context of this supposed contributor by using her as an example and reflection of a difficult situation—"the misfortune, under which she labours" (55)—that is common throughout the country—"as we fear, so increasing, throughout the country" (55). The parodic effect of the letter intensifies at its close as the supposed lady adds a postscript where she confesses that she can only read *The Anti-Jacobin* in secret at a widowed neighbour's house—"My father would be very angry if he knew it" (58).

The genius of the parody lies in the imitation of a letter to the editor—so common since the eighteenth century in a female voice—like those of Addison and Steele in *The Spectator* and Samuel Johnson in *The Rambler*, with an intimate and personal tone, and therefore closer to the reader. It is the voice of an unhappy daughter who contemplates how her father has fallen into the clutches of Jacobinism. She describes the end of her "domestic felicity" (55). Shocked, she sees her father transformed, speaking of politics with acrimony and violence, and describes how he has been negatively influenced by discourses related to liberty, and how he is enslaved as a member of a Jacobin society—called "the Speaking Society"—through reading pamphlets and books.

The daughter's tragic account lists how his ideas have changed: about marriage—"marriage is good for nothing, and ought to be free to be broken by either party at will" (56), about the oppressed classes—"if they are oppressed, why do they not right themselves?" (57), about religion having turned into a deistic practice—"he bids me gaze up and look around and overflow with divine sensation—which he says is natural religion" (57) and about the defence of the country—"the yeomanry cavalry for the defence of the King and country—which angered my father past all enduring" (57). The father's habits are detailed: he has changed from teetotaler to drinker and has insisted on changing his son's name to give him a French political sound—"on the christening of my little brother Buonaparte

Sourby” (58). Underlying the imitation of the despairing tone of the afflicted lady’s letter is the mockery of all those in favour of Jacobinism, since such supposedly egalitarian values are presented as clear signs of tyranny: “the more he has liberty and independence in his mouth, the more he should be a tyrant” (58).

The wit of this letter is taken up later in issue XXII where there is another *sham letter*, this time by Sam Shallow who has read Letitia’s letter—“a Young woman complaining her father had been misled by these new fangled French doctrines” (158) and describes another similar drama and revolution in the domestic sphere. Entitled “To the Editor of The Anti-Jacobin”, simple Sam’s letter wants to convey his experience by demonstrating how his father and family were affected by the Jacobin influence. He insists, as in behavioural literature, on lending himself as an example: “If you think, Sir, our example may serve as a warning to others, you are very welcome to publish this letter” (160).

The parodic effect arises again with the perfect imitation of a letter to the editor with the story of the progressive transformation of a humble cobbler, his wife and son under the influence of the so-called “Citizen Rigshaw.” The supposed innocence of Sam’s voice as objective narrator describes the Jacobin who abducts the father: “it was Citizen Rigshaw, a member of the Corresponding Society, and occasionally steward of the Whig Club, a great philosopher, and a patriot, and had been sent down to enlighten and reform, and organize (I think he called it) this part of the nation, and father was to help him. Father said it would be a GLORIOUS work! And FULL OF HUMAN WISDOM AND INTEGRITY!” (158).

Sam tells how their lives change, how his father’s discourse takes on a solemn and archaic tone with new slogans. To this end, he convinces his wife that “he would be divorced as soon as the French come” (159) and teaches his son new, liberal concepts: “thou art no longer my child, but the child of thy country” (159). Simple minds—Sam and his mother—assimilate these dictates—called “nonsensical doctrines”—until a gentleman representing judgement and common sense—“Justice of Peace”—brings order to the chaos. The lesson seems to have been learned as Sam shamefully admits the actions they have fallen into and returns to the model advocated by the conservatives: “resolv[ing] to keep to our business [...]; and not meddle with politics, constitutions, or divorces any more. Father has shut his door against all citizens” (160). The revision of Jacobin values in a tone of mockery through parody undoubtedly plays at undermining the foundations of radical politics, albeit from the environment of literary creativity.

### 3. Conclusion

The value of *The Anti-Jacobin* thus lies in its genius in capturing the essence of radical Jacobin ideas in portraits drawn from parodies of well-known texts. The editors and

contributors were able to capture all positions taken by the extremist liberals in individual portraits and also with respect to the concept of radicalism. Not only do they use various existing styles, texts and genres to emulate and parodically rewrite them, but they revive and drink from contemporary events, whether political issues related to the French Revolution and parliamentary figures of the time or examples of scientific progress or marks of the excessive sensitivity and exaggerated sensationalism of the time, which will be analysed in another study.

In *The Anti-Jacobin*, literary parody becomes a discourse of power. The rhetoric used aims to unseat liberal ideas, to mock them, to expose them with scorn and to use the conservative alternative as the valid one.

In this process, the games played by the protagonists are also essential: not only the literary class in the service of politics, but the mocked enemy of the opposing political group, the intellectual ideas under attack and the representation of the working classes as ignorant victims, all potential and easy baits for the Jacobin ideas criticised.

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# The Assessment of Motivation in the Learning of EFL at University Level: Validation of the English Language Learning Motivation Scale (ELLMS) at Four Spanish State Universities

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**Abstract:**

Successful performance in the study of English as a Foreign Language is known to be subject to psychological constructs such as type of motivation, degree of self-regulated learning and levels of anxiety and burnout, or academic fatigue. The present study—conducted at the University of Valladolid Segovia Campus—served a double purpose. Firstly, it was used to validate the English Language Learner Motivation Scale (ELLMS) in a sample of university students who were studying this language but whose degrees were in subjects other than English Language or Linguistics. Secondly, it demonstrated that intrinsic motivation is associated with less anxiety and greater self-regulation and self-efficacy in the English language learning process. To both ends, we created a 94-question online survey which blended items from four other instruments measuring levels of anxiety, self-regulation and burnout. This questionnaire, delivered to 214 students from four different Spanish universities, produced interesting results. To begin with, it confirmed the first objective of the study and validated ELLMS as a viable instrument to measure motivation in this population, as well as confirming the presence of the three psychological factors envisaged in the original theoretical proposal and which the reader can find defined and analysed in depth in this paper: intrinsic motivation, external regulation and introjected regulation. The variable introjected regulation was negatively correlated with anxiety but positively with reported levels of burnout informed. With regard to external regulation, the results were not conclusive. This paper considers both the educational implications of these results and the impact that these variables have on the learning of English as a Foreign Language.

**Keywords:** Learning of English as a Foreign Language; Motivation; Self-Determination Theory; Anxiety



## 1. Introduction

As a social institution, knowledge generator and innovator, the university conceptualises the backdrop for today's modern society, and languages, especially English, are key to success in this scenario. In fact, “[p]roficiency in English [is] a definite asset of considerable value both at an individual and a societal level” (You and Dörnyei 2014, 2). However, although most undergraduate students believe that learning English as a second language is crucial for their professional development, mastering the academic demands of English language learning frequently becomes a difficult task (Mansoor et al. 2021).

Motivation, the drive to learn an additional language, has an impact—positive or negative—on learners performance and influences their self-esteem (Alemán-Aguilar and Portillo-Vázquez 2021). In fact, the study of the foreign language may sometimes entail a decrease or loss of motivation and involve a certain degree of apprehension and anxiety (Arnáiz-Castro and Guillén-García 2012; MacIntyre 1999; Teimouri et al. 2019). Studies in social psychology and education demonstrated that learners' motivation is as relevant as their aptitude in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) (Gardner 1985; Gardner and Clément 1990). For teachers, analysing the levels of motivation of our students is fundamental to understanding their level of engagement and helping them in the process (Dörnyei 2020; Dörnyei and Ushioda 2021; Mercer and Dörnyei 2020).

The objective of this paper is twofold: (1) to provide an overview of motivational variables in the learning of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in students on different degrees at four Spanish universities and (2) to examine which of these variables best correlates with these students' incentive to learn the language.

To this end, we carried out a validation of the Spanish version of the *English Language Learner Motivation Scale (ELLMS)* (Ardasheva et al. 2012). Grounded in *Self-Determination Theory (SDT)* as proposed by Deci and Ryan (1985), *ELLMS* was originally used to assess motivation among post-secondary education second or foreign language learners. We designed an online survey—which is described in depth in 4.1. *Data collection*—which was delivered to students at universities in four different regions of Spain: Catalonia, Madrid, Castile and León and Andalusia. The analysis of the data was carried out at the Department of English Philology (University of Valladolid, Segovia Campus). The questionnaire evaluated students' perceptions of themselves as language learners on the basis of SDT and the relationship between their motivation and concepts such as *self-efficacy*, *self-regulation*, *anxiety* or *burnout*.

After defining these notions and presenting our methodology, our findings will be analysed to ascertain whether students having a higher evaluation of

their competence and a greater degree of autonomy in the study of EFL is linked to a greater sense of self-efficacy and self-regulation. Likewise, we will evaluate our hypothesis that students showing weak self-efficacy beliefs and who have poor self-regulated learning strategies have higher levels of anxiety and burnout in their SLA.

## 2. Literature review

A considerable body of research in the field of SLA has analysed the factors which contribute to an individual's motivation to study a second language (Dörnyei 1994, 1998; Noels and Clément 1996). Social and cognitive theories have been particularly important in guiding such research with social theories focusing both on the learner's feelings towards the target language and its speakers (ethnolinguistic attitudes) and on social aspects (power relationships or language status) (Dörnyei 2020). Cognitive approaches, however, mainly regard motivational variables to be linked to the individual's personal perceptions—e.g., their objectives or their desires of success after achieving them.

Other researchers have reflected on the socio-psychological aspects underlying the process of English as a Second Language and English as a Foreign Language. Since the 1980s, Gardner and his group have investigated the factors influencing SLA and retention (Gardner 1985, 2007; Gardner and Clément 1990). In his “Socio-Educational Model of SLA” (1985), Gardner divided the process into two separate clusters of reasons for learning a language. The cognitive dimension is related to the acquisition of the structural components of the language, e.g., grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, etc. The affective dimension, on the other hand, is concerned with acquiring the behavioural aspects of the target language community (Gardner, 1985), like identifying with the other language group's culture and context.

For Gardner, the learning of a second language (L2) is subject to the influence of attitudes and sociocultural clichés regarding the target culture (2007). For this reason, *motivation*—“the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favourable attitudes towards learning the language” (Gardner 1985, 10)—stands as a major affective variable in this process. The learner may study the language in pursuit of an internal goal, for example, to become a member of the new community (“integrative motivation”, Gardner 1985). But he or she may also be seeking an external objective like getting a specific job, (“instrumental motivation”, Gardner 1985).

In summary, integrativeness and instrumentality support motivation. This motivation—plus the learner's ability—is the driving force in language performance.

However, despite the leading role of the Socio-Educational Model in the mainstream of SLA, Gardner's proposal was criticised from the late 1980s on (Au 1988; Crookes and Schmidt 1991; Dörnyei 1994; Mori and Gobel 2006). New studies started to analyse motivation as a dynamic concept which needs to be based on the learning context in which L2 normally occurs.

*Self-Determination Theory* (SDT) captured both this dynamism of motivation and its importance in the educational setting (Deci and Ryan 1985, 2002; Deci et al. 1991). Broadly speaking, the theory asserts that we are born with the need to feel autonomous, competent and with a sense of belongingness. And, furthermore, that it is our capacity to choose that dictates our behaviour and actions. As such, then, the process of self-determination is intrinsically-motivated, that is to say, closely connected to a feeling of enhancement and enjoyment (Bai and Wang 2020). The individual has this motivation satisfied once he or she has met these three basic needs—autonomy, competency and sense of belongingness—(Bonney et al. 2008) and then feels free to take decisions, solve tasks successfully and improve his or her performance. Finally, the individual has the feeling of belonging to a group (Deci and Ryan 2002). Developing Deci and Ryan's theory, Noels et al. (2000) presented a subdivision of what has been shown to be suitable constructs for understanding L2 motivation: *intrinsic* and *extrinsic motivation*.

*Intrinsic motivation* has an internal perceived locus of causality and relates to the activity of doing something voluntarily. As a personal choice, maybe for mastery or pleasure purposes, it is highly relevant to the learning of a foreign language (Bonney et al. 2008). Intrinsically motivated individuals embody the prototype of self-determination and find their reward in the enjoyment of the learning task itself. Consequently, they achieve a sense of competence when performing in the L2 (Ehrman et al. 2003).

Conversely, *extrinsic motivation* has an external perceived locus of causality. The person's behaviour is ruled by an external source and his or her acts are carried out to either avoid possible punishment, obtain some sort of external compensation or to comply with an extrinsic constraint (Bai and Wang 2020; Noels et al. 2000).

The model we are describing comprises the following four types of extrinsic motivation, ordered along a self-determination continuum, "from unwillingness, to passive compliance, to active personal commitment" (Zareian and Jodaei 2015, 302).

- a) *External regulation* infers that a subject's conduct is controlled by external contingencies—a punishment, a promotion, a reward, etc. Individuals feel their behaviour has an external locus of causality, like joining English lessons to obtain course credits. If the motive to learn the language disappears, the incentive to continue engaging with the process will disappear as well (Ryan and Deci 2000).

- b) *Introjected regulation* implies a higher degree of autonomy than external regulation. In this case, the avoidance of guilt is decisive. In order to reach/maintain a certain degree of ego-enhancement or self-esteem, the subject accepts the established regulation and behaves in a determined way, albeit with a strong feeling of pressure. This may incite a student, for instance, to wish to learn English not only to avoid failing the exam, but also to accomplish a desire to impress others—social recognition.
- c) *Identified regulation*: the person identifies with the values underlying a specific activity and is motivated by a personal desire (e.g., being able to achieve aural comprehension in the L2 and proficiency when speaking it). In the case of university EFL students, learners who consider that being competent in L2 listening is essential for their linguistic development will focus on any type of oral exercises in order to attain their desired level. Therefore, even though their motivation is extrinsic—the task is clearly carried out because of its usefulness—identification makes it possible to choose freely and without any kind of external pressure.
- d) *Integrated regulation* entails the highest level of autonomy and is closely linked with the usefulness of the task. The person performs something encouraged by the benefit it may produce.

SDT also includes a fifth and final state of motivation, namely amotivation. For amotivated subjects, the outcomes of their actions are determined by elements over which they have no control. This explains why the person cannot find any motivation to guide goal-directed activities and may even wish to stop doing them.

In short, SDT offers various possibilities for predicting students' degree of success or failure in acquiring their chosen L2.

### 3. Research hypotheses

Since individuals vary both in their types and levels of motivation, tools like *ELLMS* help us detect how much motivation and what *orientation*—or specific reason for learning an additional language a particular student has (Noels et al. 2000).

Of the types of motivation explained above, the *ELLMS* contemplates three main factors, one related to intrinsic motivation and two to extrinsic motivation, namely introjected regulation and external regulation.

As stated above, our study sought to detect which of these dimensions are best related to our learners' motivation and their possible consequences on:

- a) a student's level of *self-efficacy*—any subject's personal conviction in his or her capabilities to execute a particular task effectively in order to achieve

a desired outcome (Schunk and Pajares 2002; Seon-Ahn and Bong 2019; Zimmerman 2000).

- b) their level of *self-regulation*—the degree to which students are “metacognitively, motivationally, and behaviourally active participants in their own learning process” (Zimmerman 1989, 1). After all, goal congruence and the expectancy-value of aims have a profound impact on a person’s interest in learning (Sansone et al. 2019). Therefore, if individuals are persuaded to believe in themselves, they persevere more in the face of difficulties in their L2 attainment (Bandura 2012).

Considering these ideas as a general goal of the research, we formulated the following four research hypotheses:

*H1.* The original *ELLMS* three-factor structure—*intrinsic motivation, external regulation and introjected regulation*—will be valid for our Spanish sample.

*H2.* Students with a higher level of intrinsic motivation will show lower levels of anxiety when learning the L2.

*H3.* Students with a higher level of intrinsic motivation will show higher levels of self-regulation (3a) and self-efficacy (3b).

*H4.* Learners who show higher levels of introjected regulation will show higher levels of anxiety (4a) as well as higher burnout levels (4b).

Establishing these four hypotheses as a starting point, our research aimed to:

1. test whether our participants’ self-regulated behaviour increased their chances of success in the EFL learning procedure or, on the contrary, have an impact on their degree of anxiety and burnout.
2. analyse our participants’ level of anxiety and its relationship with their degree of motivation and burnout.

*Foreign language anxiety*—defined by Horwitz et al. (1986) as “a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings and behaviours related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process” (28)—may entail or be provoked by communication apprehension, fear of negative evaluation and test anxiety (Horwitz et al. 1986). Feeling uncomfortable when expressing oneself in the L2 in front of others, worrying excessively about academic evaluation or setting unrealistic objectives about an assignment in English for fear of failure all influence the students’ motivation and their degree of exhaustion.

In addition, being proactive when setting goals and deploying strategies to regulate one’s knowledge is difficult if the degree of burnout is high (Oyoo et al. 2020). This sensation of exhaustion may respond to the pressure exerted upon the learner by the demands of the language—what Schaufeli et al. label as

“emotional exhaustion” (2002). In turn, this emotional exhaustion may make the learner develop an indifferent attitude towards the L2 and a pessimistic view of academic work at university—or “cynicism” (Schaufeli et al. 2002).

Consequently, the relationship established in our hypotheses between the constructs “self-efficacy”, “anxiety” and “burnout” is clear as there is (1) a typical *positive* correlation between self-efficacy and adaptative variables—e.g., task value or goal attainment— and (2) a *negative* correlation between self-efficacy and maladaptative variables—e.g., anxiety or burnout (Seon-Ahn and Bong 2019, 73).

## 4. Methodology

### 4.1. Data Collection

Our proposal made use of a modified version of the *ELLMS* instrument, which was adapted to the contextual necessities of our target group, university students. Some studies had previously applied *ELLMS* to measure the levels of motivation among pre-college and primary students (Ardasheva et al. 2012; Mateos de Cabo and Mateos de Cabo 2015). However, no study had made use of the questionnaire with university students.

In our case, a translation into Spanish of the items was made by experts and was provided to the participants in order to avoid misunderstandings or imprecise comprehension.

Following the procedure of the original questionnaire, we considered three dimensions of SDT—*intrinsic motivation*, *external regulation* and *introjected regulation*—and disregarded two others—*identified regulation* and *integrated regulation*.

Furthermore, with the purpose of gathering complete information from our target population, we also made use of these other four instruments:

a) *The Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS*, Horwitz et al. 1986). A translation of this 33-item questionnaire was made by experts for our use.

b) *The General Self-Efficacy Scale (GSES*, Baessler and Schwarzer 1996). This provided a global score on people’s self-reliance to tackle the challenges of the environment in which they are engaged.

c) *The Self-Regulation Scale (SRS*, Luszczynska et al. 2004). The Spanish version of this scale was provided directly by the authors of the research group at Freie University in Berlin.

d) *The School Burnout Inventory-University Form (SBI-U*, Salmela-Aro et al. 2009), which has been translated and adapted to the Spanish university population (Boada-Grau et al. 2015) in order to assess burnout among undergraduate students.

Our final survey contained 94 questions: 89 close-ended questions (including multiple-choice and rating questions) and 5 open-ended questions which allowed participants to include information not covered in the options provided elsewhere. Demographic questions aimed at exploring the background of the respondents (age, gender, nationality, university studies, number of languages spoken, proficiency level at the different English skills, etc.) opened the questionnaire. The remaining items were organised in 5 different sections according to the purpose or to the instrument which was being employed:

- (1) Section 1 included the questionnaire by Ardasheva et al. (2012). As proposed in their original study, we made use of the scale with 12 items grouped in three different dimensions: (1) Intrinsic Motivation—e.g., “It is fun to learn a new language”; (2) Introjected Regulation—e.g., “I feel bad about myself if I can’t speak English in my class”; (3) External Regulation—e.g., “I want to show my teachers that I can learn English.”

Subjects were required to answer the items on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Completely disagree*) to 5 (*Completely agree*). The higher the score, the higher that type of motivation.

In the original study, Cronbach’s alpha for the global score reached a value of 0.80 and the subscale alphas ranged from 0.58 to 0.74.

- (2) Section 2 (*FLCAS*) comprised 20 rating questions which evaluated oral and reading comprehension and 13 questions which estimated aspects related to general anxiety when learning EFL.

The scale consisted of three main dimensions: (1) Communication Apprehension—e.g., “I don’t mind making mistakes in class”; (2) Evaluation Anxiety—e.g., “I am worried about the consequences of failing”; (3) Discomfort—e.g., “I wouldn’t mind at all attending more foreign language classes.” Each item was rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Completely agree*, 5 = *Completely disagree*).

The original version of the scale (Horwitz 1986; Horwitz et al. 1986) revealed high values of internal consistency (0.93). In this scale, a higher score showed lower levels of anxiety.

- (3) Section 3 (*GSES*) asked subjects to answer the Spanish version of the 10 items—e.g., “If I find myself in a difficult situation, I usually know what I should do”—ranked from 1 (*Completely disagree*) to 4 (*Completely agree*). The higher the score, the higher the self-efficacy level.
- (4) Section 4 (*SRS*) made use of a reduced version of this instrument with only 7 items—e.g., “I keep my eyes on my goals and do not let anything turn me away from them.” Participants were asked to answer the items on a scale ranging from 1 (*Not at all*) to 4 (*A lot*).

Cronbach's alpha values found in previous research varied between 0.63 and 0.87. This scale offers just one dimensional scores and therefore a higher score suggests a higher level of self-regulation.

- (5) Section 5 (SBI) consisted of an inventory of 9 items along three dimensions: (1) Exhaustion—e.g., “I feel strained by the academic work”; (2) Cynicism—e.g., “I feel like I'm losing interest in my academic work”; (3) Inadequacy—e.g., “I often have a feeling of insufficiency in the activities I do in class.” Subjects were required to answer the items on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (*Totally disagree*) to 6 (*Totally agree*). The higher the score, the higher the level of burnout experienced.

Previous research with the Spanish version of the instrument found acceptable reliability values for all three dimensions: Exhaustion (0.70), Cynicism (0.77) and Inadequacy (0.71). Furthermore, these dimensions showed good validity values with self-regulation ( $r = -.22$ ,  $r = -.27$ ,  $r = -.32$ , respectively) and with self-efficacy ( $r = -0.16$ ,  $r = -.25$ ,  $r = -.25$ ) (Boada-Grau et al. 2015).

#### 4.2. Participants

The sample consisted of 215 Spanish students—174 females (80.93%) and 41 males (19.07%). Their ages ranged from 17 to 66 years, although when the outlier of a person aged 66 was removed, this gave an age range of 17 to 24 (mean = 21.60;  $SD = 4.38$ ). All were enrolled in curricular EFL courses at one of four Spanish state universities—Autonomous University of Barcelona (13.3%), Rey Juan Carlos University (15.27%), University of Valladolid (51.1%) and University of Cádiz (20.33%). The teachers in charge of these courses collaborated by delivering the survey to their learners. The results were collated at University of Valladolid, Segovia Campus, where this research originated, and which explains the high level of participation at this university.

All the respondents were Spanish native speakers and no foreign students took part in the study. Students from the Autonomous University of Barcelona were bilingual in Spanish and Catalan, but all their responses for the follow-up open-ended questions were provided in Spanish.

Table 1 shows the distribution of the sample by university degree. The column labelled “Frequency” indicates the number of students taking that particular degree. The students were recruited from nine degrees and three double degrees. Eighty-one respondents did not specify what they were studying:



TABLE 1. Sample distribution by university degree.

	Frequency	Percentage
Tourism	46	21.39
Early Education	33	15.34
Journalism	17	7.90
Nursing	7	3.25
Business Administration	6	2.79
Commerce	7	3.25
Art History	4	1.86
Elementary Education	4	1.86
Architecture	1	0.46
Advertising + Public Relations	7	3.25
Business Administration + Tourism	1	0.46
History + Tourism	1	0.46
Not specified	81	37.67
TOTAL	215	100

With regards to the highest level of studies completed, 65.6% of the sample had Secondary Studies and 25.5% had Vocational Training qualifications before starting their current degree, while 8.9% were graduates studying a second degree. The majority of the sample (74.4%) were not working while studying, but 16.7% worked regularly and the remaining 8.9% worked sporadically.

Participants had been studying English for between two months and twenty years, some of them studying English at language academies or in private classes in addition to their university English course, and their level in English ranged from A1 to C1, according to the CEFRL (Council of Europe 2001). As might be expected, this diversity created a complication, since the time of exposure to the L2 and the experiences in class or in extra-academic situations may influence the student's degree of motivation.

Likewise, the fact that, in most cases, English was a non-elective degree subject, while in degrees such as Nursing and Business Administration it was a voluntary module was also an issue. Both these aspects were taken into account when analysing the results and their general implications are mentioned in 6. *Discussion and final conclusions.*

#### 4.3. Procedure

Within the usual class schedule, students were informed of the purpose and procedure of the study and that taking part was voluntary. The collaborators at the different institutions guaranteed their learners that the results of the

tests involved would not have any effect on either their grades for the module concerned or on their academic record. They were likewise assured that their answers would only be used for the specific purposes of the study and that their privacy would be preserved.

The online questionnaire was administered through *Moodle*, the open-source learning platform and data collection was carried out over a five month period. Once the answers had been carefully scrutinised, one questionnaire was removed as the respondent had submitted incomplete information or invalid answers to several questions. Consequently, the final sample totalled 214 subjects.

#### 4.4. Statistical data analyses

The analyses corresponding to internal consistency and Pearson correlations between observed variables were performed using the statistical package SPSS 22.0. The EQS software was used to carry out Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) of the different models being tested. The estimation method of choice was maximum likelihood with robust Satorra-Bentler corrections. Goodness-of-fit adjustment for each model was measured through indices based on different methods (Hu and Bentler 1999; Marsh et al. 1996): NNFI (Non-Normed Fit Index), CFI (Comparative Fit Index) and RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error of Approximation) and a 90% confidence interval was employed.

### 5. Results

This section presents the overall findings obtained from our survey. The results shown in Tables 2 to 6 are analysed below and their implications are commented on in depth in 6 *Discussion and final conclusions*.

#### 5.1. Reliability analysis of all factors

Reliability is not an inherent or immutable property of a test itself, but of the values obtained from it with a particular sample. It is related to the possibility of reproducing the results on several occasions using the same instrument (Nunnally 1967).

Taking this into account, the values obtained in our study should be consistent, since the different measurement instruments which compounded ours had been administered repeatedly to different subjects in different contexts but using the same procedure.

Reliability and internal consistency were assessed in this research with the traditional coefficient Cronbach's alpha ( $\alpha$ ), which estimates how reliable

responses to the items were by marking the degree of consistency in relation to the psychological construct measured.

Table 2 shows the main statistics (minimum, maximum, mean, standard deviation) and Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the thirteen variables identified. A reliability coefficient of 0.70 or higher is considered an acceptable measure in most situations (Tavakol and Dennick 2011). The Cronbach's alpha coefficient for eleven of the thirteen variables is high, which suggests that the items present relatively high internal consistency. Exceptional are the cases of External Regulation (0.60) and Discomfort (0.36), the latter presenting a value noticeably lower than the rest.

TABLE 2. Descriptive statistics and reliability values (Chronbach's  $\alpha$ ).

	Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD	$\alpha$
1.	Intrinsic Motivation	2	5	3.98	0.68	0.86
2.	External Regulation	3	5	4.51	0.53	0.60
3.	Introjected Regulation	1	5	4.17	0.88	0.75
4.	FLCAS	1	5	3.06	0.59	0.92
5.	CA	1	5	2.92	0.88	0.93
6.	EA	1	5	2.91	0.71	0.71
7.	DC	1	5	3.34	0.74	0.36
8.	Self-Regulation	1	4	2.72	0.51	0.78
9.	Self-Efficacy	2	4	3.10	0.46	0.85
10.	SBI-U-Global	1	6	3.12	1.07	0.87
11.	SBI-U-Exhaustion	1	6	3.20	1.19	0.80
12.	SBI-U-Cynicism	1	6	2.86	1.39	0.86
13.	SBI-U-Inadequacy	1	6	3.35	1.31	0.68

Note. FLCAS = *Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale*; CA = *Communication Apprehension*; EA = *Evaluation Anxiety*; DC = *Discomfort*; SBI = *School Burnout Inventory*

## 5.2. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of SDT Factors

A 3-factor model was tested through CFA. Furthermore, two other models, a 1-factor model (Global Motivation) and 2-factor model (Intrinsic Motivation, on the one hand, and the two types of Extrinsic Motivation, on the other) were also

tested. It is important to verify the construct validity of the scales of these models by comparing the goodness-of-fit indices of the three options.

As shown in Table 3, the three-factor model reaches the recommended values for the different goodness-of-fit indicators: CFI and NNFI  $\geq 0.9$ , and RMSEA  $\leq 0.08$ , according to Hair et al. (2006) and Kline (2015). The CFI and NNFI were greater than or equal to the accepted value (CFI= 0.924, NNFI= 0.9). The RMSEA (0.063) also met the desired threshold. The Satorra-Bentler Chi-Square was 92.455 (d.f = 50,  $p > 0.01$ ). This result, however, is to be considered cautiously, since the Satorra-Bentler Chi-Square test is highly sensitive to small size samples—like ours. As a matter of fact, all the other measures analysed in our sample do confirm the suitability of the three-factor model.

The results indicate a good fit for the model and support our *H1*. “The original *ELLMS* three-factor structure—intrinsic motivation, external regulation and introjected regulation—will be valid for our Spanish sample.”

It must be taken into account that the adjustment of the 3-factor model has been improved by including a covariance error between the pair formed by items 4 and 6, which implies more a systematic error than a random measurement error derived from the overlapping of the content of the items (see Table 3).

TABLE 3. Goodness-of-fit indices of CFA models.

Models	$_{SB}C^2$	<i>df</i>	NNFI	CFI	RMSEA	90% CI
M1Factor	226.6883	54	0.625	0.693	0.123	[0.106, 0.139]
M2Factors	166.2627	53	0.749	0.799	0.100	[0.083, 0.117]
M3Factors	112.9773	51	0.857	0.890	0.076	[0.057, 0.094]
M3Factors_improved	92.4554	50	0.900	0.924	0.063	[0.042, 0.083]

Note. \*\* $p < .01$ ,  $_{SB}C^2$  = Satorra-Bentler’s Chi-Square, *df* = Degrees of Freedom, NNFI = Non-Normed Fit Index, CFI = Comparative Fit Index, RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation and 90% CI = Confidence Interval of RMSEA.

Table 4 shows the results for the twelve items studied with their means, standard deviations and the factor loadings on the corresponding factor. Most of the items had values above 0.5 and can thus be considered strong indicators for the constructs (Hair et al. 2006), specifically: loading values for Intrinsic Motivation items were between 0.65 and 0.81, between 0.65 and 0.93 for Introjected Regulation items and between 0.33 and 0.66 for External Regulation items.

The correlations between factors is shown in Table 5. There is a weak positive linear relationship between Intrinsic Motivation and Introjected Regulation, as indicated by the coefficient being below 0.3 (Ratner 2009) and a stronger positive relationship between Intrinsic Motivation and External Regulation.

TABLE 4. *ELLMS* Scale: Items, descriptive statistics and standardised loadings.

Construct	Item (first-order indicators)	Mean	SD	Loading
Intrinsic Motivation	1. It is fun to learn a new language.	4.08	0.84	0.69
	2. I like learning new things.	4.60	0.62	0.70
	3. I like to learn about English culture.	4.19	0.91	0.81
	4. I like it when I do well in English.	3.62	0.92	0.71
	5. I like it when I can understand difficult things in English.	4.06	0.94	0.67
	6. I like doing difficult things in English.	3.33	1.01	0.68
Introjected Regulation	1. I feel bad about myself if I can't speak in English in my class.	4.14	1.04	0.65
	2. I'd feel bad about myself if I couldn't speak to my American or English friends in English	4.21	0.92	0.93
External Regulation	1. I want to show my teachers that I can learn English.	4.30	0.85	0.61
	2. I want to find a good job when I grow up.	4.89	0.39	0.33
	3. My parents and teachers want me to learn English.	4.40	0.90	0.50
	4. Everybody at university has to learn English.	4.45	0.85	0.66

TABLE 5. Correlations between factors.

Correlations between factors	1	2	3
1. Intrinsic Motivation			
2. Introjected Regulation		0.27	
3. External Regulation		0.48	0.21

Note: All of the loadings are statistically significant at  $\alpha = 0.01$ .

As regards the correlations among the variables observed, Table 6 illustrates how, in the case of Intrinsic Motivation, all indices show a positive and meaningful correlation with the *FCLAS* scale ( $r = 0.38$ ) and its three dimensions.

In this scale, a high score means low anxiety. The results support *H2*. “Students with a higher level of intrinsic motivation will show lower levels of anxiety when learning the second language.”

Intrinsic Motivation also shows a weak and significant positive correlation with Self-Regulation ( $r = 0.15$ ) and Self-Efficacy ( $r = 0.14$ ), thus supporting *H3*. “Students with a higher level of intrinsic motivation will show higher levels of self-regulation (3a) and self-efficacy (3b).”

The opposite occurs with the External Regulation variable, which has a weak negative correlation with *FCLAS* and its two dimensions: Communication Apprehension ( $r = -.22$ ) and Evaluation Anxiety ( $r = -.26$ ). In addition, External Regulation also shows a slight positive correlation with Burnout status ( $r = 0.14$ ) and two of its dimensions: Exhaustion ( $r = 0.15$ ) and Inadequacy ( $r = 0.19$ ). These results demonstrate that this variable is associated with higher levels of anxiety.

In the case of Introjected Regulation, the indices show a weakly significant positive correlation with the *FLCAS* scale ( $r = 0.09$ ) and a slight negative correlation with the Burnout status ( $r = 0.14$ ) and the Cynicism dimension ( $r = 0.16$ ). These results support *H4*. “Learners who show higher introjected regulation will show higher levels of anxiety (4a) as well as higher burnout levels (4b).”

TABLE 6. Correlations between variables studied.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Intrinsic Motivation													
2. External Regulation	0.37**												
3. Introjected Regulation	0.18**	0.26**											
4. FLCAS	0.38**	-0.19**	0.09										
5. CA	0.28**	-0.22**	0.03	0.87**									
6. EA	0.20**	-0.26**	-0.04	0.72**	0.82**								
7. DC	0.38**	0.05	0.21**	0.20**	0.16*	0.58**							
8. Self-Regulation	0.15*	-0.08	0.11	0.11	0.25**	0.12	0.21**						
9. Self-Efficacy	0.14*	0.01	0.19**	0.15*	0.13	0.07	0.16*	-0.06					
10. SBI-U Global	-0.11	0.14*	-0.14*	-0.22**	-0.30**	-0.13	-0.28**	-0.09	-0.22**				
11. SBI-U-Exhaustion	-0.12	0.15*	-0.09	-0.29**	-0.44**	-0.16*	-0.39**	0.82**	-0.07	-0.17*			
12. SBI-U-Cynicism	-0.11	0.04	-0.16*	-0.10	-0.11	-0.08	-0.13	0.46**	0.86**	-0.04	-0.17*		
13. SBI-U-Inadequacy	-0.03	0.19**	-0.10	-0.13	-0.13	-0.07	-0.14*	0.48**	0.75**	0.83**	-0.09	0.51**	

Note. \* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; SBI-U = School Burnout Inventory-University Form; FLCAS = Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale; CA = Communication Apprehension; EA = Evaluation Anxiety; DC = Discomfort

## 6. Discussion and final conclusions

The present study was conducted with two basic objectives: (1) to validate the Spanish version of the *English Language Learner Motivation Scale* (*ELLMS*, Ardasheva et al. 2012) in a sample of 214 university students who were studying English at university although their degrees were in subjects other than English Language or Linguistics. (2) To demonstrate that intrinsic motivation is associated with less anxiety and with greater self-regulation and self-efficacy in the study of the English language.

With those aims in mind, the research explored the students' own views of their academic situation at university, their emotions and levels of apprehension and burnout with respect to the FLA.

To collect the data, we developed a 6-section online survey based on the adaptation and translation into Spanish of five different instruments: (1) *ELLMS* (Ardasheva et al. 2012), (2) *FLCAS* (Horwitz et al. 1986), (3) *GSES* (Baessler and Schwarzer 1996), (4) *SRS* (Luszczynska et al. 2004) and (5) *SBI-U* (Salmela-Aro et al. 2009). The focus when translating was not on literal translations, but rather on construct equivalence.

The global conclusion which can be drawn from the results obtained is that the Spanish version of the *ELLMS* is a viable instrument with good psychometrical properties in general to measure the motivation of EFL university students. The information gathered revealed an overall consensus among our participants on many questions, despite them studying at four different universities and on twelve different degrees.

According to what was posited in our first hypothesis, (*H1*: “The original *ELLMS* three-factor structure—intrinsic motivation, external regulation and introjected regulation—will be valid for our Spanish sample”), the results confirmed the presence of three factors: intrinsic motivation, internal regulation and external regulation, which correspond with the results of the original study (*ELLMS*, Ardasheva et al. 2012).

As regards the items measuring the first of these factors, i.e., intrinsic motivation, respondents completely agreed in section 1 (*ELLMS*, Ardasheva et al. 2012) on the usefulness of studying a new language (67.3%) and its culture (45.8%).

These percentages are not surprising, since these statements related to the acquisition of new knowledge in an L2 reflected, in our test, the subjects' “natural human propensity to learn [...], [their] inherent tendency to seek out novelty and challenges, to extend and exercise [their] capacities” (Ryan and Deci 2000, 54). Related to personal interest, internal satisfaction and optimistic managing, the answers evinced the pleasure that the respondents gain from *exploring* new



things in the language, which Noels et al. consider could be included in a subtype of intrinsic motivation they refer to as “knowledge” (2000).

Nonetheless, responses to the statement “I like it when I do well in English”—which mirrors the feeling of pleasure derived from *mastering* a task in the foreign language or accomplishing a goal using it (“accomplishment” subtype, Noels et al. 2000)—were more varied, probably because English was not a prerequisite for graduation for all the participants and their interest in performing effectively in the L2 was also varied. As such, 35.0% neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement while 36.9% simply agreed and only 17.8% were in complete agreement with the statement.

The enjoyment derived from trying to solve challenging exercises and tasks in the foreign language received likewise a quite heterogenous score, with 42.1% of the participants neither agreeing nor disagreeing and 14.0% showing their complete agreement. Fortunately, only a few respondents (4.7%) indicated they had little intrinsic motivation when responding to the statement “I like doing difficult things in English”.

This same disparity of opinions can be seen in relation to the item “I like it when I can understand difficult things in English.” A total of 38.3% of respondents completely agreed with the idea, 36.4% strongly agreed, 18.2% neither agreed or disagreed. Interestingly, 5.6% strongly disagreed and 1.4% selected the option “*Completely disagree*”, which tells us that, sadly, this sub-group derive no fun, aesthetic appreciation or “stimulation” (third subtype by Noels et al. 2000) from performing a particular task in English.

Turning now to our results on the items measuring extrinsic motivation, the general responses were much more consistent. 47.2% of the respondents completely agreed with both statements estimating introjected regulation: “I feel bad about myself if I can’t speak English in my class” and “I’d feel bad about myself if I couldn’t speak with my American or English friends in English.”

This seems quite logical, as not being able to communicate fluently in English either in class or with native speakers with all probability implies a considerable degree of social pressure on the individual. Introjected regulations like those conveyed by these statements project sensations which are within the person, but are not part of the integrated self, since they involve coercion or seduction, not free selection (Deci and Ryan 1985; Deci et al. 1991).

These results suggest that unsuccessful performance in English indeed entails for our participants a high level of apprehension and personal coercion. Items measuring external regulation were those which received the highest percentage of complete agreement. This might be due to the fact that they entailed ideas directly related to personal success and professional projection—“I want to find a good job when I grow up” (91.6%)—or because they verbalised generalised

and socially-accepted beliefs—“Everybody at university has to study English” (64.5%), “My parents and teachers want me to learn English” (60.7%).

Our second research hypothesis was also confirmed: *H2* (“Students with a higher level of intrinsic motivation will show lower levels of anxiety when learning the L2”). In research on anxiety conducted previously (Arnáiz-Castro and Guillén-García 2012), internal consistency in the Spanish version of the scale had a Cronbach’s alpha score of 0.93. Given this excellent coefficient, we tested in this study whether students achieving a higher score for the items measuring intrinsic motivation presented lower levels of anxiety with respect to EFL. More specifically, the section in our questionnaire devoted to measuring anxiety as a major obstacle in the acquisition and production of the language—principally assessed by *FLCAS* (Horwitz et al. 1986)—evinced the students’ general apprehension in speaking interventions.

The scores for this section revealed that, broadly speaking, these EFL learners feel anxious about speaking in front of their classmates (with 25.1% strongly agreeing that they would feel embarrassed if their classmates laughed at them when speaking in English). Moreover, almost a quarter of students felt the same about volunteering answers in the English class (24.7%) and 31.6% were in complete agreement with the statement “I start to panic when I have to speak without preparation.”

Fortunately, only 8.8% of the whole sample strongly disagreed with the idea of taking more English classes. This can be interpreted as a very positive reaction, for 40.5% completely agreed with the idea of receiving greater exposure to the language regardless of their level of English and their possible degree of anxiety during oral communication.

This section also assessed participants’ fear of negative evaluation. 52.1% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement “I worry about the consequences of failing my English tests”, which is understandable if we take for granted that most of our participants regarded assessment in the L2 as a pressure-inducing element rather than as an intrinsically-motivating tool.

These findings support our hypothesis and provide evidence that, if we are able to arouse in our EFL students some sort of intrinsic motivation, their levels of anxiety will be lower.

Ryan and Deci stated that “[i]ntrinsic motivation, being an inherent organismic propensity, is catalyzed (rather than *caused*) when individuals are in conditions that conduce towards its expression” (2000, 58). We know that fostering intrinsic motivation can be a lengthy and difficult process, since it implies performing the activity for its own sake and not for an external reward. Our research, however, helped us to conclude that we should do our best to orientate our teaching to promote self-determined motivation in our students,

which will give rise to increased problem-solving flexibility, more efficient knowledge development and an increased level of self-esteem in class (Deci et al. 1991; Noels et al. 2000).

At times, namely when instructors use exams as motivational tools for learning, students' extrinsic motivation—“[that] construct that pertains whenever an activity is done in order to attain some separable outcome” (Ardasheva et al. 2012)—may prevail over intrinsic motivation.

We are conscious that avoiding the negative outcome of this is crucial, so ensuring that lessons are encouraging may be more likely to lead to intrinsically-motivated responses on the part of the learners, who will feel less anxious and apprehensive towards the L2. This possibility was explored in studies by Gocer (2014), Jarie et al. (2019), MacIntyre (1999), MacIntyre and Gardner (1994), Torres and Turner (2015) and Mortimore (2017). By means of statistically meaningful results, they all demonstrated the correlation between linguistic anxiety and achievement and success in SLA.

As regards H3 (“Students with a higher level of intrinsic motivation will show higher levels of self-regulation (3a) and self-efficacy (3b)”), we found that students revealing a higher level of intrinsic motivation did in effect present higher levels of self-regulation and self-efficacy. Section 4 (SRS, Luszczynska et al. 2004) in our survey helped us to verify this idea by measuring attention as one component of the dispositional variable self-regulation. Items related to concentration and emotional self-control in problem-solving tasks produced similar results. To this end, 46.7% of the respondents said that they were completely able to concentrate on their activities for a long time and 52.1% selected the same option when asked about their ability to come back to a task after being distracted. Furthermore, more than half of the participants selected the option “*Somewhat*” for the item “I stay focused on my goal and don't allow anything to distract me from my plan of action”, with 25.1% choosing the option “*A lot*” and only 1.4% opted for the answer “*Not at all.*”

This item and its results are particularly illustrative in endorsing the notion that the higher the level of intrinsic motivation, the higher the level of self-regulation. As Luszczynska et al. put it, “attention control is a key component of self-regulation when individuals pursue their goals in the face of barriers and setbacks” (2004, 555). If we help our learners to focus their attention on their attainment in the L2, their academic activity will be more self-regulated and, consequently, their degree of intrinsic motivation will increase, too.

Additionally, the responses obtained from the section which assessed self-efficacy (GSE, Baessler and Schwarzer 1996) showed that, in most cases, our intrinsically motivated participants presented optimistic self-beliefs to cope with difficult demands in life. The 10 questions involved received very similar

responses: 57.2% ranked as “*Moderately true*” the statement “If someone opposes me, I can find the means and ways to get what I want” and 59.1% considered “*Exactly true*” “I can always manage to solve difficult problems if I try hard enough.” The participants selected the option “*Moderately true*” when asked both about their resourcefulness and coping abilities in unforeseen situations (53%) and about the ease with which they can stick to their aims and accomplish their goals (54.4%). This supports the idea that our actions are responsible for successful outcomes: self-efficacy, the belief that we can overcome obstacles and get things done, is necessary for effecting changes in our lives.

Finally, hypothesis *H4a*—“Learners who show higher levels of introjected regulation will show higher levels of anxiety”—was also confirmed. This is significant but, unfortunately, provides negative information on this type of extrinsic motivation in the EFL learning process. The results obtained from this section lead us to conclude that when the learner contemplates the language as an imposition rather than as a choice, the level of pressure increases considerably. For these individuals, learning English does not involve the rewarding effect of achieving mastery in the language, but rather the reduction of anxiety produced by, for example, the necessity of passing an exam, impressing others or obtaining the recognition desired.

Taking this into consideration, we can also assert that this study confirmed *H4b*: “Learners who show higher levels of introjected regulation will show higher burnout levels (4b).”

Section 5 in our questionnaire was focused on measuring levels of burnout among the sample group. The adaptation of the instrument designed by Salmela-Aro et al. (2009) to university students provided an indication of the confidence students show in meeting academic requirements. In most cases, the participants did not show notable levels of exhaustion or cynicism. Of those surveyed, 29.4% totally disagreed with the idea of leaving university prematurely because of a possible lack of motivation (and another 22.4% partially disagreed). Furthermore, only 3.7% totally agreed that they were losing interest in their academic work, compared to 27.1% who had the opposite view.

Feelings of inadequacy were also assessed by means of items such as “I often have a feeling of insufficiency in my academic work.” Interestingly though, for these statements, respondents showed more diverse opinions: 12.1% totally disagreed, 22% partially disagreed, 22% disagreed and 23.8% partially agreed, with the remaining 20.1% totally agreeing.

Taking into account all these data, it appears that introjected regulation is the worst option in terms of motivation when compared to the other variables in the analysis. Even though it implies a higher degree of autonomy than external regulation, the main motive of this regulation is the avoidance of guilt or anxiety.

As teachers, we should do our best to prevent these feelings from setting the pace in our students' learning process.

To conclude, the results of the present study revealed the unquestionable relation between motivation and FLA, highlighting the importance of intrinsic motivation as a psychological construct that bolsters the process.

Dörnyei stated that “[m]otivation energises human beings and provides direction” (1998, 126). Nonetheless, the heterogeneity of students and their diverse educational backgrounds implies a challenge for any teacher. The connection between certain teaching methodologies and the level of enthusiasm they arouse in learners should perhaps be the object of a new study, since motivation is linked to learning styles and teaching methods, energy and the desire to understand and learn.

Further research addressing this issue could extend the implications of this study and complement it. Moreover, in spite of the fact that our investigation has provided interesting results, it does have some limitations.

On the one hand, we have worked with self-reported measures, which may have disrupted the answers with aspects such as social desirability (Holtgraves 2004). For this reason, future research in this line should include measures that guarantee academic objectivity, for instance, academic marks.

Apart from that, more generalisable results would probably have been obtained by restricting our sample to subjects showing the same proficiency level in the use of the language. The fact that our respondents oscillated between CEFRL LEVELS A1 and C1 (Council of Europe 2001) likely affected the data, since, as the degree of difficulty in the L2 increases, levels of motivation, anxiety and burnout may also rise due to boredom and tediousness (Salmela-Aro et al. 2009). Of course, the opposite may occur when the individual feels autonomous and linguistically-competent. The relevance of these variables would deserve particular attention in future research.

Be that as it may, today there is a consensus that English is perceived as a valuable subject both in the learners' university studies and professional career. They even admit its “high practical value” (Wong 2014, 47). As teachers, we know we cannot achieve the same level of effectiveness for every student in every type of learning activity in the teaching of EFL. Students' motivation will have important repercussions on their learning process if we help them to identify their most efficient learning strategies (Bonney et al. 2008; Kim and Kim 2021). That should be our main aim.

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**Emma Dabiri, *What White People Can Do Next: From Allyship to Coalition*. London: Penguin, 2021. 157 pp.**

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In her new book, Emma Dabiri aligns herself with writers like Reni Eddo-Lodge (2017), Ibrahim X. Kendi (2019) and Ijeoma Oluo (2019), along with other “black”, as well as “white” (see DiAngelo 2021), intellectuals in suggesting to those of us who often consider ourselves non-racialized people (but whom Dabiri more appropriately qualifies as “people racialized as ‘white’”) suitable lines of action to halt the injustice inherent to the current general understanding of the world under the rubric of “race.”

An academic and media professional, Dabiri is a “black” Irish woman, an experience which in her first book, the acclaimed *Don’t Touch My Hair* (2019), she said was akin “to hav[ing] almost unicorn status. Except everybody loves unicorns” (a perception bound to change in an increasingly multicultural Ireland, yet still painfully true as she explains in this current work). After the success of her first book she went on to publish *Twisted: The Tangled History of Black Hair Culture* (2020), and two years

later in this latest offering Dabiri continues to illustrate the black experience in its wide diversity. Her new work is entitled *What White People Can Do Next* because, as she states: “You are not responsible for what your ancestors did. You are, however, responsible for what you do” (91). In the manner of a compass, in this short yet highly pedagogical reflection, Dabiri succeeds in providing a few clues as to how to move forward in a complex world still deeply tamed by racial categories. Categories which, as she demonstrates, have much to do with capitalism and the need for certain elites to maintain their status and possibilities for wealth accumulation—as they have done for centuries. This scenario having begun at the time of the emergence of the label “race” coupled with that of “whiteness”—both of which she traces back to the early British colonies in Barbados and Virginia. Dabiri soon provides evidence that, as Toni Morrison (2019) and Ta-Nehisi Coates (2015), among others, have previously pointed out, “race” is not the father, but rather the child of racism. It is for this reason, as stated above, that she takes the trouble to deconstruct “race” from its base, in order to show its constructedness, as well as its redundancy in today’s world.

Dabiri’s main point, reflected in her subtitle, is replacing the idea of allyship, which has gained currency in anti-racist circles—especially since the fatidic death of George Floyd and rise of the Black Lives Matter movement—with that of coalition. For all its alleged advantages, the idea of allyship, she feels, is insufficient and full of pitfalls: “‘Allyship’ being described as a ‘selfless act’ exacerbates the division, assuming a fundamental and immutable separateness between ‘different’ ‘races’, offering charity at the expense of solidarity” (14). This accounts for the bulk of Dabiri’s argument: that the notion of allyship needs to be challenged because it smacks of handouts, rather than of a genuine commonality that emphasizes socio-economic inequalities and systemic forms of oppression. Allyship, she claims, is too close to the dangerous trope of the white saviour, and the world has had enough of that. By contrast, she proposes invigorating the notion of coalition, whereby groups with different characteristics and interests come together in order to achieve superordinate goals. Coalitions will allow the identification of these common goals, such as the fight against racism. And racism, she is quick to note, is not an isolated plague that needs to be defeated, but rather it goes hand-in-hand with sexism, class privilege, homophobia and ecological problems, problems sustained by that series of binarisms which emerged and thrived under “white”, colonialist, imperialist, capitalist worldviews and dispositions. Today’s world, Dabiri reminds us, requires a full awareness of intersectionality, not only the intersectionality of identities, but also of “issues” (25): hence the need for

coalitions across all sectors. Coalition means, briefly, “seeking to unite and empower all disenfranchised groups” (16), and coalition building is “a vision wherein many people can see their interests identified and come together for a common good” (26). Dabiri provides examples, among them the actions of The Black Panthers in their time: promoting and accepting coalitions across various boundaries, among them “race,” because “in racially diverse contexts, such coalitions are often more destabilizing of the status quo than strictly segregated groups” (17). Thus, while Dabiri’s focus is on “race,” “whiteness” and racism, and she never loses sight of this, the political width of her discourse reaches further; an expanded horizon which is both pertinent and refreshing.

One important point she makes is to denounce social media platforms where political action is diluted rather than stimulated. Many of us will certainly feel satisfied with voicing therein our dissatisfaction (pun intended) or our complicity with the state of affairs, with specific events or with concrete ideas, and this, she insists, is exactly what deflates our energy to act in the real world. Furthermore, Dabiri warns of the perils of identity politics when, rather than producing palpable change, it isolates people in their own identity havens, reminding us repeatedly that intersectionality (again, both in terms of identities and of issues) needs to be put at the forefront. This is a strategy that has stood the test of time since, for instance, “the underpinning framework of black liberation was more inspired by revolutionary socialism and international anti-imperialist solidarity than the debased form of online identity politics that we see today” (143). Identities, she insists, need to be perceived as what they are: fluid and contingent. This is a universal statement, yet it is worthy of particular emphasis when it comes to the way “black” identities are perceived and represented, particularly vis-a-vis “white” ones. To this end, “Stop reducing black people to one dimension” is one of the principal exhortations of her text, though not the only one.

This is because the problem is that we know what we don’t want, but we do not really know how to achieve what we do want. We need an actual plan of action, conceived under the banner of coalition and not allyship, and where the sense of mutuality replaces charity (148). Each of the thirteen brief chapters of Dabiri’s essay moves in the direction of achieving this end. She commends us to: stop the denial of racism and the false equivalences between forms of oppression which bear different levels of stress; systematically interrogate both “whiteness” and capitalism; leave behind and denounce the white saviour syndrome—abandoning our guilt insomuch as it risks hindering action—as well as pull people up on racism (systemic and institutional changes being urgently necessary, but alongside a personal commitment at the most basic

level, such as speaking out against racist jokes); educate ourselves with respect to racism and forms of oppression by reading the right intellectual writers (Baldwin, Davis, Fanon and many others are kindly invited into her text), but also by paying attention to the *fugitive* forms of music, culture and art made by black people “who refuse to accept what has been refused” (64) to them (“*fugitivity*,” she explains quoting Stephano Harney and Fred Moten (2013), “is the radical counterpoint to inclusivity within the dominant framework of oppression,” (quoted in Dabiri, 2021, 66)); redistribute resources (which does not simply mean giving up white privilege at a personal level but rather working in the right direction at institutional levels through civic actions like voting and, once again, forming coalitions); and, finally, “recognize that this shitting is killing you too” (127), meaning: the jargon and world divisions occasioned by “race” and “whiteness” not only demean non-“white” people, but also those of us who, to go back to the beginning of this review, “are racialized as ‘white’”—as well as the world at large.

This review is replete with inverted commas, and so it must be. Dabiri’s proposal is that we mark as “under erasure” all those pernicious categories which were introduced by the infamous world order we need to get rid of: the sooner the better for all. Thus, those of us interested in working towards this shared goal—briefly put: putting a halt to colonialist systems of thought and representation—need to be alert to the danger of reinforcing exactly those categories we are trying to erode and remove, something which often happens not only through the mere use of the labels of the old world order, but even when we are consciously trying to abate or undo them. The many useful suggestions provided by this book may be a good way to start putting in place, as Dabiri requests, a post-activism which takes the form of “an overarching politics of change” (150), focused against categories like “race” and “whiteness”, but also against other labels brought about by capitalist systems of oppression that spring from the fact that capitalism and “race” are close cousins, similar to other abhorrent binarisms. The danger or difficulty of this very necessary politics of change is, however, that it is “a form of politics which does not provide short-term gratification” (150). This may be so, but this should not—will not— stop us from trying.

There are still many answers to be found after reading *What Whites Can Do Next*, but importantly many crucial questions have been formulated in these brief disquisitions. An initial road ahead has been outlined; certainly it is just one among many, but it is one which seems promising. This is Dabiri’s motto: “We have to at least attempt to imagine outside and beyond the race logic inherited from a long-dead elite European men, and conceive other ways of dreaming, living and being” (142).

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