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EDITORIAL

This spring, we are celebrating! Film reviews will now be a regular, on-going feature in the *quint*. This *quint* also contains works by authors from Canada, the United States, China, Tunisia, Nigeria, and Germany. Sheila Mcleod Arnopoulos's gripping short story, "Out of Step" begins the *quint*'s forty second issue. Linda L. Chandler's fascinating discussion of Eliza Wharton's reluctance to participate in the marriage market challenges previous interpretations of that heroine's sexual fall in "Undone" from the Start: Seded by Freedom in Hannah Foster’s *The Coquette" follows. Next, in "Negative Depiction of Female Characters in Igbo Folktales: A Correspondence Bias Perspective," Ujubonu Okide offers revised readings of four Igbo folktales to argue that relating a woman’s behavior to her personality without considering factors external to her character produces social and cultural bias. Qian Wu's sensitive distinction between one's roots and one's home follows in in "Away from the Root."

Then, in a challenging examination of *Jane Eyre*, Olfa Gandouz's Female Oscillation: Resistance and Complicity in Charlotte Bronte’s *Jane Eyre" advances a compelling argument that offers Bertha Mason as a heroine. Following, Sunny Ifeanyi Odinye’s ground-breaking article, "REVITALIZATION OF IGBO LANGUAGE AFTER THE UNESCO PREDICTION" calls for positive change in the attitudes toward the Igbo language in south eastern Nigeria. Li Jiamei’s heart-breaking examination of China’s female- and male-gender expectations follows in "Little Brother." Next, George Steven Swan returns to develop his carefully detailed examination of Shakespeare’s debt to Mary Browne (1552-1607) in “THE MARIAN THEORY INFORMS 1 HENRY IV AND 2 HENRY IV: THE PROXIMATE CAUSE OF THAT HARVEY/PETO NAMES-DIVERGENCE."

Debbie Cutshaw's touching and troubling story of time travel in "Shakespeare’s Shoes" asks readers to walk a mile with Henry Condell. In "Film as 'Psychology Exercise’" *The Shining*, *Room 237*, and *After Last Season," Thomas Britt considers the potentially endless process of discovery and validation that filmmakers’ rebellions against conventional film form create for viewers. Then, Marcin Cichocki's film review, "The Everyday, Disparity, and Stasis: Transcendental Style in *First Reformed*," examines Paul Schrader demonstration how transcendent film reality is conveyed via
movement away from narrative and the use of distancing devices. Melanie Kreitler's film review, "Bronson (2008)" argues that Bronson is an example of exceptional art in film, because of its polarizing effect on its audiences.

Of course, no quint would be complete without its visual creative component. Stuart Matheson as provided us with an intriguing photo-essay, Northern Spring.

Here’s to good reading and viewing, happy memories, and warm nights outside with thought-provoking material and frosted glass of something cold and thirst-quenching. At the quint, we wish you all the good things that this spring and summer can bring. the quint will be back in June with a special issue for your reading and viewing.

Sue Matheson
Editor
After parking her bike, Pamela slipped into the Nantucket heritage house for the cocktail party filled with Wall Street notables hosted by Jimmy’s childhood friend Lindy, the maid-of-honour for the next day’s “destination wedding.”

“Interesting necklace,” commented a sleek-looking woman standing next to her in a dazzling diamond choker. “Where did you get it?”

“Tunisia,” Pamela said. “Represents the hand of Fatima, daughter of the Prophet, designed to ward off evil.”

“Tunisia? What on earth were you doing there?” and looked her up and down.

Pamela was wearing a Tunisian rainbow-striped kmijja chemise over blue pants which she thought suitable for a summer cocktail party on this holiday island in Massachusetts, but maybe it was too folksy for this upscale New York City financial crowd. “I’m an anthropologist,” said Pamela. “I was studying women in business and in politics. Post Arab Spring.”
“Arab women in business? Talk about an oxymoron.” She jerked back her neck. “They need a male guardian to go out, don’t they? Aren’t they forbidden to drive?”

“Saudi Arabia in the past. Tunisia’s more advanced. But even in Saudi, women do run businesses, like car dealerships.” She pitched that in for fun although it was true.

“What are you doing here?” she asked a little too pointedly.

“I’m Jimmy’s friend.”

“Really?” She frowned. “The Filipino guy in the kitchen? The pick-up driver for the help and the food?

“Jimmy,” Pamela retorted, “is a tenure-track professor at McGill University where we teach in Montreal. An old friend of Lindy’s from high school. A big authority on cheap labour in China.”

“Is that right?” she said absentmindedly.

Well, Pamela thought, the last thing this woman would probably care about was slave labour. Everyone here, she figured, was in high finance. A Hispanic woman in a starched black and white uniform was passing around hors d’oeuvres. Pamela helped herself to smoked salmon daintily laid out on neat squares of bread and wondered whether the servers were being properly paid.

“I’ve been coming to the island of Nantucket to bicycle for years,” Pamela said. “Jimmy and I drove down together from Montreal. He suggested I come along tonight to meet Lindy.”
“I see,” said the woman and turned to talk to someone else.

Earlier, Jimmy had filled Pamela in on Lindy’s story, how she came from North Korea to Toronto at three with her parents. They had no education, but working over-time, had saved and put their daughter through the Harvard School of Business.

Pamela picked up a glass of white wine offered by another server and for a moment strolled along the hall of this mansion that had once belonged to a whaling captain. Old prints of whaling vessels that had plied the waters around Nantucket in the 1800s decked the walls. Milling around were sharp young women in their late thirties sporting expensive designer pants, striking jewellery and elegantly-coiffed hair.

Tall and slim in a crimson pant suit, Lindy in ruby and diamond-studded earrings suddenly sailed across the room. “Hello Pamela,” she said and shook her hand. “Jimmy has told me all about you.”

“A lovely party,” said Pamela. “I understand you’re maid-of-honour tomorrow.”

“Yes.”

“What will you be wearing?”

“Pale green silk, emeralds around the neckline, ballerina length. You should see it.” Her face lit up.“Haute couture, one-of-a-kind, from New York’s best bridal boutique. “The bride’s my best friend. The wedding took months to organize. I helped choose the gowns,” Lindy said, her eyes scanning the room as she spoke. “We’re associates at the same firm. Elvira will wear a tiara, with pink diamonds, inherited from a White
Russian ancestor. Aristocratic. The groom is president of a bank.”

As Maid of Honour, she was worried about doing all the right things for the pre-wedding event Eliva had entrusted her to set up in this mansion that she had decided to rent as accommodation for the bridesmaids. She fanned her sweat-soaked face with her hand, nervous about her make-up running. She had used bleach cream on her face and always wore sunscreen, but looking around, she definitely looked different. Nantucket was white, just like the bridesmaids and wedding guests. That’s why at the last minute, she had asked Jimmy to help out, rather than have him sit around as some kind of guest where he would stick out.

Lindy continued to glance across the room filled with animated young women and a sprinkling of distinguished older men. She wanted to be a proper host and hoped she could remember all the guests’ names. “Gotta go,” she said to Pamela and rushed across the room to shake hands with a bank vice-president.

Pamela looked with admiration at the women, real pioneers of the post-feminist generation cracking into the formidable male bastion of finance. She especially admired Lindy’s rise up the ladder, given her childhood as the daughter of poor working-class Korean immigrants.

Jimmy had told Pamela he hadn’t seen his childhood friend for ten years, but they’d kept in touch by email. When he visited his family in Toronto, he always dropped in on her parents, but Lindy, he said, was too busy flying around the world on business, and rarely saw them these days. “Her mom and dad are my second family,” Jimmy
explained on the drive down. “I just bet her mom pushed Lindy to invite me to Nantucket. ‘You and Lindy are like brother and sister,’ she always says. ‘You must never lose touch.’”

Jimmy’s invitation for the long weekend coincided with Pamela’s desire to return to Nantucket where she loved to bicycle and swim in the unusually warm water. She adored the spotless beaches and ordering lobsters. Fast food places were banned which also appealed. They decided to travel down together in Pamela’s car with their bikes attached. The day before, they’d left her Honda in Hyannis on Cape Cod and taken the ferry to the island.

This was Pamela’s first trip to Nantucket since her husband Craig’s unexpected death. She was staying outside town at a rooming house near the one youth hostel where she could make her own breakfast and avoid high-priced hotel rooms. It was Jimmy’s idea that she drop into the cocktail party to meet his old friend and have a drink before they went out to eat at her favourite lobster place.

“Hi Pamela,” said Jimmy, emerging from the kitchen in a black and white apron over his jeans. With a final tray of drinks, he circulated around observing the guests and listened to their conversations as the cocktail party wound down. Pamela noted that she was the oldest woman in the room and also wearing the least expensive outfit. Luckily, she thought, she’d tinted up her graying hair with henna before she left.

“I’m ready to leave,” he said when his tray was empty. He ripped off his apron and stashed it behind a sofa. “I’ve already driven the serving ladies home, in a black
Cadillac, no less,” and he crossed his eyes.

“What?” Pamela said. “They still exist?”

“Around here they do. Lindy rented one at the airport.”

What a waste, Pamela thought. Lindy probably felt she had to get a Cadillac, of all things, even when a much less flashy car would do.

They took off on their bicycles down cobbled streets to a hidden lobster take-out shack on an old track facing the ocean. At a rough wooden table on the beach, they sat down and tucked into their lobsters.

“So...?” Pamela said. “How’s it going with Lindy after all this time?”

“Out sa paningin,” Jimmy muttered in Filipino. “Out of sight. I hardly recognize my old friend. What a change! All too weird. When we were growing up,” he cracked the tail of his lobster, “Lindy always wore hand-me-downs because her parents had no money. Lindy’s dad swept floors in a factory and her mother worked as a hotel maid.”

Pamela knew that Jimmy’s father, an engineer, had had it easier, eventually finding work with a top international construction company. His mother now ran a flower shop that specialized in tropical flowers.

“Today, Lindy’s parents have it better.” he said. “They run a Korean grocery, drive a car, and live in a nice Toronto condo that Lindy bought for them.” He went on to describe how Lindy boasted about how she’d flown them to Paris to show off the condo she’d bought over there. “That’s in addition to the one she owns in New York,”
he said.

Here was a story about the child of working-class immigrants rising up in society. The American dream that had started in Canada. Good for Lindy, Pamela thought. However, Jimmy went on to complain that now he and his old friend had nothing in common.

“She’s such a high-fallutin’ capitalist,” he sneered, “she refused to take an interest in my research tracking down child labourers in China. Pretty disappointing,” but pointed out that in contrast, Lindy’s mom admired Jimmy’s work and encouraged him to expose everything he could.

“Well,” she said. “You and Lindy are on different paths but think of it this way. You’re both super successful.”

“That’s not how my parents see it,” he said with a shrug. “They look up to people who have blasted their way onto Wall Street. But the academic world? What, my father asked me, do you get out of hanging around Chinese workers at the bottom of the ladder? For them, Lindy’s made it, and I haven’t. But wheeling around in finance? Shoring up the bloody one per cent? Who knows what she shelled out to rent the whaling mansion for the weekend!”

Pamela dipped some lobster meat into melted butter. “I have to admit. I’ve been wondering the same thing.”

“I just bet Lindy knows owners of companies hiring slave labour over there in China,” he said. “She quickly changed the subject when I told her I was learning Mandarin so
I could talk to the workers.”

Jimmy swung back his long black hair, which looked just as out of place at the cocktail party as her Tunisian kmijja.

“After all the demeaning jobs her parents endured to put her through school,” he said, “you’d think she’d show some interest.”

Jimmy twisted the claws off his lobster. “Her colleagues are just like her,” he kept on. “Did you hear that woman from the drug company boasting about the medical research she’s supervising in Africa? Reminded me of the vicious exploitation that John Le Carré wrote about in The Constant Gardener.”

Pamela’s father had been president of a drug company. With a twinge of discomfort, she realized she still owned company shares that she’d inherited from him, so she was probably not without sin. She’d done good work researching the progress of Arab women in Tunisia and the plight of Indigenous women in Canada. However, she’d been able to take time off from teaching only because her father had left her money, money that probably should have gone to the very kinds of people she had always championed.

She dug into a corn on the cob that came with the lobster. “Come on,” she said. “Everyone in the financial field isn’t evil,” and thought of her stockbroker, Sally, specializing in green energy stocks, and in her spare time still offering financial advice to abused older women at a downtown shelter. They were all in this capitalist consumer society together. The university that paid their salaries received lots of
corporate money, made who knows where.

“Lindy’s your friend,” she insisted. “You have a childhood in common. She’s giving you a free room here in Nantucket, home to pristine beaches.” Pamela kicked off her sandals and let the sand sift through her toes. “You can swim in the lovely ocean every day.”

Jimmy pulled the tail off his lobster, “Yes, and for that, I’m doing my bit, earning my keep. Lindy’s recruited me to drive some stockbrokers staying at the White Elephant to and from the wedding tomorrow. Limousines, thankfully, will take her and the bridesmaids to the church.”

He looked out at the sandpipers running across the beach and rested his cheek on his knuckles. “But I can take only so much of this. She’s turned me into her houseboy. It’s humiliating.”

“Just go with the flow,” Pamela said. Lindy, she could imagine, was depending upon Jimmy to help her out. “Soon it will be over. Tomorrow, I’ll drop into the back of the church so I can tell Lindy after how beautiful she looked. Weddings can be magical. Lindy deserves support for all the planning she did.”

Jimmy said nothing.

Pamela thought of the marriage of her stepdaughter, Crystal, five years before after she finished medical school at McGill and how beautiful she had looked in her white dress trimmed with multi-coloured embroidery. She ate the remains of her lobster and looked out to sea. Crystal was now thirty-one, also a non-traditional woman making
her mark. She was a family doctor and mother to an adorable three-year-old girl. She had enjoyed stepping in to become a mother to her, maybe more, she had to admit, than being a wife to Craig who had been so consumed by his physics research.

* * *

The next morning, after a swim at Surfside Beach, Pamela biked from her rooming house to the imposing Congregational Church with its bell tower offering the best view of Nantucket. While a student, she had played the organ at inter-religious weddings at the McGill University chapel and she was looking forward to hearing the organ music and watching the wedding procession.

On the street outside the church, Jimmy was sitting alone in the driver’s seat of the Cadillac reading a book. “Hi,” she said, “aren’t you going in?”

“No. Lindy told me to wait here to drive people to the reception after the ceremony. Besides, I don’t have a proper suit.” He was wearing a clean pair of jeans and a fresh blue T-shirt.

“A church is a public place. Anyone can go in, at any time, and you look fine. Maybe Lindy would like it if you could see her in her finery.”

“I’ll just stay here and play chauffeur,” he said in a long-suffering voice. “Come back later to the whaling house. We’ll go out again for supper. I like that take-out place we went to yesterday.”

“Okay.” Pamela tied her bike to a fence post and bounded up the steps of the church
to the sound of the Wagner bridal march, missing the procession down the aisle. Maybe Jimmy was right to wonder about his clothes. She was wearing three-quarter length jeans trimmed with lace, and since it was drizzling, a yellow raincoat, but she would sit at the back of the church where no one could see her.

“Are you here for the wedding?” asked a young woman in the lobby.

“I’m not a guest,” Pamela said. “I know the maid-of-honour. Just here to see the dresses and hear the music.”

“Great. Hang your raincoat here,” she said, indicating a hook. “Go right in.”

The ceremony had begun and Pamela sat concealed in the back row behind a pillar. The church was packed with women in cocktail dresses and men in suits. An arrangement of roses in a dazzling array of pinks and reds marked the entrance to every pew while a fuchsia-coloured rug littered with rose petals covered the aisle to the altar, spread, Pamela assumed, by the flower girls at the front. Twinkling chandeliers hung overhead. So different from her step-daughter’s simple wedding with only her small bouquet of lily-of-the valley in the McGill chapel with family and a few friends.

Pamela was in time for the wedding vows and the exchange of rings. During the signing of the marriage documents, a quintet played Schubert’s famous Trout Quintet.

The opulence of the final procession to Mendelssohn’s Wedding March down the aisle and out the church felt straight out of an Italian opera. The four bridesmaids in rhinestone tiaras were in fairy tale pink on the arms of handsome ushers in black tuxedos. Maid-of-honour Lindy, wearing a headband of multi-coloured gems, was
stunning in her pastel green silk dress adorned with emeralds. Pamela couldn’t wait to tell her how beautiful she looked.

In her pink diamond floral tiara, the blond-haired bride, holding a bouquet of pink orchids gazed up in awe at her distinguished-looking husband. She swished by in her ivory-white wedding gown trimmed at the neck with rose gems and tiny pearls. Two smiling six-year-old twin girls in fluffy organdy dresses held her flowing train. What a choreography! Pamela thought.

When Pamela believed the wedding party and all the guests were out of the building, she entered the lobby and had a long chat with the woman she had met on the way in. She was a recent theology graduate, Pamela discovered, in charge of Sunday services for the summer, but a clergymen imported from New York had performed the wedding.

“Exquisite dresses,” Pamela said.

The woman looked annoyed. “I noticed. These destination weddings,” she shrugged, “they’re a lot of bother. This morning, very early, hired men arrived with a lavish rug for the aisle. Then the truck full of flowers. After that, the heavy Steinway piano for the quintet from the Julliard School of Music.”

“The Julliard School!” said Pamela. “No wonder they were so good.”

“Well,” she said with a look of resignation, “with these millionaires, in a place like Nantucket, only the best!”

***
Pamela arrived on her bike at the whaling captain’s mansion as the sun was setting. She wondered how Lindy had managed at the reception but now everything was over. Through the wide-open windows, she heard a fiery conversation going on inside.

“What do you mean she spoiled the whole scene?” said Jimmy. He sounded angry.

“This was a destination wedding,” said Lindy. “Every detail was planned. Like a set for a Broadway musical. With the crème de la crème of Wall Street closely watching!”

Pamela recognized the voice of the bridesmaid who had commented on her necklace. She chimed in, “There was your friend in a pew at the back. Not even in a cocktail dress. Uninvited. And in what?” She screamed. “Jeans!”

Pamela shrank in horror. They were talking about her. She had no idea anyone from the wedding party had seen her at the church. She crouched down on the grass and wondered whether she should just bike away and call Jimmy later on his cell phone. She had really goofed up. This place was no Montreal, where even the homeless sometimes flopped in churches, and no one paid attention.

“After the wedding,” said Lindy, “I saw her talking in the lobby to the minister of the church. Is this what you anthropologists do?”

“Listen here,” said Jimmy in an authoritative voice Pamela couldn’t help admiring, “a church is a public place. You don’t own it. Anyone can come in at any time, wedding or no wedding.” That’s what she had told Jimmy, but obviously in this place it was not true. “Also,” he went on, “I just bet the financial big wigs never noticed.”
“If I noticed,” said Lindy, “others did too.”

Pamela rubbed her eyes. Did she look that bad? The young minister didn’t think so. She’d practically ushered her in. For a moment, she thought about her father, an elder at the Presbyterian church when she was growing up, always making her wear her Sunday best to church. This was not relevant, or maybe it was.

Pamela suddenly felt sorry for Lindy. Her survival in wildly competitive New York surely depended upon impressing the financial kingpins and conforming to social proprieties. Given her interest in women and minorities, she could understand. She thought of the highly-skilled Tunisian women she had met in Montreal in the aftermath of the Arab Spring, and their struggle to be accepted in the Montreal workplace, even though they spoke good French. Trying to survive as a visible minority today, in this era of populism, wasn’t easy.

Now, in addition to tripping up, she had painted her protégé Jimmy into an awkward corner with his old school friend. Jimmy looked as though he had been tossed around by a hurricane when he stumbled out of the mansion into the front garden. Pamela scrambled up from the grass.

“I can’t stay a day longer with these foolish people,” he said as they wheeled their bikes to the sidewalk. He stood still and gritted his teeth.

Sweating profusely, Pamela fretted that she have known better. As an anthropologist, how could she have made such a mistake!

“Lindy expects me to stay until Monday, to clean up, houseboy style,” he said. “Well,
to hell with it. Tomorrow, let’s get the fuck out of here. We can go to Provincetown.”

“You sure?” Pamela felt faint.

“Dead sure,” he replied. “I won’t go into it. I just don’t fit in.”


“You did?”

“There’s an anthropological lesson here,” she jumped in. “On the pitfalls of participant observation.” If sitting in the back row of a church and observing a destination wedding could be called that. Jimmy kicked the curb of the sidewalk in exasperation.

“I made a big mistake. Lindy lives in male, straight, WASP New York. Surely, you of all people can understand that!” She wondered how much discrimination Lindy had to face, regularly, especially in these times under President Donald Trump.

“Don’t make excuses for her,” said Jimmy who claimed his brown skin and ethnic origins had never held him back. Well, Pamela thought, that was because he was a male doing research in developing countries. Also McGill was trying to be more diverse.

“Please,” he said. “Lay off being politically correct.”

Pamela was grateful for Jimmy’s concern for her, but she felt at fault.

“Open your ears,” he said and tossed Pamela a smile. “I’ve got an alibi for an escape from here. Just watch me,” he said, echoing a famous phrase by former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau.
“Our department chair just texted me,” he said in a resounding voice. “He needs to see me right away.” He whirled around and faced the house. “For a course on slave labour in the Third World,” he shot into the air.

“Take that,” he said under his breath, “you capitalist hussies!”
“Undone” from the Start: Seduced by Freedom in Hannah Foster’s *The Coquette*

Linda L. Chandler
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Published in 1797, Hannah Foster’s early American novel, *The Coquette* offers a fictional account of a factual event, as Foster transforms a newspaper clipping into a sensational novel. In her fictional rendering, Foster does not alter the key facts of the central character’s fall. Like the historical Elizabeth Whitman, Foster’s character, Eliza Wharton, has an illicit affair, is abandoned, gives birth to a stillborn child, and follows that child to her own death. Although most readers viewed Hannah Foster’s epistolary narrative as a drama of seduction, the sexual fall in Foster’s tale is oddly anti-climatic. Written in a time when a heroine’s sexual fall invariably served as a cautionary and instructive tool for young women, Eliza Wharton’s loss of innocence feels more like a narrative afterthought. In most seduction novels, the seduction culminates in the sexual fall of the protagonist and the sexual fall marks the loss of female innocence. However, I believe that Eliza Wharton has already fallen from
innocence by the time her sexual fall occurs in *The Coquette*.

Eliza’s sexual affair is a symptom of the problem, not the problem itself. Her crime is her refusal to accept immediately a proposal of marriage from a respectable suitor. Foster’s novel underscores concerns with marriage, the marriage market, and the opportunities available for female citizens. She uses the institution of marriage to critique a political and social system that values self-expression, independence, and action by showing how codes of conduct restrict women from expressing these values. Unlike the other female characters in the novel, Eliza refuses to operate as a pro-domesticity spokesperson for the patriarchal order. Unlike the real life Elizabeth Whitman, Foster paints her protagonist as a strong woman torn between her own desires for independence and the societal pressure to accept a marriage proposal. In the crucial transitional stage between daughterhood and wifehood, between her father’s home and her husband’s home, Eliza struggles to negotiate her precarious place within this new independent society as a republican woman. Eliza’s initial ambivalence and eventual hostility towards marriage drives this seduction novel, revealing that republican virtue in late eighteenth-century America can sustain only one ideal of womanhood—republican wifehood. Set during a crucial period for the young republic, Eliza “prefigures a host of self-reliant American heroes, from Natty Bumppo to Isabel Archer, whose lives also serve as comment on the meaning and nature of freedom” (Wenska 246). Rather than a tale of sexual innocence corrupted, *The Coquette* begins with a female protagonist who has been corrupted by an ideology of rights, freedom, and self-determination. In a period of great uncertainty for the
new republic, where society was anxious about inscribing a woman’s place, what are the ramifications of this ideological seduction and its narrative timing?

Most readers see *The Coquette* as a drama of seduction but they locate the seduction in sexual terms only. While many critics note two different falls in this early American novel, a social fall and a sexual one, I believe there is also an ideological fall that occurs before the novel begins. Other critics (Sharon Harris, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Claire Pettengill, C. Leiren Mower, to name a few) have situated Eliza’s true loss of innocence earlier in the novel before the sexual fall. However, I am suggesting that Eliza “falls” before the novel even begins. Eliza has been seduced by the Revolutionary ideas of freedom and independence. This ideological “corruption” leads to Eliza’s social fall and eventual sexual fall. Eliza’s ideological corruption encompasses her desire not to participate in the marriage market; her lack of domestic virtue; her desire to place female friendship above all else; and her desire for independence over marriage. In other words, Eliza desires to be a *femme sole*,¹ an independent unmarried woman; she desires to remain a republican daughter rather than become a republican wife (and subsequently a republican mother), and therein lies the problem. The social and sexual falls could not occur without this ideological fall preceding them. Her desire for independence is an act of sedition in the early republic, and this is the true crime for which she must be punished. Her rhetoric marks her ideological corruption, or her lack of domestic virtue. I am taking Barbara Welter’s repositioning of domesticity as one of four cardinal virtues that defines “true

¹. Though it was frowned upon, there were a significant number of *femmes sole* in late-eighteenth-century America, mostly due to widowhood. See Mary Beth Norton’s *Liberty’s Daughters* for more on this subject.
womanhood” and using it to show that (1) Eliza lacks domestic virtue and (2) there are dire consequences both for women and for the nation when women lack this “virtue.” Her use of political, commercial and anti-domestic rhetoric reveal her corrupted state prior to any social or sexual fall. Eliza’s language betrays her true condition.

The novel opens with the language of seduction, as Eliza declares: “An unusual sensation possesses my breast; a sensation, which I once thought could never pervade it on any occasion whatever. It is pleasure; pleasure, my dear Lucy, on leaving my paternal roof!” (L1, 5). The sensation of “pleasure” that Eliza experiences is directly linked to freedom—”leaving [the] paternal roof.” Gillian Brown notes that “[Eliza’s] characterization of the change in her situation as a movement from subordination to freedom conspicuously echoes the rhetoric of filialism—the rights of each new generation over the claims of hereditary authority embodied in monarchy—that figured so urgently in American revolutionary polemics” (636). However the rhetoric of filialism was typically associated with men; only men had the right to choose whether to be married or not. As a woman asserting filial rights, Eliza finds herself cut loose from any authority and its protections.

Having narrowly escaped the noose of matrimony, Eliza finds herself free not only from her father’s authority, but also free from any male authority. Mr. Haly, who “was chosen to be a future guardian, and companion for [her]” (L1, 5), has died. Eliza had no choice in his initial selection as her guardian, though she had become reconciled: “As their choice; as a good man, and a faithful friend, I esteemed

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2. Hannah Webster Foster, *The Coquette; or, The History of Eliza Wharton* ed. Cathy Davidson. (1797. New York: Oxford UP, 1986). All further citations are from this text, noting first the letter number and then the page number.
The novel reflects the tension between the conventional system of an arranged marriage and the emerging idea of marriage based on mutual affection. The novel also provides its audience with a heroine in an unusual state. Eliza leaves the paternal roof not in the traditional way—as a wife—but in an anomalous condition: as an unmarried young woman who owns herself. She desires to remain a republican daughter, and resists becoming a republican wife.\(^3\) Underlying her desire to remain a republican daughter is her desire for self-ownership. Eliza wishes to prolong her premarital state “where socializing and ‘circulating’ are productive labor, not only providing opportunities to choose a suitable mate, but also reinforcing ties between women” (Pettengill 188). Eliza, however, is not concerned with “choos[ing] a suitable mate,” and that is her tragic flaw.

In the same opening letter that emphasizes the pleasurable sensation of freedom, Eliza announces her desire for independence: “Calm, placid, and serene; thoughtful of my duty, and benevolent to all around me, I wish for no other connection than that of friendship” (L1, 6). Her aspiration “for no other connection than that of friendship” reveals her longing to be a femme sole as well as to remain a republican daughter. Her desire for male friendship reveals a post-Revolutionary female sensibility in which republican women began to question the assumption that marriage was a woman’s sole destiny desired above all else.

In addition to Eliza, every other female character in Foster’s text is defined

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3. Irene Fizer states “the republican daughter whose identity is unbound—neither a property of father nor husband—and who, at least momentarily, belongs to herself alone, will end as an outcast” (244). According to Fizer, the discourse of the republican daughters was short lived (unique to the 1790s and early 1800s), replaced with the ideology of republican motherhood (243).
in relation to the marriage market: Julia Granby is poised to enter in the marriage market; Lucy Freeman is engaged and marries (becoming Mrs. Sumner) during the novel; Mrs. Richman currently partakes in it as a married woman; and Mrs. Wharton, as the matriarchal widow, has played a part in it. Each of these women represents a stage in the progression of republican domesticity: Julia Granby is the republican daughter, eager to take her place as republican wife; Lucy Sumner (née Freeman) is the republican daughter who transitions to republican wife; Mrs. Richman is the traditional republican wife, who becomes a republican mother during the course of the novel; and Mrs. Wharton is the matriarchal republican wife, who is now the republican widow. Marriage was essential to the new republic and “the very pattern from which the cloth of republican society was to be cut” (Lewis 689). Indeed, marriage was the foundation of republican virtue: “In the republic envisioned by American writers, citizens were to be bound together not by patriarchy’s duty or liberalism’s self-interest, but by affection, and it was, they believed, marriage, more, than any other institution, that trained citizens in this virtue” (Lewis 689). These female characters enact the female circulation that is necessary for the new republic to succeed. But Eliza Wharton counters this ideology and disrupts this circulation by desiring “no other connection than that of friendship.”

The novel’s cast of female characters promotes a pattern of movement from paternal to marital roof, with no detours. Yet Eliza feels that taking this well-defined route would mean an erasure of her identity and independence. Mrs. Richman, Eliza’s happily married friend, tells her: “Your friends, my dear, solicitous for your welfare,
wish to see you suitably and agreeably connected” (L12, 24) to her new suitor, Reverend Boyer. Her best friend, Lucy, informs Eliza that “[Reverend Boyer’s] situation in life is, perhaps, as elevated as you have a right to claim” (L13, 27), using a rhetoric of rights to describe Eliza’s domestic prospects. However, Eliza hesitates and deliberates as she attempts to prolong her status as daughter: “I do not intend to give my hand to any man at present. I have but lately entered society; and wish, for a while, to enjoy my freedom, in the participation of pleasures, suited to my age and sex;” (L26, 50) and later in the same letter: “I am at present, and know not but I ever shall be, too volatile for a confinement to domestic avocations, and sedentary pleasures” (L26, 53). Eliza believes that she is not fit to be wife and mother “at present” nor in the future. Eliza desires sole proprietorship of herself. She knows that she will relinquish her freedom and her power once she becomes a femme covert, a republican wife, so she attempts to avoid the marriage market.

Eliza’s wish for “no other connection” reflects her desire to move without restriction, a desire which she often expresses using the political rhetoric of liberty and freedom. At one point, Mrs. Richman asks Eliza, “Your heart, I presume, is now free?” Eliza replies, “Yes and I hope it will long remain so” (L5, 13). While Mrs. Richman means available for an attachment when she says “free,” for Eliza “free” means free from attachment. Unrestricted social mobility, constitutes her status as an agent rather than her status as a commodity with exchange value. Fizer notes that “the republican daughter increasingly was allowed to circulate within the marriage market, and to exercise her own choice about suitors” (257-58). But Eliza cannot “exercise her own
choice” when that choice is to not participate in the marriage market. The Coquette reveals a conflict between the ideology and the practice of republican daughterhood, a conflict that produced anxiety for society. Fizer comments, “Circulating within the social sphere, the republican daughter became a subject of intense scrutiny and attack in the 1790s” (251). Certainly Eliza is scrutinized by her friends, and this scrutiny contributes to her social fall.

Eliza claims the right to enter (or, more pointedly, not to enter) the marriage market on her own terms, and the right to choose a marriage based on mutual affection rather than convention—rights which entail changing the structure of the marriage market, so that women function as agents rather than as objects of exchange. Eliza claims the right in her words and actions to manage the circulation of her own body (Mower 317). (However, that does mean that she actually gets to enjoy it.) Eliza continually emphasizes her desire to make her own choices, and as a republican daughter she is in a position in which she theoretically has the ability to do so. Through Eliza, Foster applies the political discourse of liberty to female private life, suggesting that the public rhetoric of Revolution has meaning in the private domain.

Eliza’s rhetoric underscores her longing for self-ownership: “[Mrs. Richman] insisted that I should own myself somewhat engaged to [Mr. Boyer]. This, I told her I should never do to any man, before the indissoluble knot was tied. That, said I, will be time enough to resign my freedom” (L14, 30). With marriage as an “indissoluble knot,” participation in the eighteenth-century marriage market was a serious and critical undertaking for women. Claire Pettengill aptly characterizes it as “marriage
Lucy voices the underlying anxiety of marriage trauma when she tells Eliza: “Remember that you are acting for life; and that your happiness in this world, perhaps in the next, depends on your present choice!” (L29, 59). Marriage is a decision “for life,” with eternal implications. Tying the “indissoluble knot” is a life sentence that involves the resignation of freedom. Eliza is in no hurry to tie that “knot”: “[there] will be time enough to resign my freedom.” She uses a language of constriction to express her feelings about the trauma of marriage: “indissoluble,” “knot,” “tied.”

According to the laws of coverture, a woman forfeited her identity once she married, as it was reassigned (or “re-signed”) to be a reflection of her husband’s identity. Thus Eliza’s portrayal of marriage as a loss of female freedom and of female self-possession is no exaggeration. For women in this historical moment, marriage was a process of confinement, one to which women must surrender or “resign” themselves. Marriage was not only an act of submission but also an erasure of self.

As a “connection,” marriage is a tie that binds, a bond that signifies restriction and captivity in Eliza’s eyes. Thus, for Eliza, marriage is a state to be avoided. She barely escapes domestic internment as wife to her fiancé, Mr. Haly, who dies before they can wed and before the novel begins. As early as letter five, Eliza reiterates her desire to remain unconnected: “I studiously avoided every kind of discourse which might lead to this topic [of marriage with Reverend Boyer]. I wish not for a declaration from any one, especially from one whom I could not repulse and do not intend to encourage at present” (L5, 12). All it takes is “a declaration from any one” to propel Eliza into

4. Pettengill states that “the thought of marriage provoked genuine anxiety in many young women” and Eliza’s decision is particularly fraught “because her indecisiveness embodied a number of postrevolutionary anxieties, including issues of political alliance, economic change, social status, and urbanization” (186).
the marriage market. She can become a participant in this market without choosing to do so—a male declaration is all that is required. Once a man makes a declaration of marital interest, her social position begins to change. Eliza’s characterization of Boyer as one “whom [she] could not repulse” indicates the immediate loss of female freedom that is caused by a male declaration. Eliza cannot refuse Boyer and so, she understandably does not want to encourage him. This moment reveals the precarious position of the republican daughter, exposing female freedom as conditional, resting within male hands.

Eliza’s avoidance of the topic of marriage with Boyer represents her desperate attempt to become an agent in the marriage economy, rather than an object of exchange within this economy of male desire. Waldstreicher states, “As Eliza Wharton goes public…she becomes less free, for in virtue’s marketplace she is a defined commodity: not allowed to change, to be various, or even to have an interior will that differs from the true feelings she must show” (207). Marriage is not based on mutual affection or “true feelings” but is a business transaction that occurs in a “marketplace” where women are “defined commodities.” Eliza, however, endeavors to set her own terms and conditions for entrance into and participation within the marriage economy: “I hope my friends will never again interpose in my concerns of that nature” (L5, 13). Eliza’s evasion is an effort to establish female will as a component of the marriage market. Eliza aspires not only to choose whom to marry, but also when to marry, and ultimately whether to marry or not.

Critics read Eliza as unable to choose between Boyer and Sanford: “I am not
sufficiently acquainted with either yet, to determine which to take” (L26, 51). Wenska asserts that Eliza refuses to choose between them because she simply does not know “which to take” (247); Hamilton depicts Eliza’s dilemma as an issue of class mobility: “[Eliza] is presented with the competing appeals of the republican expectation of marrying within one’s own socioeconomic class ... and the opportunities for upward mobility in late eighteenth-century, urban America” (135-6). Claire Pettengill also sees Eliza’s “marriage trauma” as the result of her agonizing inability to choose (186). But, in my view, her “marriage trauma” is caused by the requirement that she must choose—that she cannot extend her state of freedom as a republican daughter. Once a proposal has been made by a respectable suitor, Eliza is expected to accept it and she is pressured by her friends to do so. The real trauma is that Eliza enters the marriage market when she does not intend to, her entrance precipitated by a “male declaration,” and that she cannot wait for a suitor whom she prefers. I do not read Eliza as suffering from “irresolution” as Wenska, Hamilton, and Pettengill do. Her chief dilemma does not stem from the choice between Boyer and Sanford, but from the fact that she prefers neither. Boyer and Sanford are both inadequate prospects; Eliza would prefer to choose neither unless she could combine them into a single man: “What a pity, my dear Lucy, that the graces and virtues are not oftener united! They must, however, meet in the man of my choice; and till I find such a one, I shall continue to subscribe my name Eliza Wharton” (L10, 22). She desires more than a loveless marriage, or marriage for its own sake.

Faced with this unhappy choice of suitors, Eliza voices an anti-domestic rhetoric
that discloses her hostility towards marriage itself. When referring to Mrs. and General Richman as the “happy pair,” Eliza says: “Should it ever be my fate to wear the hymenial chain, may I be thus united!” (L6, 14). Even with the best example of domesticity, domesticity is still represented as confining and restricting, a “hymenial chain.” Eliza’s anti-marital rhetoric surfaces in another letter: “But I despise those contracted ideas which confine virtue to a cell. I have no notion of becoming a recluse” (L5, 13). For Eliza, marriage is a “cell,” a “contracted idea” which encloses women and transforms them into “recluse[s].” There is no question about how Eliza feels—she “despise[s] those contracted ideas.” She does not endorse an ideology of marital bliss. Rather, her rhetoric functions as a disruption, a dissenting voice that advances the view that marriage and domesticity control women and suppress female desire. Instead of conjugal bliss or republican duty, marriage is a prison for women, one which robs them of their agency and independence.

Eliza’s negative view of marriage is particularly evident when she writes to Lucy, her soon-to-be-wed best friend:

Marriage is the tomb of friendship. It appears to me a very selfish state. Why do people, in general, as soon as they are married, centre all their cares, their concerns, and pleasures in their own families? Former acquaintances are neglected or forgotten. The tenderest ties between friends are weakened, or dissolved; and benevolence itself moves in a very limited sphere. (L12, 24)

Eliza not only wishes to be a free agent in the marriage economy, but she also
defiantly devalues this institution of holy matrimony. To Eliza, marriage is worse than confinement; it is a “tomb,” which signifies the death of friendship and the death of the individual, not a happy state of conjugal union. Eliza’s concerns are confirmed when Mrs. Richman observes “we cannot always pay that attention to former associates which we may wish” (L12, 25). Pettengill points out that once Mrs. Richman and Lucy marry, “their primary focus is now on their own fledging households. They still value their friends, but no longer need them so desperately” (194). Pettengill continues: “Words like Mrs. Richman’s, then, are not calculated to ease Eliza Wharton’s ‘marriage trauma’; rather they reinforce her fears that marriage will burden her with new and not necessarily pleasant responsibilities, and simultaneously weaken the most important bonds of her life. Indeed, they tell her that the process has already begun; that those she loves most have already begun to drift away” (195). For Eliza, marriage marks an ending rather than a beginning.

Thus, her hesitation to accept Boyer’s proposal does not reflect a desire to be a coquette, but rather her ambivalence, and even hostility, towards the state of marriage. For instance, at Lucy’s wedding, Eliza reacts as if she were at a funeral:

Every eye beamed with pleasure on the occasion, and every tongue echoed the wishes of benevolence. Mine only was silent. Though not less interested in the felicity of my friend than the rest, yet the idea of a separation; perhaps, of an alienation of affection, by means of her entire devotion to another, cast an involuntary gloom over my mind. (L36, 70)

Marriage marks the death of her friendship with Lucy, since Eliza can no longer be
the primary object of Lucy’s affection. Instead of joy, Eliza experiences “gloom.” Eliza is not only unable to say congratulations, but seems incapable of speaking at all. Her response is bodily and “involuntary.” Her depressed incapacitation indicates how deeply her feelings about marriage are rooted within her. Eliza’s actions at Lucy’s wedding challenge society’s notion that marriage is desired by all women, the wish that supposedly echoes on “every tongue.”

Reverend Boyer misreads this moment. He offers to escort Eliza to Lucy after the ceremony, saying “[Lucy’s] happiness must be heightened by your participation of it.” Eliza replies, “Oh no…I am too selfish for that. She has conferred upon another that affection which I wished to engross. My love was too fervent to admit a rival” (L36, 70). Eliza speaks here as if she were Lucy’s scorned lover. Eliza cannot participate in Lucy’s happiness. She is too concerned with her own personal loss as she admits that she is “too selfish” to “heighten” Lucy’s happiness. Eliza’s jealousy hinders her ability to celebrate her friend’s happiness.

Boyer responds with a proposal: “Retaliate then… [against] this fancied wrong, by doing likewise” (L36, 70). Rather than seeing marriage as the problem, Boyer regards marriage as the solution. In this moment of true virtue or “ideal transparency,” where Eliza’s body matches her heart, Boyer misconstrues Eliza’s depressive jealousy. He believes her sadness is due to her unmarried state. His inability to read Eliza only confirms her suspicions about their incompatible dispositions. He cannot conceive that Eliza does not wish to be married. His misunderstanding of Eliza here also
foreshadows his later, more dire misconception regarding Sanford’s intrusion upon Eliza in the garden, which leads Boyer to reject her.

Eliza secretly meets with Sanford with the intention of rejecting him and announcing her acceptance of Boyer’s marriage proposal. Her clandestine interview with Sanford, which is witnessed by Boyer, marks Eliza’s social fall. This social fall has irreparable repercussions—it destroys her exchange value. Boyer’s rejection removes Eliza from the marriage market altogether, destroying any chance of her one-day becoming a republican wife able to fulfill a civic duty. Ironically, he effects what she has wanted all along, but it is devastating to her. With her exclusion from the marriage market, Eliza transforms from active agent into passive victim. The irreversible consequences do not directly result from the interview itself, but from Boyer’s witnessing and misreading of it. Rejected by Boyer and abandoned by Sanford, Eliza changes from an object of exchange into an object of speculation, whose “affairs are made [the] town talk” (L44, 99).

Sanford’s letter to Deighton explains the reason for Eliza’s consent to the request for an interview: “She was entangled by a promise (not to marry this priest without my knowledge,) which her conscience would not let her break” (L42, 94-95). Eliza’s previous letter reveals: “I have nearly determined, in compliance with the advice of my friends, and the dictates of my own judgment, to give Mr. Boyer the preference, and with him to tread the future round of life” (L41, 91). Eliza has chosen to marry Boyer. Eliza’s acceptance of Boyer’s marriage proposal is motivated by her desire to participate in the circle of sisterhood she has been excluded from: “To repair the
loss, she must accept the unappealing, unsympathetic Rev. Boyer, who, by presiding over her transformation into a republican wife and mother, will enable her to rejoin their circle” (Pettengill 196). But when she chooses Boyer, she becomes victim to the “authoritative male discourse of her age” (Smith-Rosenberg 177). Smith-Rosenberg locates the “real seduction and fall” in the novel a year after this scene, when Eliza acquiesces in Boyer’s denunciation of her, confesses she has sinned, and begs him to marry her (175). Smith-Rosenberg states: “It is the relinquishing of her social and intellectual independence, not of her sexual virginity, that constitutes her true fall” (176). I agree that Eliza’s true fall is not sexual but one where she relinquishes her “social and intellectual independence” but I believe that happens when she agrees to marry Boyer. At this moment, she abandons her dream of freedom and decides to become a femme covert out of convention rather than affection. At this moment, she agrees to give up her rights as a person and her rights to her body.

This scene underscores a cultural anxiety about accurately reading appearances as Boyer and Sanford offer conflicting explanations for Eliza’s clandestine meeting with Sanford. Having returned to Mrs. Wharton’s parlor, Eliza asks Boyer, “Will you…permit me to vindicate my conduct and explain my motives?” Boyer replies, “Your conduct…cannot be vindicated; your motives need no explanation; they are too apparent!” (L40, 81). Boyer’s conviction that the truth of this interview is “apparent” is actually wrong. While Boyer claims Eliza’s motives as “apparent,” this scene exposes a crisis of virtue and authenticity because Eliza is no longer transparent.5

5. For more on the problem of “ideal transparency” see Mower. Waldstreicher defines virtue as a sense of transparency: the “‘coquette’ was the name for women whose display did not match and reveal her heart” (207). Waldstreicher also notes that in late eighteenth-century America there was a desire for transparency, the attempt to “make virtue wholly visible” (206).
Brown remarks, “Eliza’s calculated act of consent differentiates her public word from her private words and desires, creating at least two versions of herself” (628). Despite Boyer’s claims, her motives cannot be read, they are not “apparent,” as he misreads them. It is not that he can no longer read her, he never could. With this crisis of virtue, there is also a crisis of representation. The real fear is that perhaps women are not as they seem, that they are not transparent and readable. Even though Eliza’s motives are innocent, Boyer’s misinterpretation prevails. And while Sanford offers a virtuous motive for Eliza’s actions, that “she was entangled by a promise,” Boyer’s point of view takes precedence. Boyer’s voice ultimately becomes the hegemonic voice in the novel.

In the end, Boyer’s judgment, based on a misconception, ruins Eliza’s reputation. Upon Boyer’s return to the house, after he has witnessed this meeting, Eliza states “I must leave you [Sanford]…I will go and try to retrieve my character. It has suffered greatly by this fatal interview” (L41, 92). Eliza realizes that her “character” rests in Boyer’s hands and not her own, hence her attempt to “retrieve” it. Eliza does not have ultimate control over her character. Not only does this interview tarnish her character, but Eliza recognizes the consequences as “fatal,” which connects her ultimate demise to this pivotal moment.

Surprisingly, Eliza does not immediately defend herself: “Eliza entered the room…She sat down at the window and wept” (L40, 81). In this moment of male rejection, Eliza begins to be effaced; her voice of dissent and independence is silenced, and she becomes a victim of appearances. Eliza asks Boyer for permission to explain
her motives rather than offering an explanation outright: “Will you...permit me to vindicate my conduct and explain my motives?” (emphasis added). But he denies her request, a rejection that marks her fall from agency.

Eliza never regains herself after this episode. She withers away in isolation, her vivacity gone and her voice progressively silenced. Her desire for social connection is lost. Eliza’s letters are less frequent and shorter in length: “…you must excuse me if my letters are shorter than formerly. Writing is not so agreeable to me as it used to be” (L59, 127). Eliza’s subdued voice marks her final transformation into an object. She cannot participate in society because she does not have a civic function to fulfill without the possibility of becoming a republican wife.

When Eliza does speak, she uses the language of a fallen woman, despite the fact that no sexual fall has occurred (Davidson 146). She tells Lucy, “Oh my friend, I am undone! I am slighted, rejected by the man who once sought my hand, by the man who still retains my heart!” (L48, 105). Foster’s rhetorical invocation of sexual corruption to describe Eliza’s social fall reveals the importance of character and the magnitude of the loss of reputation for women. Eliza directly connects her fall, “I am undone,” with Boyer’s second rejection (after Eliza admits her wrongdoing, asks for Boyer’s forgiveness and for him to reconsider his marriage proposal). Like Smith-Rosenberg, Mower feels that Eliza has been “‘seduced’ into the economic and social necessity of offering herself to Reverend Boyer more than a year after his initial proposal...Eliza’s fall actually seems to coincide with her perception that the performance of her proprietorship will not bring about its material realization” (335).
Boyer rejects Eliza by telling her that he has chosen someone else to marry. Mower registers this moment as a “crisis of self-management” (335) for Eliza, and Eliza herself states: “I have given him the power of triumphing in my distress” (L48, 105). The issue of “power” underscores Boyer’s rejection at this juncture. By admitting guilt and asking for a second chance, Eliza loses all power in this relationship. The control and power is within Boyer’s hands. After Boyer announces that he has chosen another, Eliza then utters the language of a (sexually) fallen woman. This moment is crucial for Eliza. Her friends are republican wives and she must become one in order to maintain the bonds of sisterhood. But Boyer’s final rejection causes Eliza to fall “irrevocably from the unity of the harmonious circle” (Pettengill, 198). With his rejection, she loses her value as an object of exchange and as such she cannot rejoin the female circle as a marketable object. Her social fall (there is no sexual fall yet) removes her from the circle of domesticity that her friends enjoy. However, it is her ideological fall, her initial desire for freedom and self-ownership, which leads to this social fall and her subsequent sexual fall.

The marriage market is potentially traumatizing for women because men ultimately control it, and it controls women’s fates. Boyer’s first choice does not result in a successful match, so he makes another choice and his life does not fall apart. But Boyer’s censure plunges Eliza into social withdrawal and erasure. Eliza is slowly removed from the narrative; her letters, her voice is heard and read with less frequency: “I hope you and Mrs. Sumner will excuse my writing but one letter, in answer to the number I have received from you both. Writing is an employment which suits me not at present” (L62, 134). And her letter to her mother just before her
In what words, in what language shall I address you? What shall I say on a subject that deprives me of the power of expression?” (L68, 153). Eliza has lost “the power of expression.” Sharon Harris writes that Eliza abandons writing because she recognizes that it is “futile:”

Late in the novel, when Eliza comes to believe that society’s dictates will prevail, she abandons writing as futile, recognizing that there is no place in late-eighteenth-century American society for her opinions. It is the recognition of this fact that constitutes Eliza’s true loss of innocence… In many ways, the novel’s structure is the unfolding of Eliza’s growing awareness of this social truth. (5)

For Harris, this moment marks Eliza’s true fall. When Eliza abandons writing, she abandons all that she previously believed in.

The marked epistolary absence of Eliza’s interiority toward the end of the novel illustrates Eliza’s withdrawal—a withdrawal from her community of female friends which is, in turn, a withdrawal from the reader. Eliza’s withdrawal is both a personal choice and a response to societal pressure. I believe Eliza withdraws because of a sense of embarrassment at first—Boyer has rejected her and married another. Eliza’s friends attempt to bring her back into the female circle by telling her to socialize, but Eliza feels too humiliated. She wallows in her sorrow and shame. Once she feels she has no place in republican society, then she succumbs to Sanford’s advances. Her subsequent alienation results from her feelings of shame, feelings that have fatal consequences.
Boyer’s rejection signifies Eliza’s theoretical loss of innocence, the tainting of her character. A flawed character is tantamount to sexual defilement. She has symbolically lost her virginity and, with it, her ability to become a republican wife and mother. Thus, without a respectable suitor, Eliza is essentially socially dead since she no longer fulfills a function in this republican society. It is only a matter of time before Eliza physically loses her virginity. Smith Rosenberg notes that “[o]nly then, having lost independence, pleasure, and happiness, does Eliza relinquish her virtue as well” (177). Davidson remarks, “[s]uccumbing to Sanford merely confirms and symbolizes what rejection by Boyer has already proved” (146). Oddly, the sexual fall has neither pleasure nor passion for either Eliza or Sanford, marking Eliza’s sexual fall as an atypical seduction. Smith-Rosenberg asks: “Can the striking absence of sexual passion be explained, then, by the fact that Foster’s Coquette…died not from lust but from the imprudent desire for an impossible social independence and the desire to assert her right to control her own body?” (175). With Eliza, we see that the attempt to enact female rights within the marriage economy is a challenge to the patriarchal order and that challenge has fatal consequences.\(^6\)

In the end, the novel closes with Julia Granby’s voice. The details of Eliza’s sexual fall are not told in Eliza’s own words, but in Julia’s. Julia’s letters fill the latter part of the narrative where she becomes the voice of truth and reason. Julia arrives after Eliza’s letter to Lucy in which Eliza declares herself “undone.” Julia becomes a sacrifice for community cohesiveness.

\(^6\) Her death shortly after childbirth also reflects an anxiety about the corrupt maternal body that bears an illegitimate child. Not only is this maternal body destroyed, but the child also dies. The absence of a name or gender for this child, robs it of any sentimental attachment, and suggests that Eliza gives birth to her dissension itself, and her sedition causes her death. Eliza is the sacrificial lamb whose death binds the community and reinforces the patriarchal domestic ideology which regulates women’s participation within the marriage market. See Julia Stern for more about Eliza as a sacrifice for community cohesiveness.
replacement for Eliza, as Eliza herself writes of Julia: “She is all that I once was; easy, sprightly, debonair” (L50, 108). As a literary replacement for Eliza, Julia is not only “all that [Eliza] once was,” but also becomes all that Eliza could have been. The novel ends with Julia’s voice—her letter to Mrs. Wharton recounting Eliza’s tombstone inscription. Julia Granby is the character who ultimately restores balance to the chaos that has erupted. As the virtuous female representative, poised to enter the marriage economy, Julia Granby reinscribes the hegemonic domestic ideology. She is both an exemplar and part of the female collective, a “spokeswomen for republican ideology” (Hamilton 141) who disseminates a message of domestic interest that benefits the patriarchal order by confining and restricting female desire.

Julia and Eliza represent the two different figures of daughters operating during this time period and in the novel: that of the daughter loyal to the republican collective and that of the revolutionary daughter pursuing her own happiness, her own intractable desire (Fizer 259). Julia represents the loyal daughter and Eliza represents the revolutionary daughter. Eliza endorses the latter message to pursue one’s own happiness and desire, a message which is incompatible with domesticity and ultimately incompatible with republican ideology. Fizer notes that “with the new stress on the household as the source of virtue and stability in government, attention necessarily focused on women…Eliza Wharton’s rejection of domesticity is tantamount to a negation of the entire republican ethos” (249-50). Eliza’s desire not to participate in the marriage market reflects her lack of domestic virtue, which has civic implications as it translates into a lack of republican virtue. Fizer remarks that:
the “relation between civic and domestic spheres was central to republican political ideology. The unmarried daughter, circulating between these spheres, was expected to maintain this relation in a proper balance” (249). Eliza, however, does not live up to this expectation.

Eliza Wharton claims political rights—the right to choose whom to marry and when to marry. The choice to marry is also an assertion of the right to control her own body, making Eliza somewhat of a republican heroine. Eliza wishes to “exercise free will” (L14, 29) in determining her future and she “attempts to mimic the freedom of choice successfully practiced by men” (Hamilton 146). She tries to become an independent agent within the marriage economy by transacting her own exchange, but she fails because she is a woman. Eliza naively seeks to exercise her freedom only to learn that she has none. Her resistance to the current structures of the marriage market interrupts the circulation of women. Her actions and her words disrupt the patriarchal constructions of the traditional route of exchange for women from father to husband, thereby halting the conventional mode of transformation from daughter to wife to mother. For this, she is punished.

Eliza is a woman who lacks domestic virtue. According to Bloch, republican virtue “refers not to female private morality but to male public spirit, that is to the willingness of citizens to engage actively in civic life and to sacrifice individual interests for the common good” (38). Domestic virtue becomes the equivalent of female public spirit in that domestic virtue maintains and promotes domesticity, which in turn maintains and promotes republican virtue. Private (or self) interest is
put aside for the sake and welfare of the family and ultimately the nation. In other words, what is performed in the private realm benefits or harms the public good. Yet Eliza has no desire to promote domestic virtue or domestic interest. And her lack of domestic virtue has civic implications.  

Davidson states that “Eliza Wharton sins and dies” (148) but where one locates that “sin” depends upon how the novel is read. Boyer’s rejection may narratively mark the point of no return for Eliza, but it is her refusal to enter the marriage market, her refusal to put domestic interest and republican interest above private interest, which leads to her eventual demise. Eliza pursues her own happiness and refuses the “pursuit of public good, the most virtuous of passions” (Waldstreicher 211). She refuses to sacrifice her personal liberty for the social order or common good. Her “sin” is her desire to be independent. Her attempts to remain as a republican daughter serve as a barrier to the transmission of domestic ideology, and that is the true cause of her ruin.

Eliza stands as a figure of dissent. She challenges the conditions of marriage for republican women. As a figure representing revolutionary energies gone awry, Eliza needs to be restrained, since a controlled domestic sphere is essential to the patriarchal republican order. Lewis notes “it was not merely sexual lust that republicans found so threatening, but immoderate desires of all kinds, ambition and self-interest chief

7. I see domestic virtue as embodied and domestic interest as theoretical. Bloch notes, “On the one hand, female virtues were themselves regarded as essentially natural. On the other hand, such virtues in women needed cultivation, and still more important, women were needed to cultivate virtue in men” (53). Bloch’s comments raises the question: is domestic virtue natural or does it need to be cultivated? Is Eliza’s lack of domestic virtue something inherent to her or can it be cultivated under the right circumstances? This question is left for the reader to consider.
among them” (720). At one point in the novel, Mrs. Richman tells Eliza that she has the “wrong ideas about freedom, and matrimony” (L14, 30). These “wrong ideas” cause Eliza to delay becoming a republican wife. Her hesitation suggests that marriage may not be the ideal goal for all women. Her indecision within and avoidance of the marriage market question domesticity and all its promises. Cathy Davidson points out *The Coquette* is more than a story about the wages of sin—it is a tale about the wages of marriage (143). This early American novel is even more so a tale about the wages of not marrying, about the costs of staying a republican daughter, and the false promise of freedom for women in the early republic.
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Negative Depiction of Female Characters in Igbo Folktales: A Correspondence Bias Perspective

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Abstract

Actors and actions in folktales are a reflection of actors and actions in real life. This study examines the negative portrayal of female characters in Igbo folktales. Previous studies in Igbo folktales have mainly dwelt on typologies and classification of folktales with no attention paid to the position and image of the characters. Consequently, the present study focuses on the depiction of the female character with a view to reviewing the negative female protagonist and her role in the tale. The Correspondence Bias Theory was adopted as analytical guide. Four human tales were purposively sampled from two collections of Igbo folktales: Nwaanyi na-akpo di ya onyeenu, “A woman that calls her husband ‘that person’”, and Nwa a na-emegbu emegbu, “The maltreated child”, from Nza na Obu; Nwa Udele no na Nne Orie, “A vulture in Nne Orie Market” and Ewu Chukwu, “Chukwu’s (god’s) goat” from Omalinze. The result shows that the negative portrayal of the female protagonists in these tales were a function of bias; there were more factors in their situation that contributed to their behavior (stubbornness and wickedness) than their personality. In Nwaanyi na-akpo di ya onyeenu, it is questionable that the woman used the unpalatable tag to refer to a husband she loved, without any cause. In Nwa a na-emegbu emegbu, there were traits found in the character of the late first wife’s daughter that compelled the second and third wives to maltreat her. In Nwa Udele no na Nne Orie, there were good reasons the trader-wife could not be restrained by her husband from staying late in the market. In Ewu Chukwu, security considerations on the part of the first wife must have fueled
her mean and unsavoury actions against the second wife and her daughter. In the tales sampled, patriarchy played a significant role in the biased presentation of these female protagonists, since the tales themselves were formed and crafted by the male folk. The position of this paper is that, it is improper to give a negative label to an actor due to a wrong action, in that situational pressures may have influenced the action.

**Keywords:** Igbo, folktales, correspondence bias, gender

**Introduction**

The folktale is seen to comprise of verbal stories and social rituals that are transmitted orally from generation to generation (Gubrium, 2009). Tarakcioglu (2008:3) submits that folktales are “mutual borrowings of humanity adapted to local circumstances and they are the means of passing on people’s experience and knowledge about nature, tradition and beliefs to cross borders and convey universal theories and messages”. Furthermore, tales are used to transmit historical, cultural and moral information, and provide escape and relief from the constant struggle to survive (Anderson, 2010). This is to say that folktales are globally prevalent and is an important element in every culture. Akporobaro (2001) views folktales as creative recreations of memorable experiences whose essential purpose is to entertain rather than to preserve history or social experience. In one hand, Anderson, (2010) corroborates this view by positing that folktales provide escape and relief from the tedium of life, but on the other hand opposes the assertion by suggesting that folktales document history, culture and moral norms of a people. In general, the significance of folktales cannot be overemphasized, or underestimated. Communities use folktales for entertainment and education, but
essentially as a bonding ritual (Namulundah, 2016) among folks and between folks and deities. Beyond entertainment, folktales play a significant role in the socialization and enculturation of children as they are replete with moral lessons that project and promote the mores, values, norms and world view of the community (Duruaku, 2015).

In terms of characteristics, folktales have three broad categories: animal tales, human tales and spirit tales (Onuekwusi, 2001); although animal tales are dominant across folktales in indigenous cultures (Duruaku, 2015), human tales also constitute a major chunk of tales, especially in the African context. Contrasted with animal tales that are largely symbolic, human tales present a more realistic and veritable aspect of tales. These are stories that portray real human beings in their natural habitat, their interactions, relationships, conflicts, developments, institutions, government etc. Human stories are more believable because they reflect the society’s beliefs, philosophies that guide human attitudes and behavior. Hence the stories highlight human idiosyncrasies and vices such as greed, lying, jealousy, hate, stubbornness, oppression, prejudice, murder etc, and virtues such as humaneness, kindness, loyalty, obedience, generosity, truthfulness etc. Accordingly, in folktales, both vice and virtue are rewarded for the purpose of promoting the good and denouncing the evil, respectively. Needless to say that the characters in human tales comprise of the two original genders, male and female; the portrayal of male and female in folktales are reflective and symptomatic of the nature of the community with their cultural ideologies and philosophies. In patriarchal society like Africa, men are assigned roles that correspond with their physical endowments while women are apportioned roles
that match their physical attributes. Hence, men mainly play out-house roles while women mainly play in-house roles. Consequently, due to elaborated, outstanding features of out-house roles, against the restricted, not so outstanding features of in-house responsibilities, men enjoy more socio-cultural space and are thus seen to play a major role in the community while women play restricted roles considered minor. One pronounced effect of this skewed gender construct is that it is the men who are the creators, custodians, interpreters, and administrators of the rules, ethos, and customs that guide the community.

The patriarchal nature of African societies (including Igbo) is generally reflected in folklore, and especially in folktales, legends and myths (Weinger et al, 2006). As a matter of fact, although folktales have no known authorship, by their very form and content, they are stories woven crafted, moulded and designed by men to document their own concept of the world and to perpetuate that view. If those views were conditioned by the deities and ancestors (non-human or spiritual entities) those deities and ancestors, were males whose vision and mission is to confirm the position of their human counterparts. Thus Okwechime (2005) posits that the overriding objective of folktales is to uphold the values of the dominant patriarchal culture that are biased against women. This position is corroborated by Yakubu (2006) who states that gender relations in Igbo folktales are lopsided as men and women relate on a superior-inferior ratio. It is noteworthy that, although folktales are fictional accounts, the world of the tale is no different from the world of the culture or society that owns the tale. This is why it is possible to have two tales that are similar in motif and character but different.
in the world they portray. Each culture situates its tales within the narrow confines of its world.

On the basis of the foregoing concern, this study seeks to examine the negative portrayal of women in selected Igbo folktales and the reason behind them. Specifically, the study seeks to critique the negative depiction of women in Igbo folktale through a process of multi-dimensional evaluation. This critique is delimited to the character of the female actors rather than their social roles. The tales are from two collections of folktales, *Omalinze* and *Nza na Obu*.

**Empirical Review**

The depiction of women in folktales is not the same across cultures; in some folktales women are seen as virtuous or evil like men while in some women are projected as more evil and less virtuous. A rundown of some studies in this area will provide a versatile perspective before we zero in on the Igbo case. Weinger et al (2006) studied the depiction of women in Cameroonian folktales. They found that women are deceptive and wicked especially against their fellow women. In the tale titled *The Palm Oil Daughter*, a barren woman promises an old witch that if she would give her a daughter, she would give that daughter back to her when she reaches the age of 17. The old witch obliges her and she gives birth to Ola, but on reaching the age of 17 the woman reneges on her promise and as a result dies. Thereafter, Ola marries a man who was later seduced by Ola’s best friend, Leega. Again Leega betrays Ola by revealing to her husband Ola’s inherited curse, that, she will melt into palm oil if she sits near a fire. Ola’s husband forces her to sit by a fire and she dissolves into palm
oil. In the folktales, women are depicted as betrayers, saboteurs and manipulators. In another tale titled *My best friend*, jealousy and spite drive a woman Ngefore (a second wife) to malign her former friend and confidant and persuade her husband to beat his first wife, Nchang. Although their husband Awah loved Nchang dearly, Ngefore changed all that when she became the second wife. She later plotted to kill Nchang who was once her best friend and who brought her to her husband Awah to marry because she (Nchang) was barren. In another tale titled *Ba Mbanye Ba Icon*, two lazy wives plot the death of a third hardworking wife, Demole, out of jealousy. Eventually the husband Ngokoba Ndinga came to the rescue and drives away the two wicked women, thus uncovering the murderous intent that springs from women’s jealousy of one another.

El-Nour (2011) examined women storytellers and the depiction of women in Sudanese folktales. She found that in the Sudanese folktales, women are mainly portrayed in positive light as super heroes. They play central roles and are extremely beautiful, wise, and loyal. The female protagonist takes centre-stage, all though while the male protagonist is a mere prop. In one of the stories, titled *al-Malik al-Bakhil* (the miserly king) the king’s daughter runs away from the palace after her father, the king threatened to kill her on hearing a lie fabricated by a foreigner that she was pregnant. In her wandering, disguised as a man, she met Wad-al-Nimair, a strong, rich and handsome young man who took care of her. After two years, she came back to the palace and her father killed the foreigner when he found out the truth. In another tale titled *Asha ya Na’im* (wake up sleeping one) the beautiful girl is helped
by the old witch to escape from the ghoul and foil the conspiracy of her jealous step-
sisters who planned to kill her. In these and other folk tales in Sudan, women are
depicted more positively than negatively.

Cooper (2013) examined the role of women in Japanese folktales among other
things. He found that women are depicted in both positive and negative lights. In
the folktale titled *Shita-kiri Suzume* (Tongue-cut Sparrow) a woman cut the tongue of
her husband’s sparrow and sent it away, because the sparrow perked at something that
belongs to her. The sad old husband went in search of the sparrow and later found it
and the sparrow invited the old man to his home and entertained him, and later, when
the old man wanted to return home, presented him with two baskets, one heavy and
the other light. The old man picked the light basket and went home only to discover
it was full of gold and precious gems. The envious and greedy wife sought direction
from the husband and went in search of the sparrow. On finding the sparrow she was
entertained and offered the same two baskets, and she picked the heavy one, only to
get home and discover it was full of evil things like goblin and elves.

Olarinmoye (2013) studied the image of women in Yoruba folktales and found
that, despite the popular belief that women are evil, Yoruba folktales present women
as good, bad or downright evil, just as the men. Out of the folktales sampled in the
study, it was seen that gender is not directly related to certain behavior or character,
rather character is gender neutral. This seemingly equal and complimentary feature
of gender in Yoruba folktales is based on the Yoruba culture which emphasizes that
some traditional values provide opportunities for women to be independent while
operating in a patriarchal space.

Namulundah (2016) examine female role models in Bukusu (Kenya) folktales. In terms of character, in the Bukusu tales, women exploit or abuse their step-children in the absence of their husbands; thus women are seen as divisive and oppressive. For example, in the tale titled *Simbi and Syuma*, the orphaned child Simbi eavesdrops and overhears the plot against his life by the wicked step-mother and tricks the step-mother into killing her own son Syuma. Additionally, the folktale titled *Njabila and his wife* depict the act of scheming mothers and an insensitive barren woman against other people’s children. However, some Bukusu folktales show women as heroes like *the ogres and the Infant* where a mother saved her family from starvation without help from anybody. In the tale, the mother confronts the ogres in their domain and farm and harvests their crops and rescues her child seized by the ogres. In the end, she takes possession of their farm of pumpkins and ends her family’s privations.

Although the studies above show different depictions of the female character across cultures, the present study will focus on the negative portrayal of female characters in Igbo folktales. This is with a view to re-examining the actions of the character in question, for the purpose of authenticating or dismissing the negative judgement of behaviour.

The Approach

The theory adopted as a guide for this study is the Correspondence Bias Theory. The term Correspondence Bias, was proposed in 1986 by social psychologists Edward E. Jones and Daniel Gilbert. However, research in Correspondence Bias is based on the
pioneering works of two social psychologists Fritz Heider and Gustev Ichneiser in the 1950s. The theory is embedded within the domain of social psychology known as Attribution theory, which is the general study of judgements that people draw from behavior (Bauman, 2010). Precisely, Correspondence Bias describes a perceived tendency to infer recurring or stable personality features from other people’s action or behavior, although such behavior may have been the effect of situational factors. The two key words in the definition are disposition, and situation; where disposition refers to elements within the individual and situation refer to elements outside the individual (Gawronski, 2003).

A common denominator shared by all attribution theories including Correspondence Bias is the possibility of two forces at work on the individual; external or situational forces press inward on the individual, and on the contrary, internal or personal forces exert pressure outward. Gilbert and Malone (1995) exemplify this position with a balloon. When a balloon rises in the morning sky, two factors may have contributed to its rise. First, is the external forces represented by the wind that nudged the balloon upwards. Second is the internal forces (helium) that contributed to its ascent. In this context, it will be wrong to attribute the ascent of the balloon to the helium (internal force) without considering the effect of the wind. Other human life examples are provided to explain the phenomena and they are the following: when a basketball player makes a poor shoot, and he is judged as a bad shooter without considering his circumstances, the judgment is a correspondence bias, in that poor lighting in the arena may have played a significant role in the missed throw.
When a politician speaks in support of abortion and he is judged as a liberal without looking into his situation, that judgment is a correspondence bias, because his speech may have been done to pander to the whims of his liberal audience. Or when one approaches a stranger for direction and the stranger behaves in a rude manner, and therefore is judged as rude and having a repulsive personality, without considering his situation, that judgement is correspondence bias; the stranger may have had a bad day at work, or had received a terrible bad news and unfortunately, you were the first person to come in contact with him.

All these individuals, the basketball player, the politician and the stranger performed the way they did, not because of their innate natural disposition or personality, but mainly because they were influenced by their circumstances, in these cases, poor lighting, a liberal audience, and a piece of bad news; this is to suggest that situational forces may be physical (poor lighting, liberal audience) or psychological (bad news). Thus, when a person makes an attribution or inference about another person’s behavior, there is usually an attempt to determine which factor acted more in influencing the other person’s behavior – the person or his situation. Therefore the basic rule of Correspondence Bias is that when a behavior takes place in the presence of an adequately strong facilitative force, it will be wrong for an observer to infer that the actor has a natural predisposition to act in that way. According to Gilbert and Malone (cited in Baumester2007), there are four causes of correspondence Bias. They are as follows: lack of awareness of situational constraints, unrealistic expectation for behavior, inflated categorization for behavior and incomplete corrections of
dispositional inferences.

Lack of awareness of situational constraints: Basically, observers commit correspondence bias when they do not believe that a certain situational element provoked the observed behavior. For instance, if students do not believe that making a presentation in class can provoke anxiety, they may infer that a particular presenter is naturally anxious, even though everybody may manifest the same tendency in the situation. In order to avoid the correspondence bias, an observer must come to terms with the fact that a situation can influence an actor’s behavior. According to Gilbert and Malone (1995) a factor that makes it difficult in considering the situation is the invisibility of the situation. Due to the fact that the situation may exist only in the mind of the actor, observers cannot see it and so usually fail to take it into account when making an attribute.

Unrealistic Expectation for Behaviour: In this case, observers commit the correspondence bias when they fail to consider situational factors when they make attribution, even though they believe that a certain situational factor can influence behavior. Taking the earlier example, fellow students may believe in the power of the class situation to cause anxiety but they may not have the presence of mind to consider the situation, as a result of distraction, coming from other people or things around them. Or, the observer may underestimate the power of certain situations to influence certain actions. Furthermore, observers who understand the actor’s situation may still have unrealistic expectations about how that situation should affect behavior, hence observers tend to say “I would never do such a thing under those circumstance
or any circumstance”.

Inflated Categorization of Behaviour: Observers commit the correspondence bias when the application of their beliefs about situational factors promotes the bias rather than reducing it. For instance, when people believe that making a presentation in front of scientists can provoke more anxiety than making a presentation in front of students, they may tend to see more anxiety in the presenter’s behavior in front of scientists than students, even though there may not be any difference. In this case, correspondence bias occurs because observers compare their expectation with their perception of the presenter’s behavior, and not with the actor’s actual behavior.

Incomplete corrections of dispositional inferences: Observers commit the correspondence bias when they believe in the salience of the actor’s personality irrespective of whether it was influenced by the situation or not. Accordingly, several studies have demonstrated that immoral behavior is considered as salient for inferring immoral behavior while moral behavior is not salient to infer moral personality. For example, stealing an old woman’s bag is seen as highly salient to infer immoral personality but aiding an old woman across the road may not be seen as a moral personality. In the first example, the situation (the thief may be starving) is discounted. On the whole, irrespective of the precise cause, correspondence bias is a fallout of the tendency of observers to make attributions of behavior based on personal traits than circumstantial factors. This theory will be applied in the analysis of Igbo folktales because, essentially, we are dealing with the views of observers about the behavior of characters.
The Method

The folktales used in this study were purposively sourced from two collections of folktales in Igbo, out of several others. The reason for the choice of the two collections is that they represent some of the earliest collections of Igbo tales published. The first collection is *Nza na Obu* published in 1973, compiled by Ogbalu, F.C. and contains a total of 20 Igbo folktales. Out of the twenty tales, two were purposively selected based on characterization, that is, gender of the protagonists. The two tales are *Nwaanyi na-akpọ di ya onyennu* “A woman who calls her husband ‘that person’” and *Nwa a na-emegbu emegbu* “The maltreated child”. In these two tales, women are the protagonists. The second collection is *Omalinze*, compiled by C.N. Ugochukwu, T. Meniru and P. Oguine but edited by Nolue Emenanjo. It contains a total of 63 folktales, but, out of the whole, two tales were purposively chosen on the basis of female characters. The two tales are *Nwa Udele nọ na Nne Orie* “A vulture in Nne Orie” and *Ewu Chukwu* “Chukwu’s (god’s) goat”. In this two tales also, the protagonists are women. The analysis of the four tales is based on their content.

Data and Analysis

The analysis of the folktales will be guided by the Correspondence Bias Theory. As a result, attention will be paid to the context or the situation of the female protagonist on the basis of which conclusion will be drawn regaining the propriety or otherwise of their behavior. In other words, the study will review the circumstances surrounding a female character or behavior by a female character adjudged to be evil/bad in other to see if the action is a natural outcome of the woman’s character, or the
woman was pressed by physical or psychological circumstance to effect a certain behavior.

**Tale 1: Nwaanyi na-akpo di ya Onyenuu “A woman who calls her husband ‘that person’”**

In this tale, a certain man named Onuoha married a very beautiful woman. Although the two loved each other, Onuoha was aggrieved that the wife referred to him as “that person”, a reference that was seen as a matrimonial abomination in that land. The man was afraid of confronting his wife over the issue for fear that she may run away as his first wife did. After three years, Onuoha decided to put an end to that practice. Onuoha approached the goddess of the Imo river (he and his wife used to cross during outings) and pleaded with him to seize his wife in the water until she called him by his name. The river goddess obliged Onuoha and seized his wife until she cried out and called her husband by his name to come and save her from drowning.

The picture of the protagonist presented in this tale is a stubborn woman, who chose a distancing tag to refer to her husband instead of his real name, until she found herself at the point of death. When she was trapped in the water and the water was at the level of her waist, she cried to her husband to save her, calling him Onyeenuu ‘that person’. When the water rose to the level of her stomach, she did not call her husband’s real name; when the water reached her shoulder, she still refused to call her husband by his real name, until the water rose to the level of her neck. At that point, she had no option than to call her husband by his real name, Onuoha, and the river
subsided and released her. It is easy to attribute stubbornness to this woman when her situation has not been critically evaluated. According to the tale, the couple loved each other; if the woman did not like her husband, her ill reference to him would be understandable. So the question is what could have made a woman who loved her husband to refer to him as “Onyenuu ‘that person’? In the tale, there was no reason given to explain why the woman used such a distancing term to refer to her husband. Worse, the husband, Onuoha, was too timid to ask or confront his wife over the issue. Additionally, the goddess of the river did not bother to find out why the woman behaved in such an abominable way. There are four possibilities here: it is possible that, depending on the woman’s lineage or culture, she innocently used Onyenuu as an endearing term without knowing that it was distasteful to her husband, and without knowing that it was an abomination in her husband’s village. Probably, where she came from, it was a common term used by wives to refer to their husbands. If she knew that her husband did not like the term, and continued to use it, we can conclude that she was a stubborn woman, but she did not know because her husband did not tell her his feelings. It is also possible that a woman who loved her husband used the term in a playful and ironical way, suggesting that she did not intend to distance or insult the man but to actually announce their amity and oneness. A third possibility is that the man may have inadvertently behaved in a way that moved the wife to distance him with the repulsive term. According to the tale, Onuoha have had a first wife, who ran away from him before he married this particular woman. The reason why the woman ran away was not disclosed, but it could be suggested that it may have something to do with the man’s character; something that repels a woman to the point of provoking
the repulsive term from the wife. A fourth possibility is that, all things considered, the woman may be somewhat emotionally unstable, in which case, she did not know what she was doing, and the husband did not care to find out what was responsible.

Generally, it is regrettable that Onuoha did not complain to his wife that he found the reference distasteful; instead he ran to the river goddess to contrive an accident and use unorthodox force to procure the desired reference. If Onuoha, or any observer expects the woman to know how to refer to one’s spouse, it would be wrong; even if the couple came from the same culture, people generally have different experiences and consequently manifest them in different ways. If for anything, the husband should be blamed for being too cowardly or timid to confront his wife over a matter he considered very damaging. In any case, this is atypical and paradoxical in a patriarchal society where the man is lord and his word is power, unless we are dealing with a time in the remote past (if ever) when men and women enjoyed symmetrical power relations.

If the domestic environment of the female protagonist in *Nwaanyi na-akpo di ya Onyenuuis* taken into account, it is apparent there is no correspondence between her action and her true nature or personality. In other words, her ‘stubborn’ behavior does not reflect her personality. Observers, including her husband are unaware of her social situation which engendered her behaviour, hence the wrong attribution or correspondence bias. It is noteworthy that, apart from this sour reference, there was no other ill behaviour that she manifested, which means that she did not have a custom of disobedience or stubbornness. Furthermore, the salience of her behavior makes it
all the more easy to condemn her as a stubborn woman. Against the background of a patriarchal culture, her behavior is too pronounced, too noticeable, too attractive, almost a treason, and easier to label her ‘bad’ than to label her ‘good’ if she had used better terms to refer to her husband. Put differently, in a patriarchal society like Igbo, submissiveness by a woman is taken as a given and normal and attracts no applause or eulogy but disloyalty is seen as abnormal and atrocious with all the attendant barrage of vilifications directed at the actor.

**Tale 2: *Nwa a na-emegbu emegbu* ‘The maltreated child’**

In *Nwa a na-emegbu emegbu*, a certain man and his beautiful wife had an only child, a daughter named *Ezinuzobotu*; a girl whose out-of-the-world beauty could only be compared to the beauty and ethereal glow of the morning sun. Due to her unqualified beauty, her parents spared no time or resources to lavish her with love and care. Incidentally, the mother of *Ezinuzobotu* died and her husband was left with no choice than to marry another wife. When the second wife came in, she began to maltreat *Ezinuzobotu* and the erstwhile beautiful girl was reduced to a scum in the community. When she could no longer bear the brunt of maltreatment, she found out the day the spirits go to their market and reported the matter to her dead mother and eventually her mother killed the second wife. The man married a third wife but this one proved to be no different from the second wife in terms of maltreating *Ezinuzobotu*, especially after the man died. The third wife fed her two children (*Afonatalagba* and *Ngangabelo*) but starved *Ezinuzobotu*. One fateful day, while the third wife went to market, the three children went to the river for fishing, and a lion came out from the
bush and killed the third wife’s two children, but *Ezinuzobotu* escaped.

In *Nwa a na-emegbu emegbu*, the second and third wives are portrayed as wicked women because they maltreated *Ezinuzobotu*. It is right to suggest that this depiction is done at the expense of the women’s circumstances. The position of this study is that the attitude of the second and third wives may not stem from their personality but the influence of their environment or circumstances. First of all, *Ezinuzobotu* was an over-pampered child; the parents loved her to a fault and indulged her without limits. According to the story,

*Nne na nna nwata a huchara ya n’anya na ha anaghi ekwe ka ihe o bula na-akpa ya. Nne ya sinye nri n’ite, o honyere ya ufodu n’oku.* (pg 30).

This child’s mother and father loved her to the point they did not want her to lack anything. When her mother is cooking in the pot, she will put some food for her in the fire (pg 30).

Being an only child, and being so beautiful, and being so beloved of her parents, it could be assumed that the parents did not allow her to be involved in house work. The mother cooked the food and took care of chores while she did the eating. Practically, the girl was in a fattening room in her family and the effect is that she grew up to be lazy, indolent and always dependent on others, until the second wife came and the status quo changed. *Ezinuzobotu* may have expected the second wife to pamper her like her late mother; rather, she received the opposite attention. It is possible that the second wife saw *Ezinuzobotu* as a spoilt child who needed to be shaken out of her domestic laxity. This, the woman did by putting her to task and giving her only her
normal portion of food. The Igbo believe that *na nwata a na-erika bu na ya na nne ya no* ‘that a child eats too much is because it is with its mother’. By that token, it is not expected that the second wife, or the third wife, or any woman at all will cater for her welfare in the fashion of her late mother. The sharp alteration in her physique could have been the natural consequence of physical labour which her doting parents denied her. The height of the affection and care extended to her by her parents meant that anything less would bring drastic changes to her physical outlook.

A second consideration which must have influenced the woman is the question of the trajectory of the man’s love and affection in the family. It is possible that the man of the house continued to shower more love on *Ezinuzobotu* than the second wife, and the third wife and as a result, they saw the poor girl as an enemy or rival and treated her accordingly. In a polygamous society, women (co-wives) fight and kill themselves in the struggle to win the attention and affection of the husband; how much less when a mere child had assumed the position of a co-wife. The action of the women must have been propelled by the desire to put the child where she rightly belonged so that they would reap the full benefits of their position as wives. It is instructive to note that the man of the house was not mentioned while the maltreatment of his daughter lasted, that is, in the case of the second wife. It is questionable that the man watched and endured the maltreatment of his only beloved daughter without calling the second wife to order. It is also questionable that the second wife, one way or another, succeeded in divesting the man of his endogenous powers, and assumed unmitigated control of the family, to the point that the emasculated man became a
toothless onlooker. It is also impossible to believe that the man was oblivious of the maltreatment for any reason; the drastic changes in the physique of Ezinuzobotu was enough to show that she was in distress. Like tale 1 \((Nwaanyi na-akpo di ya onyenu u)\), the man in \(Nwa a na-emegbu emegbu\) is bereft of that primeval potency and propulsion needed to run a family in a patriarchal culture. It is doubtful if the second wife would have continued to maltreat the step-child if the husband had made an effort to stop her.

The point of this analysis is that the behavior of the second and third wife should not be attributed to their personality but the pressure from their social environment. To label them wicked is to discount their circumstances. The fact that the third wife re-enacted the action of the second wife meant that any woman put in that situation would maintain the same attitude towards Ezinuzobotu. According to the Correspondence Bias Theory, observers make biased or faulty attribution when they do not believe in the power of a certain situation to influence behavior. It is only a woman who has played the role of a second wife who will understand the challenges of gaining the undivided attention of a late-woman’s husband and the frustrations of playing mother to a late woman’s spoilt child. This is worse if the step-mother does not have her own child(ren), as is the case with the second wife in \(Nwa a na-emegbu emegbu\).

Tale 3: \textit{Nwa udele nọ na Nne Orie} “A vulture in Nne Orie market”

In \textit{Nwa udele nọ na Nne Orie}, a certain woman with three children was generally known for her habit of coming back late from market. This habit of hers led to quarrel between her and her husband, and the man resorted to beating her to make her stop.
When the husband saw that she was defiant, he surrendered to fate. However, one fateful day the woman took her wares to a big market called *Nne Orie* “Orie’s mother” and (as is her custom) stayed late after her fellow women had gone home. Then one big evil vulture touched down and swallowed her and her wares. Incidentally, when the children and husband come to look for her, the vulture swallowed all of them.

In this tale, the female protagonist is depicted as a stubborn wife because she did not obey the instruction of her husband to stop staying late in the market. It is not difficult to make this attribution if we dispense with the woman’s situation. First of all, the tale is silent on why the woman insisted in staying late in the market, neither did the husband inquire from her; if she had a reason (and certainly she would have), the husband may have trivialized it and just wanted her to do his bidding. It could be inferred from the woman’s insistence that she stayed late in the market in order to make more sales and earn more money for the upkeep of her family. According to the tale.

*N’abali mgbe ụmụ ya sụsịara ụtara, na-eche ya ka ọ lụta nye ha nnu na azụ ha ga-eji wee tee ofe, ma ha abụghị ya, ahụ gbakara ha* (pg 48).

At night, after her children had pounded cassava, and waited for her to come home and give them salt and fish with which to cook soup, but did not see her, they were distressed (pg 48).

The excerpt reveals that either the woman played a significant part in the provision of food in the family or she shouldered the responsibility alone. The idea of waiting
for her to come back with soup ingredients implies that the family depended on the proceeds of her trade. Although, there is no clue as to the husband’s occupation, it is doubtful that he had all the resources needed to take care of the family. In essence, if the family depended partly or wholly on the woman, then she needed to make some sacrifices, in the way of working extra hard to earn more money to cushion the burden of that dependency.

A second factor that may be responsible for the woman’s “stubborn” behavior may be power. In a patriarchal society, one of the indices that limit and hinder women in both nuclear and public spaces is the fact that they are usually economically dependent on their husbands for nearly every resource. Some of the outcomes of this dependence are silence, subservience and a tendency to kowtow to the husband’s whims and caprices. Naturally, when a woman earns money like the man, she also exudes power like the man, for it is economic power that gives the man power over the woman in the family or society. This is not to suggest that when a woman is economically empowered, she challenges the authority of her husband. The fact is that women are not immune to the psychological effects of acquiring scarce material resources. The woman in this tale could be a victim of her own economic status. Her economic situation could be the reason why she did as it pleased her. According to the story

*Mgbe nwaanyi a hụrụ ụmụ nwaanyi ibe ya biara ahịa ka ha na-eme ngwa ngwa ka ha lasasịa, ọ nodụrụ ala na-aịa ọkụ anwụrụ ọkụ ya (pg 48)*
When this woman noticed that her fellow women were hurriedly preparing to dismiss, she sat down and started smoking her pipe (pg 48). Pipe-smoking is a leisure time prerogative of men; it is doubtful if women are permitted to smoke pipe in Igbo culture. The fact that this woman smoked pipe is a way of pronouncing her economic freedom and power. According to the Correspondence Bias Theory, when the observer is not aware of an actor’s situation, it is possible to make a biased attribution; that is to suggest that there is a linear relationship between the actor and his/her action. In this tale, the woman is stubborn, not because of a natural disposition or her personality, but mainly due to the pressure exerted by her situation, in this case, her economic status and domestic responsibility. Additionally, the salience of her behavior (staying late in the market and pipe smoking) may make it easy to label her a bad woman, but this does not mean that her fellow women who neither stayed late in the market nor smoked pipe were considered good women.

Another point worth considering in *Nwa udele no na Nne Orie* is the end result of her behavior. According to the story, an evil vulture saw her in the market and swallowed her and her wares. This fate that befell this woman may be contrived to mean that she was punished by the gods for her bad behavior, but this is not so. Later, the evil vulture also swallowed her innocent children and husband, when they came to look for her; except that the husband succeeded in cutting open the stomach of the vulture and all of them came out alive except the wife. The vulture is simply a predator that devoured anything in its path, good or bad. However, it could be argued that if the women had come back early enough, there would be no need for the family
to search for her and meet the ugly fate.

**Tale 4: Ewu Chukwu “god’s goat”**

In *Ewu Chukwu*, a certain man in the land of Iduu married two wives, but it happened that the first wife is not happy with the second wife. In the village there is a goat dedicated to the god *chukwu* that everyone avoided because anybody that kills that goat incurred the wrath of *chukwu*. One fateful day, the daughter of the second wife tried to scare the goat away from their yam and the goat died. The first wife and her daughter raised alarm over the dead goat and the village cast them out. Therefore, the daughter of the second woman went to *chukwu* to appeal for mercy. *Chukwu* obliged her but subjected her to several tests of character. She passed all of them and was rewarded with a pot that contained money and they became rich. Out of envy, the first wife pushed her daughter to kill *chukwu’s* goat and ran to *chukwu* who applied the same test of character to her. Incidentally, she failed all the tests and was rewarded with a pot which contained all manner of diseases.

In this tale, the female protagonist is depicted as a wicked woman due to her actions against her co-wife and her daughter. The attribution of wickedness to the first wife is premised on the fact that she hated the second wife and manifested that hatred by raising alarm when the second wife’s daughter inadvertently killed the goat of *chukwu* which led to their expulsion from the village. Furthermore, she was shown to be greedy and envious by inducing her own daughter to kill the sacred goat so that *chukwu* will give her wealth as he gave to her co-wife. Ostensibly, the behavior of the first wife could be linked to her natural disposition but beyond the surface, other
elements external to her could have included her actions. The one and only element in this tale is the polygamous setting; being the first wife, she enjoyed the husband’s undivided attention, care and material resources and her matrimonial space was hers alone to fill and dominate. However, when the man took a second wife, she was no longer happy because henceforth she will need to fight for the husband’s attention and care and share his resources with another woman. This situation is worse if the husband is not a man of substance; that means there is little or nothing to share with another person. The economic status of this Iduu man was not revealed in the tale, but evidently, he was not a man of means, given the desperation of the first wife to push off her daughter to chukwu’s house to receive wealth. Thus, she must have seen the second woman as an intruder into her domain, or even one who is on a mission to usurp her position and uproot her from her matrimonial home. Hence, she must have felt morally justified to drive the second wife away than to accommodate her, and become a victim. Consequently, the first wife saw a golden opportunity to deal with the second wife and she seized it, as the following excerpt shows.

Otu ụbọchị, nwa nke nwaanyi nke abụọ wee hụ ebe ewu chukwu na-ata ji ha, were nwayọ were otu mkpụrụ aja tupọ ya. Ewu ahụ sọọ galagala dapụ nwọ. Nwaanyi nke isi na nwa ya wee tie mkpu, je kọọrọ ndị obodo na nwaanyị a na nwa ya egbuola ewu chukwu. Ndị obodo wee gbakọta wee chụpụ ha n’azụ obodo, ọ na ha mere arụ (pg 162).

One day, the child of the second wife saw chukwu’s goat eating their yam, and gently scared it with a grain of sand. The goat staggered and died.
The first wife and her daughter raised alarm, and alerted the village that the second wife and her daughter had killed chukwu’s goat. The village kin gathered and expelled them because they committed an abomination (pg 162).

The first wife took this extreme action because at the deep recesses of her mind, she did not want to share her husband with any woman. Admittedly, polygamy is an acceptable custom in Igbo society and before the advent of western culture, all Igbo women lived with the understanding that they stood a chance to be either a first, second or third wife in a marriage, as the case may be. In spite of this understanding, the fact is that most, if not all Igbo women detested and abhorred the custom. They accepted it because they erroneously thought it was ordained by the gods and so cannot be challenged. This is the reason why co-wife rivalry is prevalent in Igbo society as well as other African culture.

One of the cornerstones of the correspondence Bias Theory is that, an observer may be aware and also believe in the power of a certain situation to influence behavior, but if an observer has not experienced the situation, the tendency is to down-play the power of that circumstance to impact on action. Thus, observers, especially males who benefit from polygamy may not understand the mental torture and emotional trauma a woman, like the first wife, undergoes when her husband marries a second wife. It is a situation that brings out the worst in a woman, and a situation where an angel may be compelled to become a rebel. It is doubtful if any woman in the position of the first wife will do less than she did. Reporting the matter of the sacred
goat to the village is a spontaneous reaction that the second wife would have taken, if she were in the same position as the first wife. Based on the foregoing, it will be improper to suggest that the first wife’s behavior stems from her personality; rather, it is her domestic situation that pushed her into taking negative actions against her co-wife.

**Conclusion**

This study has revealed that the negative depiction of women in folktales is a reflection of the general perception of women in a patriarchal society like the Igbo. The female protagonists in these tales are seen as stubborn, \( \text{Nwaanyi na-akpo di ya onyenuu,} \) and \( \text{Nwa udele no na Nne Orie} \), and wicked \( \text{Nwa a na-emegbu emegbu,} \) and \( \text{Ewu chukwu} \). However, it is the position of this paper the attribution of these negative labels to them is biased, in that adequate consideration is not given to their peculiar circumstances which played a major role in their behavior. The actions of the women in these tales may be adjudged atypical, but their actions were equally induced by atypical situations. The problem with folktales is that its primary purpose is the teaching of morals, mainly to children and consequently, the plot is limited to emphasizing the targeted behavior for condemnation, and listeners or audience are expected to accept the judgement of the story-teller and the intended lesson. As a result, the tales do not bother to look into the circumstances which engender actions.

One of the points of the Correspondence Bias theory is that why we do something is more important than what we do. In other words, the reason behind an action is more important than the action itself. Thus, actions should not constitute the sole
basis of judgement. Being rational beings, it is expected that the characters in human folktales, even though fictional, should have reasons why they behave the way they do. Incidentally, when such reasons are obscured and hidden from the observers or audience, it creates the veritable ground to elicit the wrong attribution or label to a character, thus committing correspondence bias. This is why the woman who uses an unpalatable name to refer to her husband is seen as stubborn; the woman who deals with a spoilt child is seen as wicked; the woman who makes sacrifices to provide food for her family is seen as unsubmissive, and the woman who is bent on protecting what is her own is seen as wicked. This is not to suggest that the women’s disposition or personality played no part in their behavior; rather, the fact is that, there are more in the external world of the characters that influenced their actions. Moreover, there is nothing in the stories to suggest that the behavior exhibited by the female protagonists in the tales were patterns or actions typical of them. In conclusion, this study stipulates that relating a woman’s behavior to her personality is improper, as that can only produce a biased conclusion; but a wholistic and dispassionate appraisal of behavior that considers human rationality and fronts the factors external to the character will provide a fair assessment of behaviour.
References


Away from the Root

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If I have to make a list for three things that I hate most, one thing will surely be on the list—going back to “Lao Jia”, which literally means Old Home and usually refers to the place where our grandparents live. I don’t think the word sounds very attractive to most of Chinese young generation, as it is almost a synonym for boring, underdevelopment and WIFI-off.

I felt out of place each time I went back to the village. There was nothing I could talk about with my grandmother. Our conversation usually came to its end right after some small talk.

“How’s your study? Don’t you have a lot of homework?”
“Quite a lot, but I can still handle it.”

Another moment of silence.

“That’s good, then.”

After that, Grandma would absorb herself into the TV series again, while I could simply stare at my cellphone. Every minute dragged through like an hour as I was nearly bored to death.

On the contrary, my dad showed his elation even the night before we left for the village. He would wake me up very early in the morning as if he couldn’t wait another minute, and he would drive an hour in a particularly high spirit, humming and whistling jubilantly, to get to the village. There was a buoyant air with him all the time when he was back there, where he spent his childhood and adolescence.

Dad was born and grew up in the village. Even though he has succeeded in settling in a nearby town for a better living, there is always a bond between the small village and him—the people there. There is a community that consists of his parents, his aunts and uncles, his cousins and his classmates. He could call somebody’s nickname with intimacy on the street, he could spend the whole afternoon dropping in on his friends, he could go fishing with his cousins on a sunny day. The village is imbued with his youth as well as his memories. Here is his world and Dad keeps going back.

I have also spent some time in the village with my grandparents when I was younger than four years old, when I was not old enough to go to kindergarten but my parents were both too busy to take care of me. In 1990s, the industry of China
was flourishing because of the reform of economic system. Young people left their villages and thronged into towns and cities, my parents were among them. They managed to find two positions in a sugar refinery in town and began to establish their career and family from scratch. Both of my parents were put on a night shift, totally drained at the end of a workday. What to do with the child? They made a decision that many parents at that time would make—to send their children to Old Home, to the grandparents’. As soon as I was old enough for school, I was taken back to the town. I was too young to remember everything and my memories about the few years are simply a blur.

Dad once introduced a cousin to me, referring to him as “the old brother who caught fish in the brook with you, who stole bird’s eggs on the tree for you”. And I, who was totally lost, studied the silent young man in front of me, trying my best to link his tanned rough face with the hazy outline in my memory. I failed. By then he had married a girl from a neighbor village and they had had an adorable daughter. The coy little girl hiding behind her father, cast a timid look toward me from time to time. No matter how her father coaxed her, she just wouldn’t call me aunt. For her, I was no more than a stranger. From these people’s life was I fading away, as much as they were in my life. The whole process of alienation just developed quietly, secretly and inevitably.

As I came to the town for primary school, a third-tier city for high school and Beijing for college, the village remained where it was. It was left behind. There seemed to be an invisible force that keeps pulling me away from it. Grandma was the only link.
When I was in senior high school, Grandma was diagnosed as cancer. It must be quite a strike for my dad when he realized his mother was dying and his only daughter was walking away. He needed to do something. Thus every week or every two week, each time I went back home from school, he would drive me back to the village to accompany Grandma even if I was obviously unwilling to do this. It seemed to me it was no more than an obligation which has to be fulfilled by me—I had to go back to Old Home, I had to visit my grandmother, either as a daughter or as a granddaughter. Never before that night had I thought about what would put an end to this unpleasant obligation.

That’s a late night. We got a phone call that informed us grandma was in a critical condition and Dad decided to drive back at once. On our way to the village, Dad was driving in a sullen silence. His eyes was glazing straight ahead, his jaw clenched in the dark. I didn’t know what to say but looked out of the window, my mind wandering aimlessly. Some questions just popped in my mind—

What if Grandma died? Would I go back to the village after that?

I was stunned, by my unintended disrespect to Grandma, and what’s more, by the answer that I had given to the questions before I could even realize it. The answer was NO—I would not come back there if the only reason that kept me coming back there had gone. It was at that very moment that I truly felt my separation from the village. I realized that the bond between had been cut off long ago, and all efforts to repair it would be in vain.
Fortunately, Grandma made it through that night. After I went to Beijing for college, I could only visit her in winter or summer vacation as Grandma grew weaker and weaker in the old house.

One usual night of my sophomore year, I got a phone call from Dad.

“Your grandma has just gone.”

I gasped, lost my speech for quite a while.

Dad repeated that sentence, in a most vulnerable voice I have ever heard, “Your grandma has gone, in this afternoon.”

I managed to stutter a reply somehow, “W-What should I do, Dad?”

“Nothing,” I heard a trembling sigh on the phone, “There is nothing you can do. You don’t have to come back. It’s too far.”

“But I have to do something.”

“But I have to do something.”

“Just bow to the south then, saying goodbye to your grandma.” Dad said so at the end of the conversation.

I remember I put down the phone, turned to the direction of the south gate of the campus, and bowed in my dormitory for three times, towards that remote small village of Guangxi Province.

From then on, I never returned to the village. The last imprint Grandma left in my life seems to be the washing machine she just bought several months before she died. Dad took it home to replace our old washing machine that always vibrated like
mad during the washing. However, he goes back there alone either for a wedding or for a burial of some relatives that I know not. We did not talk about this issue for quite a long time. Only on one occasion, I broached this issue to him.

We were on the phone, prattling about some unimportant trivilities in life. There was one moment of silence when neither of us figured out what to say, and that question I have felt curious about for such a long time just slipped out of my mouth.

“Dad, why do you keep going back to the village?”

My dad floundered for a while and said, “Why? Why this question?”

“I am just being curious.”

“Well, because it’s my home.”

I waited for a few seconds, conceiving that he had not finished his answer. But Dad did not go on.

That’s his answer.

I was a little bit disappointed, “As simple as that?”

“As simple as that.”

“Then why do you keep driving me back there? My home is not there.”

“But that’s your root. I don’t want you to forget where you are from.”

Yes, that’s Dad’s root, that’s also my root. That’s where my ancestor settled since Qing Dynasty, that’s where the community of Wu is established. But now, I am
running away from it. We are all running away from it.

It is like a pattern. The process of developing is actually the process of running away from the root. Dad ran away from the village to the town, I ran away from the town to the city. I could almost foresee the future, where my children are born in the big city and the town where I am raised becomes the unwelcome Old Home to them. The cycle might go on and on ever after.

It feels like we are all walking through a tunnel, from one’s Old Home to a promising future, hastening our way toward the distant brightness. But what will happen to one’s Old Home, to one’s root? Where is the future leading us? Is it in the right direction or the wrong? No answer.

At the end of my junior year, I had a cup of coffee with my uncle, one of the cousins of my dad. He went to a college in Beijing twenty years ago as the second place of the town in the College Entrance Examination. He has married a Beijing woman, they have had a son and a house in the central part of Beijing. He is like a legend, always being talked about by other family members with great respect—they call him “the Beijinger”.

When I first came to Beijing, he offered me two genuine suggestions, that was to learn Beijing dialect and find a Beijing boyfriend. Most unfortunately, I have failed in both two. And now I needed his new advice, as I cannot make up my mind whether to stay in Beijing or go back to Guangxi after graduation.
“Of course in Beijing,” my uncle answered without any hesitation, “You’ve made such an effort to get out of that small town. Now you are in Beijing, how can you go back there?”

He sucked his American coffee, frowned. Then he beckoned to the waiter and asked for some ice, with a distinguishing Beijing accent.

Fiddling with my Latte on the desk, I asked, “Uncle, have you ever thought about going back? I mean, perhaps when you are old.”

He quickly cast me a bewildered look, with eyes opening wide as if what I had just asked was something unintelligible.

“Where else can I go back?” said he, dumping the ice into his coffee and stirring it with the little spoon, until those transparent squares totally melted and disappeared in the brown liquid.

Uncle took a sip of it, smacked his lips with satisfaction and finally went on,

“Beijing is my home!”
Female Oscillation: Resistance and Complicity in Charlotte Bronte’s *Jane Eyre*

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Abstract:

The behavior of female characters in Charlotte Bronte’s *Jane Eyre* (1847) is a paradoxical one. On the one hand, there is a resistance to the rigid patriarchal orders and to the Victorian values of female submission, purity, piety and domesticity. On the other hand, there is a state of complicity with the same values. In fact, both Jane and Bertha resist and rebel against the Victorian social fabric. Yet, Jane ends up moving from resistance to complicity, and she signs a social contract at the end of the narrative. Relying on tenents of feminism, cultural materialism, and postcolonialism, this paper is devoted to the study of these heroines’swinging between resistance and complicity.

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Complicity\ Doppelganger\ Gothicism\ Matrimony\ Resistance\ the Uncanny\ Victorian Culture.

Literature Review:

In *the Madwoman in the Attic* (1979) Gilbert and Gubar analyze the position of women in some Victorian novels and study the way women are categorized as either “angels” or “monsters” in some patriarchal communities. They observe that the same classification has been applied to *Jane Eyre*. They also pay special attention to Bertha who is considered as “an untamed animal” because of her ethnic identity. Their project consists of criticizing “the mechanism by which the heathen, bestial other could be annihilated to constitute European female subjectivity” (Gilbert and Gubar, 2000, P.87). I will also start by classifying the women into two categories and show the ways in which Bertha is considered as a monster because she sticks to the pole of female rebellion. The characterization of Bertha has also been approached from a feminist postcolonial perspective. In this respect, Spivak offers a postcolonial reading on the ideology of imperialism and demonstrates how Bertha is placed in the margin of society because of her native roots. In “Three Women’s Texts and a Critique of Imperialism”, Gytari Spivak writes, “I have suggested that Bertha’s function is to render indeterminate the boundary between human and animal and thereby to weaken her entitlement under the spirit if not the letter of the law” (1985, p.241). While Spivak analyzes the dehumanization of Bertha, the paper will further develop the idea of otherness from a postcolonial view by referring to Edward Said’s arguments.
about the position of the colonized. The aim is to grasp the doubled marginalization of Bertha and her dramatic situation.

In feminist interpretations, other critics focus on the characterization of Jane. In her *The Common Reader*, Virginia Woolf argues that “the drawbacks of being Jane Eyre are not far to seek. Always to be a governess and always to be in love is a serious limitation in a world which is full, after all, of people who are neither one nor the other” (2012, p.67). Woolf focuses on Jane as a denigrated governess, but the present paper will shed light on the way Jane subverts the image of the traditional governess and strives to develop her artistic talents by being an ardent reader. The characterization of Jane has also been perceived from a social materialist angle. In *The English Novel from Dickens to Lawrence* (1970), Raymond Williams embraces a Marxist view and studies the way society shapes the behavior of Jane. I will develop this idea by exploring the role of socio-cultural elements in widening the gender gap which leads to the categorization of women as angels or monsters.

**Methodology**

Few critics have paid attention to female oscillation between the poles of resistance and complicity in *Jane Eyre*. To analyze women dangling between the poles of rebellion and complicity, this study uses key concepts from different literary trends and schools (Anglo-American feminism, French feminism, Cultural materialism and Postcolonialism). The area of convergence between all these trends is the role of that culture plays throughout the women's movement between two different poles. This paper also offers a comparative study between Jane and Bertha, focusing on
the idea of doubleness and showing that both female characters are two faces of the same coin, in the sense that Bertha represents Jane’s missing part (sensuality) and Jane represents what Bertha fails to achieve (social stability). I also compare the two Victorian heroines of the novel to a modern stage heroine and discuss the doppelganger from a French feminist angle. In short, this paper relies on multidisciplinarity and the intersection between different fields to analyze the theme of female vacillation between resistance and complicity.

A Gothicized Form of Female Resistance

The social atmosphere in *Jane Eyre* is characterized by male domination since female characters are socially required to be subordinate. It is noticeable that Victorian society blurs the differences between the cultural and biological considerations of men and women. This idea is explored by the American feminist researcher Sandra Lee Barthy in her “Foucault, Femininity and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power” in which she declares: “We are born male or female, but not masculine or feminine. Femininity is an artifice, an achievement, a mode of enacting and reenacting gender norms which surface as so many styles of the flesh” (Barkthy, 1997, p.132). In other words, femininity is a socially invented idea which aims at serving the patriarchal agenda and at introducing women as culturally inferior creatures. This is true of women in *Jane Eyre* where there is an unequal distribution of gender roles and where women are given a secondary position. Jane cannot bear the fact of being given a lower position and she often complains about “the dreariness of [her] hated and hating position” (p.70). Her mood of dejection translates her dissatisfaction with her
inferior position and her deep determination to go beyond the constructed laws of
male superiority. During the early days of childhood, Jane was equipped with an
energy of mutiny manifested in her refusal to be silenced. John Reed’s patriarchal
principle of “remain silent” (p.39) is flouted by Jane who strives to have an audible
voice. Being a Victorian female character, she is supposed to be dependent and she
has no right to be an ardent reader of literature. John Reeds tells Jane: “You have no
business to take our books; you are dependent” (p.42). Accordingly, Jane’s daring
attempt to borrow a book from John Reed’s library brings about her confinement is
the red room, a gothic setting.

Jane's struggle leads her to a gothic setting and to be engaged in a Gothicized
form of resistance. In the gothic red room, Jane is filled with a sense of estrangement
and self-alienation. From a Freudian perspective, this scene becomes an uncanny
one, because Jane recognizes her double in the mirror and her self becomes strange.
Freud defines the uncanny using the following terms: “the word Heimlich is not
unambiguous, but belongs to two sets of ideas, which, without being contradictory,
are yet very different: one the one hand it means what is familiar and agreeable, and
on the other, what is concealed and kept out of sight….Everything is unhheimlich that
ought to have remained secret and hidden but has come to light” (Freud and Gilman,
1995. P. 126). Based on the idea of doubleness and of the return of a previously
repressed self, the the uncanny is made clear when Jane sees another in the self: “the
strange little figure there gazing at me with a white face (p.46). This gothic scene is
Jane’s climactic scene of resistance because her alienation is brought about by her
refusal to be conventional and accept the patriarchal hegemony. In the same context, Jane is depicted as a “mad cat” (p.44) and the bright eyes of otherness are the common points between Jane and the cat. Visually, Jane is the counter point that introduces the voice of dissonance. She also knows she is a stranger on account of her uncontrollable behavior. Speaking about Mrs. Reed’s hostility regarding Jane’s uncontrollable acts, Jane states: “She really did not know whether I were child or fiend” (p.60). This statement demonstrates the ambivalent position of Jane who oscillates between the poles of idealization and debasement. From Mrs. Reed's perspective, it is not easy to detect to classify Jane as “an angelic” woman because of her childish behavior or to consider her “a fiend” as she destabilizes the patriarchal order. Jane, however, is in neither category of this tight social classification and she can be considered as a rebellious woman. Despite her punishment, she retains her rebellious spirit since she refuses any kind of male supremacy and is not willing to be John Reed’s servant. Her refusal of enslavement is better exemplified through her loud screams: “How is he my master!” (p.44).

Bertha’s resistance is also significant. Like Jane, Bertha has the bright eyes of estrangement; this idea is further emphasized by Bertha’s name which has German origins. According to the First Name Reverse Dictionary, Bertha stands for brightness: “beautiful, bright, Bertha (Old German)” (Navvaro, 2006, p. 196). Bertha has some similarities to Jane in the sense that both female characters do not accept to be intimidated. Bertha’s estrangement is also revealed when she “sucked the blood [and] worried [Mason] like a tigress” (p.242). Bertha's commonality with the tigress
resides in the bright eyes of otherness. Like a caged animal, Bertha’s “savagery” and “animalism” cannot be tamed. Accordingly, Bertha is considered by members of her patriarchal society as a monster. From a physiological perspective, the biological constructions of women have been responsible for considering the female body monstrous. Henry Maudsley, for example, affirms that “the monthly activity of the ovaries has a notable effect upon the mind and body. Wherefore, it may become an important cause of mental and physical derangement” (1873, p. 35). Other researchers who highlight the role of society in introducing the female body as a monstrous body. In this respect, Jeffery Cohen who digs deep into the role of culture in shaping the female body observes that “the monstrous body is pure culture. A construct and a projection, the monster exists to be read” (qtd. in Collins, 2014, p.185). With this in mind, Bertha’s monstrous body is a cultural byproduct, an image created by members of the patriarchal society to denigrate rebellious women. Bertha is identified as “a monster” since she disobeys the patriarchal maxims of femininity which define an ideal woman as a submissive woman. It is not surprising that “Bertha has thus become a prototype of the sexual woman in the feminine gothic: affirmative femininity turned into the monstrous—or in narratological terms, into a voiceless textual object controlled by the male gaze” (Sage, 1996, p.72). In hort, she as been classified as “a monster” in order to be regarded as an object and not as an independent subject.

This fusion with the gothic persists until the final scenes, especially when Bertha contributes to Mr. Rochester’s misfortune and blindness: “he is now helpless, indeed-blind, and crippled” (p.454). The Gothicized form of female resistance indicates
infringement on and female triumph over male supremacy in *Jane Eyre*. Despite the fact that Bertha is destroyed at the end, she remains a defiant character who is motivated by her solitary stubbornness. At the end of her journey of resistance, Bertha dies “as the stones on which her brain and blood were scattered” (p.453). However, her physical destruction does not signal her defeat. Dying, Bertha does not surrender. The patriarchal rules of submission and control remain alien to her. Bertha has the stamina of a real heroine, and her tragic end is the main feature of her resistance.

**Bertha’s Double Denigration**

A postcolonial hint is necessary in dealing with the position of the female and racial other in the novel. Bertha’s belonging to the West Indies strengthens her alienation and she becomes the main source of fear and horror. She presents the image of the colonized other who is continuously repressed and prevented from rebelling. This relationship between the colonizer and the colonized is traced in Edward Said’s *Culture and Imperialism*. In his analysis of the colonized other, Said emphasizes that the other is a potential menace that should be exterminated. Read in this context, Bertha can be considered as a source of disorder in Victorian England's patriarchal atmosphere of uniformity. According to Said, “Bertha Mason, Rochester’s deranged wife in Jane is a West Indies and also a threatening presence, confined to an attic room” (1994, p.62). Notably, Bertha is always present despite Rochester's efforts to control the disorder she represents. Her struggle does not fade away because she is present even when absent. She is the impediment behind Rochester’s marriage to Jane; Rochester’s failed attempt at being a “bigamist” is a proof of Bertha’s contribution.
towards erasing the rules of male supremacy. Indeed, Bertha can not be contained, and her freedom is unlimited as she refuses to be prescribed within any social institution.

The idea of domesticating the other is also explored by Said. In *Orientalism*, Said remarks: “there is nothing especially controversial or reprehensible about such domestications of the exotic; they take place between all cultures, certainly and between all men” (1979, p.60). Although the ethnically different other is expected to be tamed, to abandon his/her native roots and to submit to the values of mainstream culture, Bertha’s confinement in a gothic den is a pertinent example of her estrangement. Yet, despite all her racial and sexual estrangement, Bertha remains spiritually victorious even though she is further suppressed because of the failed attempt at taming her behavior.

**Female Doppelganger**

Jane and Bertha share the same determination to resist the Victorian gender script, the same eyes of otherness, and the same situation of being confined in gothic settings. At the end of the novel, Bertha has become the replica or the shadow of Jane during the early chapters. The presence of a shadow self recalls the presence of doppelganger and the dominance of a gothic atmosphere recalls gothic German fiction. Indeed, the characteristics of doppelganger were first exposed in the literary works of the eighteenth century gothic German fiction, namely by the
novelist Jean Paul. Paul “defined doppelganger as Leute die sich selber sehen (people who see themselves….Paul’s definition points towards a physical similarity of the person who experiences it” (“Doppelganger”). This German literary motif of the double was a source of inspiration for the nineteenth century American author Edgar Allan Poe. In some of his gothic novels, “[Poe] uses a pattern of doubling, or what is known as the doppelganger motif…. [He] introduce [s] a doppelganger in order to reveal internal conflicts within a character, using the double to represent qualities or traits that are personally or culturally problematic” (Penell, 2016, p. 53). In a nutshell, the process of doubling not only reflects an inner conflict which originates from cultural repression, it also stresses the role of cultural elements in fostering the split of the self.

In Jane Eyre, Bertha can be considered Jane’s doppelganger, for she represents Jane's rebellious side of and stands for what Jane fails to achieve. The hue of blood in Jane’s gothic room, “the carpet was red; the bed was covered with a crimson cloth” (p.45), mirrors Bertha’s “goblin appearance” (p.313). Yet, Jane opts for another orientation at the end of the narrative when she chooses to be inscribed in the patriarchal world of matrimony. Here it is important to note that the idea of doppelganger has an influence on some modern texts like Tennessee Williams’ Summer and Smoke. It is pertinent to compare Williams’ heroine to Jane and Bertha in order to understand the role of culture in shaping the doubleness of the female self. The modern heroine

2. Jean Paul: (1763- 1825) a German novelist who coined the term doppelganger. The term was mentioned for the first time in his Flower, Fruit and Thorn Pieces. In his remark about the doubleness of the self, Leibgeber (one of the protagonists), observes while looking into his replica in the mirror: “It almost sees as if I beheld myself double, if not treble,… one of me must have died- the one there within or the one outside. Which of us, then, in this room, is dead, and appears afterwards to the other?” (Paul 330). His observation reflects the split of the inner self.
ignores the importance of both sensuality and spirituality in forming her identity. In *Summer and Smoke*, John confronts Alma, saying, “[Your heart] scared you? It always does” (Act 3, p. 63). Here, the idea of fright adds a gothic touch to the dramatic text. It is noticeable that despite her continuous denial of the emotional part, Alma cannot get rid of the ghost of love, put an end to her emotional beats or hide her undeclared love. In much the same way, “Jung appears to domesticate his feminine ghosts in an attempt to recuperate binary paradigms. Also like the Gothic novelists, his feminine ghosts prove recurring and intractable” (Jensen, 2012, p. 49). Like the Jungian ghost which shows the importance of dualism inside the human personality, Alma’s feminine ghost indicates that the female self does not have a monolithic nature. Alma therefore admires her doctor for his ability to accept the sensual part. In one of the therapeutic sessions, she admits: “[I am] a weak and divided person who stood in adoring awe of your singleness, of your strength! and this is my story” (Scene 11, p. 118). She asserts that her weakness lies in her failure to create a common thread between the different components of her inner world. In the same way, the tragic flaw of the two Victorian heroines (Jane and Bertha) lies in the inability to create balance within their divided selves. On the one hand, Jane is a figure who advocates for social reconciliation as she chooses to give priority to social life, and on the other hand, Bertha is isolated because she chooses the pole of female rebellion.

Modern and the Victorian heroines who develop doppelganger also share the presence of a shadow. Like Bertha who is Jane's, Alma’s spiritual side is a shadow of her sensual self. The image of the shadow alludes to the role of cultural repression in
bringing about female doppelganger. In fact, “in Jung’s model, the shadow archetype is the embodiment of the individual’s repressed impulses. The shadow is the negative side of personality, the sum of all those unpleasant qualities we like to hide” (Senejani, 2011, p. 110). Accordingly, Alma who denies the existence of the sensual side considers it as a shadow. Like the Jungian shadow which reflects the hidden “unpleasant qualities,” Alma’s shadow appears in culturally unacceptable practices. Generally, the nun hides her physical attraction to John because carnal love is not accepted in her Puritan culture, but her enchantment with John is evident when she “[s]he spies on him. Whenever he comes in at night she rushes downstairs to watch him out of this windows” (Act 2, p. 51). Alma spies on John because she admires his unlimited freedom from the cultural manacles. Her oscillation between bodily mortification and the admiration of John’s carnality marks Alma's ambivalence. In fact, “the irony of her behavior is that her speech and her subsequent action betray her physical yearning for John…. She wants to know her shadow. But, we see that she refuses to be faced with this archetype, and accept it as a necessary part of her nature” (Senejani, 20011, p. 112). Clearly, Alma's irony lies in her desire to know her shadow and her refusal to accept physicality as a vital component of her natural femininity. Jane too has an ambivalent attitude regarding Bertha as she rejects her and criticizes her attitude, but she also admires her ability to break free all the patriarchal chains.

From a French feminist point of view, the social repression of women is responsible for Alma’s and Jane’s doppelgangers. Notably, there are affinities between the Jungian consideration of animus and some French feminist views
about female otherness. Indeed, Luce Irigaray’s idea that “feminine is both the same and other is found in Jung’s idea of the anima….For Jung, the otherness of the feminine is the otherness of the value laden negativity: the feminine in men is an internalized other, the devalued, the inferior, the unwanted, the disorder of the anima feminine” (Gray, 2007, p. 116). In other words, female inferiority is reflected through associating the feminine anima with negativity. The Jungian idea about the devaluation of the feminine anima rhymes with the Irigarian criticism of the repression of the female self during the symbolic order which is dominated by male authority. Irigaray believes that “[a] woman is a figment of the masculine imaginary, caricatured in the masculine\ symbolic\ imaginary as another of the same. And women to varying degrees internalize that projection through cultural immersion and construction” (Gray, 2007, p. 116). In Summer and Smoke, the idea of female inferiority is internalized by Alma who considers herself a weak creature. In one of her meetings with the doctor, Alma divulges her psychological pain. She affirms: “I suppose I am sick, one of those weak and divided people who slip like shadows among you solid ones” (Scene 11, p.118). Alma is obviously incapable to decoding the origins of her doppelganger. In Jane Eyre, Bertha is isolated but independent in the sense that she does not abide by the social rules of femininity. However, her double, Jane moves from resistance to complicity for the sake of social survival. Suffering from repression Jane is negotiates her sexual side (which Bertha stands for) and Alma is negates her sensualality. Raised in patriarchal communites, both women have been trained to freeze the female sexual desire. Arguably, Bronte slips Jane into matrimony in order to make her win the attention of Victorian audience.
Female Complicity

In *Jane Eyre*, Helen is known for her passive acceptance of the patriarchal imperatives. Notably, Helen’s complicity is associated with her longing for death. Indeed, religion in *Jane Eyre* contributes to strengthening patriarchy as its female characters are required to be pious in order to reap the benefits of obedience in heaven. Indeed, Helen carries out these religious patriarchal orders when she informs Jane about the cruelty of Mr. Broklehurst, but convinces her not to be revengeful. The most compelling reason is that punishment is a divine mission: “my maker and yours, who will never destroy what he created. I rely implicitly on his power and confide wholly in his goodness” (p.113). Unlike Helen, Jane raises some philosophical questions about existence and God: “Where is God? What is God” (p.113). These questions point to Jane's awareness that religion supports patriarchal hegemony, but Jane moves to complicity because she wants to sign a social contract and be socially integrated. She ultimately gives in to the dictums of male supremacy as she is driven into matrimony. Her shift from rebellion to complicity is foreshadowed from the opening chapters of the novel, when Helen informs Jane: “it is your fate to be required to bear” (p.88). Jane’s desire to reconcile her struggle and her complicity appears when she remarks: “I had learnt to love Mr. Rochester: I could not unlove him now” (p.214). No longer rebellious, she accedes to the importance that Victorian culture gave to the institution of marriage. In Victorian social rule the ideal woman was expected to be a submissive wife and “an Angel in the House” (a poem by Coventry Patmore 1854). The distribution of social roles between men and women in the nineteenth century
is well elaborated by Emily Martin. In her essay entitled “Medical Metaphors of Women’s Bodies,” Martin focuses on the social “doctrine of the two spheres—men as workers in the public, wage-earning sphere outside the home and women (except for the lower classes) as wives and mothers in the private, domestic sphere of kinship and mortality inside the home—replaced the old hierarchy” (p.18). In the gendered social space of the home, women were expected to learn the values of “true womanhood.”

When Jane discovers the secret of Rochester's first marriage, she does experience a moment of inner struggle. She is torn between complicity and rebellion. On the one hand, she loves Mr. Rochester and she does not like to quit her domestic sphere in Thornfield: she says, “I can not do it” (p.325). On the other hand, she cannot accept her beloved hiding his first marriage. Her rebellious spirit encourages her to “leave Thornfield at once” (p.325). At first, Jane tries to avoid her feelings. She says, “If I am not formed for love, it follows that I am not formed for marriage” (p.441), but she cannot help being enchanted by the love she feels for Rochester. She remarks, “I know what is to live entirely for and which I love best on earth” (p.475). Here, Jane’s paradoxical behavior can be explained by referencing Luce Irigaray’s Speculum of the Other Woman, wherein the French feminist offers an explanation of women’s inner struggles. She questions the role of women’s “super ego” by reporting that “[m] any women are known to entertain acute, painful, paralyzing conflicts, in which the question of the role of superego is unavoidable…. The sense of guilt is over noisy but cannot justify itself to the ego” (1985, p.88). Jane’s “paralyzing conflicts” stem from her influence by the Victorian value (or superego), which insists on matrimony
as the main factor of protection and respect for women. Jane understands that she has to be an accomplice to the system and she has to compromise in order to live peacefully.

Thus, the rebellious character of the opening chapters is ultimately tamed. Jane's complicity is demonstrated in her sense of sacrifice and in her jovial mood while talking about Mr. Rochester. We observe that the advocator of female rights, who“never can bear being dressed like a doll by Mr. Rochester (p.297), turns to be inscribed in the social institution of matrimony. In this context, Jane is overwhelmed with ecstasy while talking about marriage: “I am rewarded now to be your wife is, or me, so happy as I can be on earth” (p.470). Trained to collide with the laws of patriarchy, she pretends to be independent, “I am independent, sir, as well as rich; I am my own mistress” (p.459), but fails to comprehend that she is culturally dependent. In short, Jane contributes to the reinforcement of the Victorian values of patriarchy when she respects the maxim of matrimony. Raymond Williams’ theory of cultural materialism is relevant in justifying Jane’s complicity. In his *Culture and Society*, Williams defines culture as “a state or a habit of the mind, or the body of intellectual activities, it means now, a whole way of life” (1983, p.18). In the end, Victorian culture invades Jane’s mind.

**Conclusion**

To conclude, in *Jane Eyre* Bertha and Helen may be classified according to their defiance or alliance with patriarchy. Jane, the protagonist of the novel, is placed in the middle: she used to be endowed with a great sense of resistance, but during
the falling action of the story Jane gradually shifts her position. She understands that identification with social rules is a necessary cog that turns the wheels of life. The institution of marriage is necessary in order for her to lead a serene life. As she swings from resistance to complicity, her struggle withers away. Bertha’s struggle, on the other hand, is significant. Her social alienation is an indication of her female independence and her rebellious screams against rigid Victorian gender expectations pave the way for her heroic position. Bertha should be considered the real heroine for feminist readers in *Jane Eyre*. Holding the highest position in the novel, she succeeds for she is remembered for being unchained by the manacles of patriarchy. Despite her death at the end of the narrative, her memory remains, contributing to the celebration of female freedom.
References


REVITALIZATION OF IGBO LANGUAGE
AFTER THE UNESCO PREDICTION

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ABSTRACT

Language is a system of communication whether spoken or written which consists of sounds for speaking and symbols for writing that is used by members of ethnic group or nation for communication, expression, identity and culture. Igbo is an ethnic group of south eastern Nigeria whose language has about 25 million speakers who live in Nigeria and abroad. Unfortunately, Igbo language is endangered and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) forecast its extinction in future if nothing is done to revitalize it. Surprisingly, there are divergent opinions about the UNESCO prediction. However, the prediction has awaken the call for a revitalization among the Igbo people. This paper examines the revitalization of Igbo language after the UNESCO prediction with Hinton (2018) principles of language revitalization as a model. At the end, it was found that a positive language attitude precedes language revitalization. In conclusion, some recommendations and suggestions were made in which home/parents and school/teachers are most important and effective in language revitalization.
INTRODUCTION

Imagine a world without a language. In that a world, there were no communication, interaction, teaching, learning, marriage, family, school, etc. In fact, such a world is meaningless without a language. Language is a unique gift from God to humanity. Language is a feature with which every human being (unless the person has a speech disorder) is endowed with. Human language is different from animal or other types of language. Language is species-specific to human being. The most crucial features of human language are its infinite productivity and creativity. Human beings are infinitely productive and creative in use of language. This is why human beings are unrestricted in their communication. These features and characteristics are not found in animal language. Animal communication is by contrast finite and restricted. In this study, language is referred to human language.

We live in a world of language. Whatever we do in this world: relationship, trade, interaction, teaching, instruction, etc., we make use of language. Language is the tool for communication. Orji and Enweonye (2011) confirm this statement by saying that “language is used as a means of communication. It is its most obvious use. As a means of communication, we refer to all and types of ‘verbal’ interaction among human beings”. In other words, communication is the major function of a language. According to the *Webster’s International Dictionary*, language is “a systematic means of communicating ideas or feelings by the use of conventionalized signs, sounds, gestures or marks”. Similarly, *Collins Dictionary* defines language as “a system of communication which consists of a set of sounds and written symbols which are used by the people of a particular country or region for talking or writing”. This is to say
that in communication, we make use of sounds primarily and symbols/marks/gestures secondarily. The online *Encyclopedia Britannica* offers the following definition of language:

Language, a system of conventional spoken or written symbols by means of which human beings, as members of a social group and participants in its culture, express themselves. The functions language include communication, the expression of identity, play, imaginative expression, and emotional release.

From the foregoing, language is a system of communication whether spoken or written which consists of sounds for speaking and symbols for writing that is used by members of ethnic group or nation for communication, expression, identity and culture. There are different definitions of language proposed over time which are somehow generally similar and related in their meanings. Nevertheless, there is no one particular generally accepted definition of language. We will cite a few definitions of language here from linguists and scholars to support and affirm the above definitions. Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913), widely considered one of the fathers of modern linguistics defines language as “a social product of the speech faculty and a collection of necessary conventions which they have been adopted by a social body to permit individuals to exercise that faculty” (Saussure, 1916). He distinguished between *langue* (language) and *parole* (speaking) in his book, *Course in General Linguistics*. Langue consists of the abstract, systematic rules and conventions of a signifying system. It involves the principles of language, without
which no meaningful utterance would be possible. Whereas parole is the concrete examples of the use of langue.

Edward Sapir in his book, *Language: An introduction to the study of speech* defines language as “a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols” (Sapir, 1921:7). Furthermore, Okediadi (2011:527) says that “for the linguist Edward Sapir, language is not only a vehicle for the expression of thoughts, perceptions, sentiments, and values characteristic of a community; it also represents fundamental expression of social identity”. In defining language, Chomsky, the originator of the generative theory of grammar gives linguistics a new direction. To him, knowing a language means being able to produce an infinite number of sentences never spoken before and to understand sentences never heard before. In this regard, Chomsky (1957:13) says that “language is a set (finite or infinite) of sentences, each finite in length, and constructed out of a finite set of elements”. Chomsky defines language as the construction of sentences that can be generated using transformational grammars (Trask, 2007).

**IGBO LANGUAGE**

Igbo language is a member of Kwa group of languages from the Niger Congo language family according to Joseph Greeberg’s 1963 and Bendor-Samuel’s 1989 classifications of African languages (Asonye, 2013). The Igbo language is one of the eight major languages in the Benue-Congo Group of African languages. It is spoken by an estimated twenty million Nigerians (Echeruo, 2001). According to Wikipedia,
free online Encyclopedia, “Igbo is the principal native language of the Igbo people, an ethnic group of south eastern Nigeria. The language has approximately 24 million speakers, who live mostly in Nigeria and primarily of Igbo descent”. The Igbo are the speakers of the Igbo language. They today occupy the south eastern region of Nigeria, which comprises the states of Imo, Abia, Anambra, Enugu, Ebonyi, parts of Rivers and Delta and Cross River states. The above mentioned areas are where the Igbo are predominantly found, but they can be found even in their large members in all parts of the world (Igbokwe, 2013). However, according to Uwechie (2016), “Igbo language is obviously one of these endangered languages spoken by about 25 million people. Igbo is the principal native language of south eastern people and it has more than 20 different dialects. It is also recognised as a minority language in Equatorial Guinea”.

The fact that Igbo language instead of gaining community height in the hierarchy of languages is currently moving in the downward trend in the comity of human languages is drawing increasing concern amongst individuals and scholars within the Igbo nation and beyond (Ani, 2012). The increasing concern calls for revival of the endangered Igbo language. According to Wikipedia, an endangered language is “a language that is at risk of falling out of its use as its speakers dies out or shift to speaking another language”. In the case of Igbo language, the language speakers are not dying out but shifting to speak English and other foreign languages. Uwechie (2016) says “English is used today at all educational levels and for transacting all government businesses relegating Igbo and all local languages to the background”. Because of this, “it has been observed that Igbo language is fast deteriorating. In our
schools, markets, public places, business sectors and most annoying at homes, no one seems to speak Igbo language anymore…” (Igbokwe, 2013). In the same vein, Orji and Enweonye (2011) say “Igbo language use continues to lose its ground among its users each day especially the youths of this present generation”. They go further to state that “Igbo language use and its importance are issues that continue to generate views among Igbo linguists”. The decline in the use of Igbo language, not only among the youths but also among the adults – educated and uneducated, has generated views and concerns not only among Igbo linguists but also by every Igbo person, home and abroad.

THE CONDITION OF IGBO LANGUAGE

There is a decline in the use of Igbo language at homes, in schools, churches, at social and cultural events, and even in government long before the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) prediction of Igbo language extinction. This is caused by colonisation, civilization and introduction of English language to Nigeria, particularly in Igboland. The decline in the use of Igbo language by Igbo people especially the elites and educated ones are the effects of colonisation and globalisation. According to Uwechie (2016), “certainly, the declining use of Igbo language can be traced to the beginning of British colonisation and the subjugation of Igbo culture and language to English culture”. Uwechie (ibid) goes further to say that the colonizers successfully indoctrinated Ndigbo to despise their way of life as primitive and satanic, and to covet the colonizer’s way of life as the ultimate form of civilization and godliness.
Out of ethnic groups in Nigeria, Igbo ethnic group seems to be the only one that suffers most the effects of colonisation, civilization and globalisation. Igbo people are good at imitating and copying other people’s culture to the detriment of their own culture. It is true that British colonisation in Nigeria had ended in 1960, but English language which is the British language has grown and become an official language in Nigeria. Uwechie (ibid) states that English language as the official language of Nigeria was enthroned by British government in Nigeria as a direct consequence of colonisation. In Nigeria today, English language is not just an official language but a lingua franca. English language has dominated almost all Nigerian indigenous languages. Igbo language suffers it the most.

In 1949, Frederick Chidozie Ogbalu, a mission tutor at Dennis Memorial Grammar school, Onitsha formed the Society for Promoting Igbo Language and Culture (SPILC). According to Abanobi (2018), “The Society was to be one veritable instrument with which he was to register most of his achievements for the language and culture of the Igbo people for the rest of his life”. He goes further to say that in terms of contribution to the development of Igbo language, culture and literature, Ogbalu towers above all. Mazi Ogbalu published more than 100 books in Igbo language, literature and culture. Before his death in 1990, he took Igbo language and culture to a greater height with his Society for Promoting Igbo Language and Culture.

After the death of Mazi Ogbalu in 1990, the Society for Promoting Igbo Language and Culture (SPLIC) also died after some years. The death of Mazi Ogbalu and SPLIC affected the development of Igbo language. This and the domination by English language had led to the decline in the use of Igbo language in schools and
other places. Many schools in Igboland stopped the teaching of Igbo language. Some schools even banned the use of Igbo language in classroom. Igbokwe (2013) says, “In the classroom, Igbo speaking is a taboo, pupils who speak Igbo in classes are made to pay fines or punished”. A young linguist, writer and campaigner for the revival of Igbo language, Maazi Ogbonnaya confirmed what Igbokwe (2013) said from what he wrote on his Facebook page on 28th September 2018 thus,

Schools in Igboland: They punish anyone that speaks Igbo, I was a victim. In each class there is an inscription: ‘Igbo speaking is highly prohibited in the class’. I was flogged mercilessly for speaking Igbo while in secondary school. You are laughed at or seen as dullard if you speak Igbo continuously.

I was in secondary school when Igbo language was referred to as a vernacular. I was banned from speaking vernacular in the classroom. The class prefect recorded and submitted the names of students who used vernacular – Igbo language. The ‘defaulter’ would be punished or forced to pay fine. Uwechie (2016) affirms by saying, “speaking ‘vernacular’ in class at most secondary schools is a punishable offence”. It was and still an offence to speak Igbo language at some schools in Igboland. This is the present state of Igbo language. Uwechie (ibid) says that “most primary and secondary schools do not offer Igbo language as a subject on their curriculum thereby setting the stage for the early and slow death of the language”. If Igbo language is not taught in primary and secondary schools in Igboland, tell me how it can be revived? This is opposite of what is obtainable in most schools where English, sometimes French or
even Chinese languages are made compulsory.

In recent years, Chinese government is promoting her national language, Mandarin Chinese all over the world. Most Nigerians especially Igbo students are learning Mandarin Chinese with pride. Igbo people are not proud of their God-given language. Okoye and Onwuegbuchunam (2011:547) assert that “the Igbo people feel proud speaking other languages like English, Hausa, Yoruba and feel shy speaking their local languages or dialects”. In support, Ogbonnaya (2018) says that shying away from speaking your mother tongue and pride in other languages as superior to your is what should be criticized. We should criticize and condemn Igbo people who take pride in speaking other languages, local and foreign and shy away from speaking their own language. Asonye (2013) has this to say:

Igbo people have developed a positive attitude towards English to the detriment of their own language. An average literate Igbo person wants to flaunt his or her mastery of English language at the expense of Igbo.

The positive attitude of Igbo people is not only towards English language but also towards French, Spanish, German, and recently Mandarin Chinese. Igbokwe (2013) asserts, “The Igbo have embraced foreign languages in place of their mother tongue”. This is a very serious problem. It is like ‘loving other people and hating oneself’. According to Ani (2012), “Igbo language is falling out of the communication choice of many Igbo people”. In other words, Igbo people prefer other languages to their own language. This is to say that many Igbo people hate Igbo language. There is a negative attitude towards Igbo language by Igbo people. In support of this assertion, Anonye
(2013) says, “It is a fact that Igbo people acknowledge that Igbo people exhibit a negative attitude towards their language”. Nwadike (2002:97) captures the picture by saying that, “The greatest problem that has faced Igbo from all times is the apathy of the Igbo man towards his language”. And similarly, Ani (2012) says, “The greatest problem facing Igbo language is the Igbo man’s attitude to his language”. These hatred, apathy and negative attitude from Igbo people towards Igbo language are a serious challenge to the revival of Igbo language and culture. According to Adichie (2012:26), “We are all responsible for the poor state of Igbo language today”. We should blame ourselves for the decline in the use of Igbo language at home, in schools, in churches, at social and cultural gathering. Parents and teachers are the first set of people to blame. It is at home and schools that children acquire and learn their local languages with ease. Both parents and teachers including the school administrators are guilty of this heinous crime against Igbo language. Maazi Ogbonnaya (2018) says this about Igbo parents:

Igbo parents: they punish their children for speaking Igbo and even go to schools, telling school administration to stop teaching their kids Igbo.

Due to this, Igbo is now optional in schools in Igboland till this minutes.

The young parents are victims and their children automatically become victims in this circumstance. Language as a part of culture is preserved by passing it down from one generation to the other. Many Igbo parents failed to teach their children Igbo language. By so doing, they failed to preserve Igbo language. Igbokwe (2013) says that “Igbo is a lost language in most Igbo families as most parents no longer speak nor
teach children the language. Instead they beat and scold their children for speaking Igbo”. In support of this claim, Ani (2012) says that “It is no longer a taboo to hear and see parents that shamelessly ban their children from speaking Igbo language at home”.

The church, in recent times, has contributed to the decline in use of Igbo language in Igboland. Igbo people are mainly Christians after the introduction of Christianity by the Europeans. Christianity helped to abolish evil traditions in Igboland like killing of twin. However, Christianity contributed to the neglect of Igbo language and culture by the Igbo people. Christianity was introduced side by side with western education which English language is the medium. For one to acquire the western education and be converted to Christianity, one needs a mastery of English language. In pursuit of western education, Igbo people abandoned and neglected their own language. Okoye and Onwuegbuchunam (2011:547) state that “The reality is that the hegemonic influence of English has relegated Igbo to the background, especially in the practice of Christianity”. Because of influence and dominance of English language in Nigeria, particularly in Igboland, churches even at village conduct services in English. The ‘Pentecostal churches’ are the champions in the use of English language in conducting services in Igboland.

The State governments in five Igbo States: Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, and Imo failed to promote Igbo language which led the decline in use of Igbo language in schools and government. It is unfortunate that during electoral campaigns in Igboland, the politicians and government officials use English language. In the north and west, Hausa and Yoruba are used respectively. Governors
in the northern and western Nigeria address their people in Hausa and Yoruba respectively. But in the east where Igbo language is the dominant language, the governors address Igbo people in English language. The State Assemblies in the north and west use their local languages unlike the State Assemblies in Igboland. According to Ani (2012), “the government in Igbo states are practically not doing enough to put the Igbo language in the scheme of first class languages of the country. The government of the Igbo States are still not proactively promoting Igbo language’s place a multi-million language”.

**UNESCO PREDICTION: CONFUSION AND REACTIONS**

So much has been said and written by Igbo elites in recent times about the alarming decline in spoken Igbo language by Ndigbo themselves and the possible extinction of the language in the nearest future (Akabogu, 2016). The decline in the use of Igbo language is not only seen in speaking but much more reflected in reading and writing. More people can still speak Igbo language but only a few young people can read and write Igbo language. It is no longer a news that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) predicted that Igbo language will go into extinction in future. Uwechie (2016) says, “Igbo language is one of the many tribal languages that UNESCO predicted in 2012 will become extinct by 2025 if nothing is done to check their fast declining use”. Similarly, Ossai (2017) states “the fear became more pronounced when in 2012, United Nations Educational Cultural and Scientific Organisation (UNESCO) predicted that ‘half of the 7000 plus languages spoken today will disappear by the end of the century’. It is predicted that
Igbo language will become extinct by 2025 if nothing was done to save it”. The actual year UNESCO made this prediction is not accurately captured by many authors. Most scholars like Uwechie (2016) and Ossai (2017) agreed that the prediction was made in 2012 while others agreed it was earlier predicted around 2006. According to Asonye (2013), “Towards the end of 2006, the United Nations made a prediction that some minor languages of the world will go extinct in the next 50 years. On the list was the Igbo language spoken in the south eastern Nigeria by over 20 million people”. Another confusion surrounding the UNESCO prediction on the extinction of Igbo language is the actual year when the ‘prophecy’ will be fulfilled. Some authors wrote it is on the year 2025 while others agreed it is on the year 2050. Uwechie (2016) and Ossai (2017) are some of the authors who agreed the year of the prediction is on 2025. Ogbuokiri (2017) and Mbah (2018) cited in Oladele (2018) are part of the group who said that the UNESCO prediction will be fulfilled in the year 2050. Ogbuokiri (2017) agrees that “the United Nations Educational Cultural and Scientific Organisation’s (UNESCO’s) prediction that Igbo language would go extinct by 2050”.

This UNESCO prediction has generated many reactions. Asonye (2013) says that “several reactions from Igbo indigenes and speakers have continued to trail UNESCO prediction of Igbo language death in the year 2053, both positive and negative”. Boniface Mbah, a professor of Igbo linguistics at University of Nigeria, Nsukka is of the opinion that “the prediction by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) that the Igbo language will go into extinction by 2050 is not based on any empirical evidence”. Professor Mbah says that those who claimed that the Igbo language will die based on the analysis that Igbo children are
being brought up with foreign languages are not aware of how many children are being born as native speakers of the language. Mbah believes that UNESCO prediction is a claim without any empirical evidence. But the question is how many of these children born as native Igbo speakers continue to use Igbo language? Many of them abandon Igbo language for English or any other foreign language. Another scholar in Igbo language, Mazi Chigozie Nnabuihe, an Associate professor at the University of Lagos declares the UNESCO prediction a fallacy. As a keynote speaker at 2018 UNESCO International Mother Tongue Day Celebration at the Ndigbo Lagos Foundation; he says “…I totally disagree with the UNESCO prediction that Igbo language may soon go into extinction”. His disagreement is based on the large number of speakers of Igbo language which makes the language a major language by every classification. Usually, it is a minor language with a small number of speakers that easily and likely goes into extinction. However, there are examples of major languages in extinction today. Latin and Sanskrit were two languages with large number of speakers that had gone into extinction. From seeing the UNESCO prediction as a claim by Mbah to a fallacy by Nnabuihe, Mazi Pius Uchenna Okoye, The President General Igbo socio-cultural organisation, Igboezue International considers it an insult and a sacrilege. According to him, “this prediction we considered as an insult, a sacrilege and we therefore resolved never to allow this happen in this generation or in others to come”. But Onowu Michael Ozua Okoye says that rather than see the insult in the UNESCO prediction, the urgent need for the promotion and sustenance of Igbo language and tradition through teaching and learning of language and Igbo cultural values in schools, in order to prevent them from going into extinction. (Ogbruokiri, 2017).
UNESCO prediction of the Igbo language death is a fable to those who do not see it as a possibility (Asonye, 2013). Since anything is possible, therefore it is possible for Igbo language to die or go into extinction if nothing is done to avert the UNESCO prediction or prophecy.

It is a fact that the UNESCO’s prediction itself has awoken Igbo scholars and indigenes towards a greater conscious effort to keep their language alive, as several clarion calls are being made by many Igbo scholars for a positive attitude towards the language (Asonye, 2013). This is why Prince Ben Onura, The president of Igbo socio-political group, Igboekulie says that “the group considers the prediction as a wake-up call” (Ogbuokiri, 2017). Whether you agree or disagree with UNESCO prediction of the possible extinction of Igbo language in future, it is a either clarion call or wake-up call to do something in order to prevent the extinction of Igbo language as we earlier warned by Odinye & Odinye, (2010). If nothing is done to save Igbo language from extinction, we will surely see the obituary of Igbo language as Vincent Onyekwulu predicts thus:

The year 2053 and the news headline reads: ‘Obituary: the glorious passing away of Igbo language. With deep heart Ndi-Igbo announce the death of Igbo language after a protracted illness caused by daughters and sons of Igbo land. Igbo language left behind, a multitude of professionals, celebrities, able bodied men and ladies of timber and calibre. The passing away of the highly respected legend and statesman was a sudden death but negligence of sons and daughters of Ndi-Igbo (Onyekwulu, 2008
In order not to see or hear the obituary announcement of Igbo language in future, many Igbo leaders and scholars have given advices, strategies and recommendations. Ogbuokiri (2017) states “Igbo leaders, groups and cultural enthusiasts said that there is need for a connected effort among Igbo people to revive the culture and rekindle the interest of Igbo children in the study and speaking of the language”. Professor Ginigeme Mbanefo, the former Vice-Chancellor, University of Nigeria, Nsukka at 2014 UNESCO International Mother Tongue Day Celebration in Enugu advises the Igbos to join hands to fight against the extinction of the language (NAN, 2014). Similarly, Professor Anya O. Anya in his opening remarks as the chairman of 2018 UNESCO International Mother Tongue Day Celebration in Lagos says, “I suggest we should adopt the Jewish strategy in order to avert the looming danger of Igbo language going into extinction” (Kalu, 2018). In the same vein, Onowu Michael Ozua Okoye as cited in Ogbuokiri (2017) suggests as follows:

My advice to the Igbo people is that all hands must be brace up the present challenge. It is not one man’s duty or responsibility. We must work together so that our language and tradition will not go into extinction. Let us make concerted efforts so that our ancestors will appreciate our efforts towards resuscitating the language and culture, then, come to our rescue.

Of course, to save Igbo language from being extinct; it is not a one man’s business, duty or responsibility. All hands must be on desk. However, everybody has a task
individually, organizationally, and governmentally. Members of the family especially the parents have the primary responsibility. Schools, churches, groups and governments have the secondary role.

**LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION**

Once a language (like Igbo) is considered to be endangered, there are three steps that can be taken in order to stabilize or rescue the language. The first is language documentation, the second is language revitalization and the third is language maintenance (Austin and Sallabank, 2011). Language documentation (documentary linguistics) is a subfield of linguistics which aims to describe the grammar and use of human languages. It aims to provide a comprehensive record of the linguistic practices characteristic of a given speech community (Gippert, Himmelmann, and Mosel, 2006). The term language maintenance is used to describe a situation in which a speaker, a group of speakers, or a speech community (like Igbo) continue to use their language in some or all spheres of life despite competition with dominant or majority language (like English) to become the main/sole language in these spheres (Davis and Elder, 2004). Language revitalization, also referred to as language revival or reversing language shift, is an attempt to halt or reverse the decline of a language or to revive an extinct one (Tsunoda, 2005). According to Wikipedia, language revival is when people try to make a language that is not spoken, or is spoken very little, spoken more often again. Language revival wants to save a language that is dead or endangered. Though the goals of language revitalization vary greatly from case to case, they typically involve attempting to expand the number of speakers and use of
a language, or trying to maintain the current level of use to protect the language from extinction or language death.

Language revitalization is also closely tied to the linguistic field of language documentation. In the field, linguists attempt to create full records of a language’s grammar, vocabulary, and linguistic features. This practice can often lead to more concern for the revitalization of a specific language on study. Furthermore, the task of documentation is often taken on with the goal of revitalization in mind (Jose & Fernando, 2010). Language revitalization is necessary to preserve linguistic diversity. Culture and identity are also frequently cited reasons for language revitalization, when a language is perceived as a unique ‘cultural treasure’ (Grenoble & Lindsay, 2006).

According to Wikipedia, there are many different theories or models that attempt to lay out a plan for language revitalization. One of these is provided by celebrated linguist Joshua Fishman. Fishman’s model for reviving threatened (or sleeping) languages, or for making them sustainable, consists of an eight-stage process. Efforts should be concentrated on the earlier stages of restoration until they have been consolidated before proceeding to the later stages. The eight stages are:

1. Acquisition of the language by adults.
2. Creation of a socially integrated population of active speakers (or users) of the language.
3. Encouragement of the informal use of the language among people of all age groups and within families.
4. Encouragement of literacy in the language.
5. Encouragement of the use of the language in compulsory state education.
6. Encouragement of the use of the language in the workplace.

7. Encouragement of the use of the language in local government services and mass media.

8. Encouragement of the use of the language in higher education, government, etc.

Hinton (2018) says that “language revitalization is not an automatic response to language endangerment”. According to Bradley (2003) cited in Hinton (2018), “A change of attitude needs to happen before language revitalization can occur”. A positive attitude is a sine qua non for language revitalization. All efforts in language revitalization project will be unsuccessful if the owners of the language have a negative attitude toward their language. A reasonable number of approaches to language revival have been proposed (Amery 1994:143 cited in Alshehri 2016). Implementation of language revitalization methods is correlated with the degree of endangerment and language endangerment is a matter of degree. A number of language classifications endangerment have been proposed based on four criteria, namely number of speakers, age of speakers, transmission of the language to children and functions of the language in the society (Tsunoda, 2006 as quoted in Alshehri, 2016). Krauss (1992:4) as cited in Alshehri (2016) proposes a language classification endangerment that is mainly focused on transmission to children: “safe language” refers to a language that is still spoken by children and safe from extinction, “endangered language” refers to a language that will be ceased to be learned by children within the century and “moribund language” refers to a language that is no longer used as a native language by children. Another proposed language classification endangerment by Schmidt (1990:54) equally cited
in Alshehri (2016) is based on number of speakers, age of speakers and transmission to children and functions of the language in the community: “healthy language” refers to a language that is actively used by all generations, “weakening language” refers to a language that is mainly spoken by older people, “dying language” refers to a language that only has a few speakers and “extinct language” refers to a language that does not have any speakers. Igbo language falls within “endangered language” and “weakening language” according to Krauss (1992) and Schmidt (1990) respectively.

There are many paths language revitalization can take, but they are not mutually exclusive. A central aspect of language revitalization is the creation of new speakers. There are four main aspects to the revitalization of endangered languages: child learning, adult learning, language modernization, and language use (Hinton, 2018). According to him,

I will focus on four main aspects to the revitalization of endangered and sleeping languages: child learning, adult learning, modernization, and language use. Child learning would include school and home as the main venues; adult learning can occur through university classes, community classes, Master-Apprentice approaches, or learning from documentation (all of which can shade into each other). Modernization includes new vocabulary development and other kinds of language engineering, and use of new writing systems. Language use is the ultimate goal of the other aspects, but for endangered languages, using the language has to begin as a consciously planned endeavor with its own approaches and
strategies.

One path is for families to learn and transmit the endangered language at home. Schools are major venues for language learning. Language nests and immersion schools have been especially effective. Adult language education has also become a critical part of language revitalization. Universities and “bootstrap” methods such as the Master-Apprentice Program have been able to bring adults to high proficiency. Linguistic archives have been useful for access to language, especially when there are no speakers left. Modernization of the language is also unavoidable, including new vocabulary and the development of writing systems if necessary. Most importantly, language revitalization should involve increased use of the language, by native speakers and learners alike (Hinton, 2018). It is now obvious that home and schools are the primary venues for language revitalization. This is simple because children and pupils/students spend most of their time at home and schools. Homes and schools are very important places for language revitalization since language is taught and transmitted to children and pupils/students from parents and teachers respectively. As we have identified the significance of home and schools in language revitalization, it is also important to notice the primary function of children/pupils in the project. However, although children/pupils are important in language revitalization since they are future generation who will carry on the language but adult speakers are also important. Hinton (2018) states thus:

Even though it seems commonsense to focus on little children for language revitalization, who are such great language learners,
adult speakers are critically necessary for language revitalization. Home-based language revitalization can’t happen without parents who can use the language. Language nests and immersion schools can’t function without teachers who speak the language. A language revitalization program without a strong adult language-learning program will have great difficulty moving forward successfully. Thus adult language teaching and learning is an extremely important part of language revitalization.

In order for a language to be transmitted and transferred from one generation to another generation, the language has to be used as a daily and regular medium of communication. The most effective language revitalization approach is the use of language at home where children are taught unconsciously and naturally and are encouraged to become active users of the language. This is why Ahah (2010) says, “Reviving Igbo language starts with you and your family. Parents should endeavour to speak Igbo language to their children fluently no matter where they find themselves”. Schools are another place after home where language can be revitalized. It is said that a language can also be passed on if it used as the language of instruction in schools; whenever a language is turned into an object to be studied, rather than into a tool to be used in order to study something else, it has a slim chance of surviving in the long term(https://johansandbergmeguinne.wordpress.com/2013/02/25/reviving-endangered-languages). Although school has been and is even now one of the most important reasons why local languages are endangered, there are many reasons why people turn to the schools for language revitalization (Hinton, 2018). As earlier
said, pupils/students spend more hours at schools to learn a language. Government policies for language can effectively take place in schools than at home. Schools are both a major agent of language loss and revitalization. It has been observed that schools alone cannot save languages, but schools alone can directly and indirectly kill languages. In summary, any language revitalization project has to be on the terms of the language community’s speakers and that without a natural intergenerational language transmission process in place, any attempt to revitalize a language will be unsuccessful (ibid).

REVITALIZATION OF IGBO LANGUAGE

Unfortunately, it has been observed that Igbo language is fast deteriorating as a means of communication among the Igbo (Igbokwe, 2013). Igbo people are increasingly engaging in the progressive race towards cultural marginalization and geometric linguistic endangerment. Our attitude towards our language is the major factor to its under-utilisation (Ani, 2012). Due to the above situation, “efforts at revitalising and sustaining any ailing language (like Igbo) is often a serious one for the people who understand the effect an endangered language has on the existence of the owners. In fact, an endangered language is like a very sick person who is remanded in intensive care unit” (Onwudiwe, 2016). But unfortunately, “it is a matter of deep regret, however, that only little efforts seems to have made to stem the dangerous tide that is currently eroding the cherished Igbo language…” (Akabogu, 2016). After the UNESCO prediction of Igbo language extinction in near future if nothing concrete and tangible is done, many linguists and scholars have recommended numerous
suggestions and solutions to the problem. For Akabogu (2016), “the first thing to do is for governors and State House of Assembly in the South East geo-political zone of the country to come up with a legislation that will make it compulsory for students seeking admission into tertiary institutions within the zone to possess a credit in Igbo language”. This is a good suggestion but unfortunately it is not a good solution. As earlier said, if language is not learnt as a child; it will be difficult to be learnt as a teen or an adult. This is why learning an indigenous language like Igbo is proper and better at home than in school. It is not bad to learn the language in schools but it should begin at pre-primary and primary schools. Igbokwe (2013) has twelve recommendations and suggestions which cover most areas of language revitalisation program or project. His first two solutions are in line with Hinton (2018) model of home and schools primacy at language revitalisation project. According to Igbokwe (2013), “Igbo parents and care-givers should use Igbo language in bringing up Igbo children. All the schools in Igbo speaking States should ensure that Igbo language is taught in their schools”. It is difficult to ascertain the actual number of families that adopt Igbo language after the UNESCO prediction but there is a little improvement in the number of children and teenagers who can speak Igbo recently. It is sad that most schools (primary, secondary and tertiary) have not started offering Igbo language as a course after the UNESCO prediction. According to Maazi Ogbonnaya (2018), “Igbo language is no longer compulsory in senior WAEC”. It is obvious that the enemy of Igbo language is the Igbo people especially, the parents at home and teachers at schools. There have been several calls and efforts recently to revive the Igbo language. There is urgent need to give these efforts legal backing so that they would be enforceable.
The enemies of Igbo language especially the schools should be punished and fined for not teaching our children Igbo language.

**CONCLUSION**

So far this work has defined language and emphasised its importance; introduced and highlighted the condition of Igbo language; discussed the confusion and various reactions from the Igbo people toward the UNESCO prediction; defined and explained language revitalisation; and discussed the efforts in revitalisation of Igbo language. Nevertheless, “the Igbo language contends with a myriad of challenges. Some of the challenges are inherent, while others are imposed (Obiudo, 2011). The worse challenge facing Igbo language is the apathy and hatred by Igbo people. We will not be able to revitalize Igbo language after the UNESCO prediction if there is no positive attitude toward Igbo language and this change starts with me and you.
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“Jie, his…our birthday party will begin at 4 p.m... don’t be late…” The murmurs of my cousin Xinyu on the phone floated into my ear.

“He” is her little brother. Xinyu’s parents always yearned for a second child, and six years ago, her mother was examined to be five months pregnant. They found many ways to identify the fetus’ gender—it was a girl. They abandoned her before she was born and said: “The huge fine of One-Child Policy make us do this”. Last year, her mother was found pregnant again and she gave birth to a boy by saying: “Universal Two-Child Policy allow us to do this”. The baby was born on August 1st, People’s Liberation Army Day, and the new family member got his nickname: “Junjun”, which means army. There is fifteen years and one day’s age gap between them—Xinyu’s birthday is exactly one day before his: July 31st. And from now on, the celebration of her birthday has been delayed for one day to Junjun’s. It’s not so bad, for at least she can get a share of the birthday cake decorated with her brother’s name.

My parents and I got to the party at three. Because of the scorching weather, the
door was left open, and the aroma of stew ribs and fried pork cutlet lingered in the corridor, guiding us to Aunt and Uncle’s house: Grandpa and Grandma had arrived ahead of us and was busy preparing for dinner in the kitchen, beads of sweat sliding down their foreheads; the snores of Uncle penetrated out of his bedroom door, making my hair bristle and bringing me shivers; Aunt was sinking into the soft sofa, watching TV with her son Junjun in between on her crossed legs; and in the small bedroom, my cousin Xinyu was frozen in front of the table, staring at a paper but as if not looking at it.

“Good afternoon!” Mum yelled at the door. When we were taking off our shoes to put on slippers, Aunt locked Junjun with her arms and struggled up to welcome us. My grandparents also heard us arriving and rushed out. Smiling but not looking at us, they took the presents in our hands and hurried back to the kitchen. Aunt held her son’s buttocks with right hand and straightened her back, making the little boy stand out, as if an Oscar Award winner standing on the stage with her dazzling statuette. Being exhibited in his mother’s arms, Junjun was scared to see our three unfamiliar faces and cried shrilly. So, Mum narrowed her eyes with eyebrows drawn together, and pressed close to the little guy with a greasy smile: “Oh my honey, why do you burst into tears? You don’t remember me? Please don’t cry, my sweetheart, I have brought you a lot of presents…” Dad took a bowl of strawberries out of the kitchen, and handed over one to him: “Don’t be afraid, Junjun, the sweet-sweet strawberries for you!” The little boy quieted down in front of the big, bright red strawberries. He rubbed away the streaming and sparkling snot on his mum’s shoulder, grasped the biggest one and stuffed it into his mouth, which made us three “strangers” sigh with relief.
Then I entered into Xinyu’s room and fished out a blue velvet box. She was still motionless, keeping the pose of “The Thinker” statue.

“Happy birthday, Xinyu! Here is your belated present!” I put the box on her table, and noticed the test paper in front of her which was filled with bloody red crosses, “Are you OK? Has something happened?”

“Nothing serious. Thanks for your present, Jie.” She kept silent for a while and then asked me, “By the way, do you know how to get a bus card?”

“Yeah, but why? I thought your dad always drove you to school in car.”

She lowered her eyes, pretending to examine her fingernails: “He said that it takes too much time and money to pick me up.” Then she raised one eyebrow and cast a glance at her little brother who was surrounded by his “middle-aged fans”, saying: “Well, you know the reason.”

Her gloomy face reminded me of our childhood, when I still took Xinyu as my perfect enemy. As a daughter of my grandparents’ son, she stole away almost all families’ attentions and affections from me, as I had been given birth by my grandparents’ daughter. I hated her: I still remember the day when grandpa kicked her ass heavily because she poured water on the TV, and I just gazed at her with a smile, enjoying her shriek and cry. She also hated me, especially when I blandished the families again and again to beg for some love. But now, when Junjun broke into our life, the roles of Xinyu and me gradually paralleled, so we began to understand each other.

“Emm… don’t worry about the card, just leave it to me. Actually, the bus is better
Our conversation was interrupted by the thundering sound of a door opening. Uncle swaggered out of his bedroom and roared: “Oh, you have already come, I am so sorry to get up so late!”

The floor shook stronger and stronger until Uncle stopped in our room: “Hey, you two girls, why are you cooped up in here? Just go to the sitting room and play with your little brother!” He leaned on the shelf with his head up and arms crossing in front of his chest, just like a general who was checking the appearance of soldiers, although his hair was like a magpie’s nest. Therefore, I pulled Xinyu out and sat on the couch beside Aunt. Mum had been in kitchen to help with some housework, and my dad was still indulged in interacting with Junjun. The little birthday boy threw off all the shyness and fear, jumping up and down everywhere. Holding a big bowl of strawberries, Junjun may take himself as a fruit magnate and want to hand out his “property” to all of us. When he pushed a strawberry to Xinyu’s lower lip, she refused it expressionlessly, but this little boy mumbled and stamped his feet, with his hands keeping squeezing the strawberry in her mouth. She finally gripped it with her teeth, and Junjun cheered in a high voice and sprang to another room. Aunt was still switching channels and just like getting an electric shock, she stopped at a movie—Jackie Chan’s *Police Force*. She bounced up and pointed at the screen: “Xinyu, look at Jackie Chan’s nose! You see, it is really big and wide! What’s more, the tip of the nose is very fat! That is exactly the symbol of good fortune and great treasure, and you must marry a guy with a nose like this!” Xinyu was busy chewing the strawberry
and she nodded speechlessly. Aunt appeared to be kindled by her theory of marriage, so she took my hand and patted it gently, teaching me in a whisper:

“Jiamei, earning money is not our duty. As a woman, the first important thing is choosing an excellent husband. But if you fail on it, then focus on the second important thing—giving birth to a boy.”

“Oh, I got it. That does make sense.” I took all my strength to unwrinkled my brows and compelled my facial muscles to design a perfect smile.

However, she had actually lived her own beliefs: before having a son, she was thrown to a small apartment with Uncle and their daughter Xinyu; though all the housework was loaded on her back, she was still unable to satisfy my grandparents, who complained about her laziness all the time; even Uncle’s love for her seemed to be gradually taken back, and he stayed less and less time at home. But now with son by her side, she exchanged the narrow room for my grandparents’ big house; she got rid of all the household duties, turning them over to her parents-in-law without hearing any grumbles; more importantly, she won back Uncle’s love and care because of her outstanding contribution to carrying on the family line…

“The dinner is ready!” Mum went out of the kitchen, out of breath.

Junjun was arranged in the central seat, like the moon circled by the stars. Mum took out a bundle of chopsticks and a pagoda of bowls; Grandma arranged the tableware; I poured drinks in all the cups; Dad buckled up the seat belt in front of Junjun; Aunt inserted a blue candle in the cake; Xinyu lit the candle. Then the room quieted down
and all of us sat around the cake with our eyes fixed on the little boy, waiting for him patiently to blow the candle. Almost all of us were repeating the blowing movement, expecting him to imitate us and end this ceremonious ceremony. It looked like that Junjun had comprehended what he ought to do, but he used an unusual way to finish his mission—he attacked the faint candle flame with spittle. After several rounds of saliva bombing, the candlelight was finally put out, with white foam interspersing throughout the cake. The piece of carrot dropped down from Mum’s chopsticks. Aunt froze her clapping hands. Grandpa and Uncle turned their eyes to the wall. Xinyu fixed her eyes to the dead candle...

“Wow… Wha…What a…What a clever boy! Junjun is so ingenious and creative in blowing the candle! He will grow up to a successful man in the future!” Dad broke the embarrassing silence.

“And I believe that my grandson’s saliva will give all of us good luck!” Grandma left her seat and kissed the boy’s face for more than half a minute.

I got a piece of cake stained with Junjun’s “good luck”. With a plastic fork, I secretly broke the tiny, huddling bubbles one by one, which were like the transparent eyes of dragonflies.

After enjoying the lucky cake, Mum pinched Junjun’s nose gently: “This little guy didn’t recognize us at the beginning. He must inherit his dad’s poor memory. Hahaha…” Then she turned to Uncle: “By the way, Tao, have you forgotten the money I lent you two years ago? Actually, I need it to renovate my house.”

“I’m so sorry, Sister, but I am still on a tight budget these days. I promise you that
I will give you the money at the end of this year!” Uncle widened his mouth to his ears.

“But you have told me to…”

“That’s enough!” Grandpa said in a low voice, “Your brother has already got a big burden to take care of our Junjun, but you just make his burden heavier! If he can’t pay back your money, I will sell my house to repay you!”

Mum balled up her fists tightly, and she bit the lower lip so hard that it almost bled.

...

“Hey, Ha, Wa!”

Junjun grasped his spoon and waved it in rhythm, trying to regain our attentions. And the harmonious atmosphere resumed in a flash. Again, we put our focus on this little boy’s talents and intelligence. Mum turned around to take a deep breath and put on a smile again. To make up for her awkward situation, Mum threw out the topic she would never abandon: “My son recently got the title of ‘Excellent Student Leader’. The price was an exquisite watch and she just gave it to me.” She lifted her wrist, and the metal watchband reflected the lamplight to everyone’s face.

Mum was talking about me, her “son”. I really need to thank the fortune teller from which my parents ask for help, for he asserted that their unborn baby was bound to be a boy. I survived, they cried. Now they still stubbornly believe that I’m a boy, so as long as I can remember, I was given the nickname “Son”. Strangely, I just accept my fate to be a son: When I was a little girl, Dad taught me to play basketball and Chinese chess; Mum took me to the barbershop to cut off my long hair. In every day’s...
dinner, they always talk about good news of their colleagues’ sons and look at me with overwhelming hope. For nearly twenty years, I have struggled to live up to their expectancy, because only in this way can I shape myself from a “Pinocchio” to their real child.

“Sweetie, you are so outstanding! Junjun should learn from you, but not his useless sister.” Aunt put a pork trotter in my bowl. I hated pork trotter. Some hairs weren’t completely pulled out, standing on the pigskin, which was just like the jaw of an untidy man. I tore down the sticky skin from the trotter with my teeth and sent it into my throat. When I swallowed it, my gut just seemed to be scratched by a sparrow’s paw.

Aunt gave an oblique look at Xinyu and continued: “Xinyu failed in physics exam again.”

“There isn’t a quiet learning environment for me to focus on my study.” Xinyu raised her head, and her face was flushed, “And I really need a tutor to solve my doubts on physics.”

Grandma put down the chopsticks heavily on the table: “Oh my dear Xinyu, you think Junjun has influenced your study? Indeed, he makes a little bit noise sometimes, but he is just an innocent kid, so why can’t you love your little brother as we do?”

“And why other students can just get high marks without any help? Why wasting money on these NEEDLESS stuffs when you can solve the problem by your own efforts?” Uncle glared at her.

Xinyu’s voice was trembling and weakened: “Bu…but I just can’t understand the
knowledge points by myself…”

“So you should have chosen liberal arts as I have told you before. Now you face difficulties in study, and it’s your problem, not ours. Don’t attribute your failure to Junjun and your lack of tutor.” Uncle shrugged and invited Grandpa to join in a toast.

When dividing art and science classes after the first term of the senior high school, Aunt and Uncle had ordered Xinyu to study liberal arts because they were convinced that a girl studying science wouldn’t be attractive to successful men. But she loved science so much that she had finally followed her heart. Because of her “immature decision”, Aunt hadn’t talked to her for two weeks.

Lowering her head, Xinyu loosed her chopsticks quietly and left the table. Her favorite candied sweet potatoes were still untouched in the bowl.

…”

“Look! Our little guy is reaching the glass!”

“No, it’s so dangerous!”

“Oh, you little naughty boy!”

…”

The absence of Xinyu was covered by another’s care for her little brother. It seemed that the taste of today’s dinner wasn’t so good as it had used to be.

As soon as the tortuous dinner was over, I tiptoed to Xinyu’s bedroom and checked if she was OK. Her body seemed to be melting on the bed, with her right forearm withering on her forehead. The sun set and the hue of her room turned from orange to
gloomy blue. She was being nibbled by the darkness. On her face, the bloodshot and swollen eyes seemed like the pulp of overripe peach filled with red fibers.

I put the bowl on her table: “Xinyu, I bring your favorite food. Take some or you will be hungry at night.”

There’s no reply. She just gazed at the grey ceiling, like she could look through it.

“Don’t be mad at them. They didn’t intend to hurt you.” I sat beside her closely, hoping to absorb her pain like a sponge. “I can find a tutor for you, just as my investment on your study…”

“No, I’m good. I can handle it myself. Now please leave me alone.” She closed her eyes slowly, and a tear drop slid over her temple.

I left the room and closed the door gingerly, for fear of shattering her cracked heart. When I dragged my feet to the sitting room, the strong light pierced my eyes. Everything was in harmony—For Grandpa, Grandma, Dad, Mum, Uncle and Aunt, their hearts and souls were all immersed in the happiness of the new hope, and all of them maintained so cheerful that they chose to forget the conflicts and unpleasure of each other. Therefore, it was Junjun that reunited that family, while at the same time, it was Junjun that isolated Xinyu out of the family…

On the way home, Mum, Dad and I stopped in front of a red light. Lowering my head casually in the drizzle, I saw an earthworm desperately twisting her body, trying to wriggle back to her safe and warm earth. But what she headed for was the tough and muddy road, with streams of traffic rushing to and fro. I bent down and
tried to help this helpless creature, but the traffic light suddenly turned green and Mum dragged me to cross the road. I looked back again and again and the stubborn, vulnerable shadow was still struggling at the edge of death, fading away little by little from my sight.
THE MARIAN THEORY INFORMS 1 HENRY IV AND 2 HENRY IV:

THE PROXIMATE CAUSE OF THAT HARVEY/PETO NAMES-DIVERGENCE

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I. INTRODUCTION

Cherchez la femme.

The following pages assess Shakespearean corpus plays The First Part of Henry the Fourth and The Second Part of Henry the Fourth. Examination herein concentrates upon a matter glancingly heeded previously. The supporting character Harvey is renamed Peto between The First Part of Henry the Fourth’s creation (“Quarto Zero”) in circa 1596 and its 1598 Quarto incarnation. This substitution-name lingers into The Second Part of Henry the Fourth. The investigation progresses in light of the Marian Theory of several Shakespearean corpus creations.

A. The Marian Theory: Mary’s Earls of Southampton

The Marian Theory or working hypothesis hearkens to influence upon the
Shakespearean corpus of the biography of Mary Browne (1552-1607). She became the wife of Henry Wriothesley, 2nd Earl of Southampton, when her age was thirteen.¹ (The Marian Theory apprehends that girl-bride’s true-life wedding in the face of familial resistance² as one tributary of Romeo and Juliet.³) As Countess of Southampton, Mary mothered Henry Wriothesley. He would be the 3rd Earl of Southampton.⁴ Mary Wriothesley, widowed, as Dowager Countess of Southampton⁵ married Sir Thomas Heneage.⁶ Widows wedding men socially of inferior rank retained their title customarily.⁷

A.L. Rowse discerned of Mary’s son: “He was not on good terms with his mother—a part of his inheritance from his father, along with Thomas Dymoke, his mother’s old enemy, whom he trusted and liked as had his father before him.”⁸ Thus the Dowager Countess, twice-widowed, encountered filial-built barriers against reentering married-life⁹ with Sir William Harvey. The Marian Theory comprehends this pre-1599 friction, plus intrafamilial transcendence thereof by 1599, as helping explain some divergences among “Harvey/Peto” quartos.

2. Ibid., p. 83.
3. Ibid., p. 67-68.
4. Ibid., p. 83.
6. George Steven Swan, supra note 5, pp. 120-122.
8. Ibid., p. 129.
9. George Steven Swan, supra note 5, p. 128.
The Marian Theory helps explain some divergences between the *Romeo and Juliet* quartos of 1597 and 1599. One can read from those divergences a playwright’s 1599 outlook more receptive to his 13 year-old bride Juliet-character than had proved the author’s take on that female lead in 1597. The Juliet-role evolved quarto-to-quarto with some correspondence to simultaneous developments in the life of onetime bride at 13-Mary Browne. For the 1599 more “pro-Juliet” quarto emerged upon the circa 1599 “pro-Mary” relief of years-long intrafamilial strife between Mary and her son. Such proves the background brought to this reappraisal of a seemingly telling detail found in *The First Part of Henry the Fourth* and *The Second Part of Henry the Fourth*.

**B. The Marian Theory and the Heart of the Henriad**

That reassessed detail is the aforementioned Harvey/Peto (re)naming of a minor character. Harvey/Peto denominates a fictional character controversial in the contemporary world of the flesh-and-blood playwright and of his several audiences, within and without the theater. The character became a symbol drawing fire during or after 1596 because it shadowed a man of mounting prominence to the eyes of Mary, rewidowed Dowager Countess of Southampton. For repeatedly wedlock-eligible Mary lost her husband Heneage months before August 12, 1596.

Specifically, the Marian Theory of *1 Henry IV* reappraises such facts as: (1) a looming marriage of Mary to Sir William Harvey first appears upon history’s pages in May 1597, rendering plausible the courtship’s inception on or about August 12, 1596; (2) on August 7 or 8, 1596, Sir William returned from the wars a hero newly-
knighted; (3) Southampton is evidenced as late as October 1598 ferociously opposing his mother’s marrying Harvey; (4) *I Henry IV* frequently is adjudged to have been begotten around August 12, 1596; (5) *I Henry IV*'s original playscript (“Quarto Zero”) apparently contained a clownish, historical character called Oldcastle (nowadays regularly remarked as real relative of August 8, 1596, incoming Lord Chamberlain) and a negative minor character named Harvey (an English soldier associated with Oldcastle-to-become-Falstaff); (6) said Harvey role (but not the Oldcastle role) is absent from the Shakespearean source (the circa 1586 *The Famous Victories of Henry V*), an absence consistent with a Quarto Zero-playwright’s soldier synthesized circa August 12, 1596, for Southampton’s satisfaction (to mock Mary’s suitor Sir William, cheapening her knight’s glory); (7) the play’s oft-presumed December 26, 1596, Court performance before the Lord Chamberlain precedes the 1598 First Quarto; (8) that First Quarto replaces Quarto Zero’s Oldcastle and Harvey with Sir John Falstaff and Peto, as if reactive to December 26 outrage; (8) the grossly unfamiliar label now pinned to Peto—the English soldier sporting a Spanish name—peculiarly suits Sir William Harvey, as if crafted to extend humiliation of him; and (9) Sir William Harvey and Mary remained unmarried between December 26, 1596, and (at least) October 1598, a wait consistent with a protracted prospect of filially-resisted nuptials entailing the First Quarto-playwright’s protracted denigration of Harvey at Southampton’s behest.

These facts, as evidenced herein, imply an influence upon *I Henry IV* of the biography of the matron once the girl named Mary Browne.
Specifically, also, the Marian Theory of 2 Henry IV restudies such facts as: (1) Henry V is oft-adjudged to have been born at or shortly after launching of the Earl of Essex’s Irish campaign of March-September 1599; (2) Henry V is oft-adjudged to have been born shortly after completion of 2 Henry IV; (3) in 2 Henry IV the Peto character carries-over from 1 Henry IV beside Falstaff and Falstaff’s 1 Henry IV clot of miscreants; but (4) in 2 Henry IV Peto proves something of a new man, Peto’s fleeting presence being dignified and constructive; whereas (5) Falstaff and his circle (not Peto) are repudiated by their Prince and carried to the Fleet Prison; and (6) a January-March 1599 completion of (or a pro-Peto, i.e., pro-Sir William Harvey amendment of) 2 Henry IV, shortly before Henry V premiers, immediately follows or coincides with the marriage of Sir William Harvey and Mary (by January 31, 1599). This playscript arrives as though Southampton’s turnaround-acceptance of his stepfather prodded playwright-creation of a conciliatory 2 Henry IV comporting therewith.

These facts, evidenced herein, likewise betoken impact upon 2 Henry IV of the biography of a widow once the prospective bride called Mary Browne.

II. THERE’S SOMETHING ABOUT MARY, CIRCA 1596-1598

Jesse M. Lander reminded scholars the 1 Henry IV Quarto One (Lander’s “Q1”) of 1598 was preceded by Quarto Zero (Lander’s “Q0”).11 “Though the play as

presented in Q1 is remarkably clear, there are indications that it underwent a process of revision. The major evidence in support of this theory is the renaming of several characters…”\textsuperscript{12} Richard Dutton emphatically reminded scholars:

There were apparently two editions of \textit{1 Henry IV} in 1598, but only a fragment of one of these—usually known as Q0—remains that could have been the version by which Q2’s “Newly corrected” measures itself. The other, generally known as Q1, survives in three more or less complete copies, and that is the version which the 1599 text (Q2) is based upon.\textsuperscript{13}

Jean E. Howard reminded scholars (consistently with Lander and Dutton) that Quarto One presents “a few traces of the fact that Peto once bore the name ‘Harvey,’ and Bardolph the name ‘Russell,’”\textsuperscript{14} or ‘Rossill’ while the \textit{2 Henry IV} Bardolph measures against “torches, blushing maids, red wine, red petticoats.”\textsuperscript{15} (The heart of the \textit{Henriad} are \textit{1 Henry IV}, \textit{2 Henry IV} and \textit{Henry V}.\textsuperscript{16}) Bardolph’s redness associates him with the name Russell.\textsuperscript{17} The English ‘russet’ (brown hues from red-yellow to reddish red-yellow) derives from the ‘rosset’ or ‘rousset’ of Old French, itself derivative from the Latin word akin to the English ‘red’.\textsuperscript{18}

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{12} Jesse M. Lander, \textit{supra} note 11, p. 1176.
\bibitem{13} Richard Dutton, \textit{Shakespeare, Court Dramatist}, p. 127n.49 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016) (Dutton’s italics). “The early textual history of \textit{1 Henry IV} is relatively straightforward, consisting of two quartos in 1598 and a third in 1599, the later quartos deriving from the first,….” Amy Elizabeth Lidster, \textit{supra} note 11, p. 129.
\bibitem{14} Jean E. Howard, \textit{The First Part of Henry the Fourth}, in \textit{The Norton Shakespeare}, \textit{supra} note 11, pp. 1165, 1171).
\bibitem{16} Michael Dobson, \textit{Henriad}, in \textit{The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare}, p. 163 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), (2\textsuperscript{nd} ed.).
\bibitem{18} Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary, p. 872 (Springfield, MA: G. & C. Merriam Company, Publishers, 1948) (5\textsuperscript{th} ed.).
\end{thebibliography}
recognized “the Italian roso for ‘red’.” Howard’s additional declaration that the August 1596 to March 1597 interval demarcates “the very months when most scholars believe Shakespeare completed 1 Henry IV” summons attention in light of the Marian Theory of Romeo and Juliet, (with that tragedy’s 1597 and 1599 quartos).

W.R. Streitberger reminded scholars how much “a degenerate buffoon” was the stageplay character called Sir John Oldcastle. Author of, e.g., Contested Will: Who Wrote Shakespeare?, James Shapiro styled Oldcastle a “riotous glutton.” Oldcastle’s apparently was the name of the leading comic character in Quarto Zero, the original 1 Henry IV. Sir John Oldcastle was a martyred Lollard with the title of Lord Cobham. That said of Falstaff, what of Howard’s character called Harvey?

Chris Laoutaris, concerning the 1596 pre-Quarto One 1 Henry IV and its author’s 1593 and 1594 dedicatee Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton, observed how

...Southampton had good reason to be interested in Shakespeare’s Henry IV, for the play had originally included a character named Harvey, who was Oldcastle’s co-conspirator and joint-roisterer. This happened

to be the family name of Sir William Harvey, the man who had been assiduously courting the Earl of Southampton’s mother [Mary, the Dowager Countess of Southampton],….Considerably younger than the object of his affections, by some eleven years, and of limited financial resources, he [Sir William] was seen by Southampton as a parasite and interloper who was putting his inheritance at risk. Rumours that the affair would lead to marriage were already rife by 1597, prompting [Robert Devereaux, Earl of] Essex to come to Southampton’s aid by enlisting the help of Lord Henry Howard, who was charged with the task of convincing the Countess not to go through with a marriage that would be to the disgrace of her reputation and her son’s honour.27

That said of Harvey, what of Quarto Zero’s character called Russell?

III. WHO WOULD WISH OLDCASTLE, HARVEY AND RUSSELL EXPUNGED FROM 1 HENRY IV?

Relevant to 1 Henry IV’s Oldcastle and Harvey was Oldcastle kinsman Sir William Brooke, 10th Baron Cobham; Brooke resided just to the south of his neighbor named Elizabeth Russell.28 Tenth Baron Cobham’s direct ancestor was Joan de la Pole, Lady Cobham, by Sir Reginald Braybrooke (her second husband): Sir John Oldcastle became Joan’s fourth husband (to whom she bore no offspring), meaning Sir John had

27. Ibid., p. 232.
28. Ibid., p. 231.
held the Lord Cobham title in right of Joan.\textsuperscript{29} That implies Brooke somehow seemed more “Lord Cobham” than Oldcastle himself. The descendent of Sir Reginald’s (not Sir John’s) Lady Cobham could have demanded redenomination of Oldcastle’s name for sake of ancestral dignity.\textsuperscript{30}

Lord Cobham’s neighbor Elizabeth in 1558 had married Sir William Brooke’s friend Sir Thomas Hoby, those men having studied in Strasburg together as Martin Bucer’s students: Lord Cobham visited the Hoby country home in Bisham during 1560.\textsuperscript{31} Elizabeth Cooke Hoby, widowed, married the heir apparent to the Bedford Earldom, John Russell, during 1574.\textsuperscript{32} In 1596, she was his widow. Meanwhile, onstage: “Oldcastle and Harvey had yet another companion, a buffoonish and drink-loving comrade-in-arms called John Russell.”\textsuperscript{33}

Her nearby William Brooke became Lord Chamberlain on August 8, 1596.\textsuperscript{34} Through the Master of the Revels’s office, the licensure of plays was supervised by the Lord Chamberlain.\textsuperscript{35} It has been said that between then and Brooke’s March 1597 death,\textsuperscript{36} \emph{1 Henry IV} was censored by Brooke directly or via the Master of the

\begin{footnotes}
\item 32. Chris Laoutaris, \textit{supra} note 24, p. 105.
\item 33. \textit{Ibid.}, p. 233.
\item 34. \textit{Ibid.}, p. 289; W.R. Streitberger, \textit{supra} note 21, p. 230.
\item 35. Jean E. Howard, \textit{supra} note 14, p. 1171.
\item 36. W.R. Streitberger, \textit{supra} note 21, p. 230.
\end{footnotes}
Revels.\textsuperscript{37} Thus the 1 Henry IV’s dramatist by February 1598\textsuperscript{38} replaced Oldcastle’s name and expunged the names Harvey and Russell,\textsuperscript{39} respectively rebaptised as Peto and Bardolph.\textsuperscript{40}

Steve Sohmer styles this incident the one wherein the author approaches self-repudiation most nearly in the totality of his corpus: “a markedly mild one, hardly more than a brushstroke”\textsuperscript{41} Consistently with Sohmer’s styling “markedly mild” the supposed self-repudiation, he declares regarding the Epilogue of 2 Henry IV (sequel to 1 Henry IV): “But if one looks at what the epilogue says—rather than what we have been told it says—it’s impossible to find in it an apology to Brooke, or to anyone other than the original John Oldcastle.”\textsuperscript{42}

Sohmer’s take grows more convincing considering the patron of the 1598-

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\item[38.] W.R. Streitberger, \textit{supra} note 21, p. 231.
\item[39.] Chris Laoutaris, \textit{supra} note 24, p. 289.
\item[40.] W.R. Streitberger, \textit{supra} note 21, p. 231.
\item[41.] Steve Sohmer, Reading Shakespeare’s Mind, pp. 19-20 (Steve Sohmer, 2014).
\item[42.] Steve Sohmer, \textit{supra} note 30, p. 128. On the other hand:
\end{itemize}

The [1 Henry IV] second edition, which was also [like the first edition, i.e., Quarto Zero] printed in 1598 (therefore providing a \textit{terminus ad quem} for the first printed text), contains no reference to Shakespeare or the Chamberlain’s Men, while the third edition in 1599 claims the play was ‘Newly corrected by W. Shakes-speare’. Although it is possible that the first two editions of 1 Henry IV were actually printed earlier in 1598 than the second quartos of Richard II and Richard III (which contained the first [authorial] attributions) and therefore do not constitute an exception to the overarching [stationer Andrew Wise’s attribution-] pattern,…, the phrasing on the 1599 title page and the absence of any references to the Chamberlain’s Men on subsequent editions potentially indicate a connection to the Oldcastle controversy,….

While the title pages of all the extant editions encourage recollection of the association between Falstaff and the Cobham family, by drawing attention to this character in their paratexts, the 1598 title page refrains from mentioning those involved in the offence, namely Shakespeare and George Carey’s company. The 1599 title page introduces Shakespeare as a corrector, in contrast to the more assertive claims of authorship on the other Wise quartos, which suggests an attempt to emphasize the play’s ‘corrected’ state, especially in relation to its political correction.

Amy Elizabeth Lidster, \textit{supra} note 11, p. 143 (footnote omitted) (Lidster’s emphasis).
1599 2 Henry IV company was Lord Chamberlain George Carey. In 1597, Carey bested Henry Brooke for that appointment: Henry’s father William edged Carey for this position in 1596. Given this theater-relevant rivalry, natural appears purported appeasement of the Brookes by Carey’s company (for its 1596 1 Henry IV denigrating their relative) via an ambiguous Epilogue closing 2 Henry IV (a play substantively burning Brookes, anew). Respecting results of a circa December 26, 1596, playhouse flareup, Sohmer seems to see the widely-shared outlook on the epilogue (“what we have been told it says”) to overstretch some scrape’s explanatory net.

Jean E. Howard’s particular take overextends her explanatory ambit: “Again, the objections of powerful figures may have forced changes. ‘Russell’ was the family name of the prominent earls of Bedford, and ‘Harvey’ the name of the stepfather of the earl of Southampton.” At least relative to avoiding offense to Southampton (not Sir William Harvey himself) as motive for the Lord Chamberlain to have the onstage ‘Harvey’ name changed, note Howard omits mention that Harvey was not until approximately January 1599 Henry Wriothesley’s stepfather. (In 2016, James C. Bulman seemed similarly unadvised.) That 1599 date minimizes the likelihood a 1596 motive was avoiding offense to Southampton. Also, Howard omits mention of, e.g., G.P.V. Ackriggs’s account that circa 1596-1597: “[Henry] Cobham became an inveterate enemy of Essex and Southampton.” Were William and son Henry Brooke hostile to Southampton and Essex, then (erroneous) belief by Brookes that the 1596 Harvey-character demeaned Southampton’s stepfather would have constituted

43. Jean E. Howard, supra note 14, p. 1172.
45. G.P.V. Ackriggs, supra note 37, p. 249.
Cobham-incentive to retain (not rename) the onstage Harvey-character.

In all events, in 1596, Essex already chafed over the favor displayed by their monarch to Henry, ultimately the 11th Baron Cobham. A feud’s battle-lines were being drawn. Opposite Jean E. Howard’s take, Laoutaris opines that, upon seeing Sir William represented onstage as the Harvey-character in \textit{1 Henry IV}, Wriothesley “may have been thrilled to see his mother’s lover lampooned in this way.”

Consistently with Laoutaris (not with Jean E. Howard), Samuel Schoenbaum understood that the Russell and Harvey names metamorphosed into Bardolph and Peto to spare the Earls of Bedford and Sir William Harvey himself. From the Schoenbaum perspective, Harvey and Russell’s rechristening represented a pro-Mary (thereby anti-Henry Wriothesley) move solicited by the 10th or 11th Baron Cobham. Rowland Whyte would write Robert Sidney on March 16, 1597, of Henry Brooke,

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48. Samuel Schoenbaum, \textit{supra} note 37, p. 194. As if explaining solicitude for Harvey hurt by \textit{1 Henry IV}, Scoufos says his Cobham-connection waxed by 1597. Alice-Lyle Scoufos, \textit{supra} note 31, pp. 231-232. She supposes Harvey’s cousin, Gawen Harvey, married Frances Sondes, \textit{ibid.}, pp. 231 and 352n.11, daughter of Margaret (Brooke) Sondes (thereby niece of Henry Brooke, 11th Lord Cobham). Actually, Gawen’s wives were the daughters of Sir Thomas Lucas of Colchester (Mary) and of Sir Thomas Edmonds. John Peter Shawcross, \textit{A History of Dagenham, in the County of Sussex}, pp. 212-213 (London: Skeffington and Son, 1908) (2nd ed.); The Visitations of Essex, p. 582 (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1878) (part II).

Scoufos was confused by incarcerated 11th Lord Cobham’s 1603 bribe offered Gawen (son of Lieutenant of the Tower of London George Harvey): Frances, Henry’s (at the oldest, thirteen year-old) niece as Gawen’s bride. Alice-Lyle Scoufos, \textit{supra}, note 31, pp. 231-232 and 353-354n.25. Bad bargaining all-around: Gawen lost his ponce.

11th Baron Cobham, that “hearing how disdainfully my Lord of Essex speaks of him in public, doth likewise protest to hate the Earl as much.” And also Southampton’s foe would be Henry Brooke, as certainly as Henry repelled Robert Devereaux.

IV. AN ACTING COMPANY’S CONFIDENCE

A. The Famous Victories of Henry V, and Edmund Tilney, Inspire Confidence

i. The Famous Victories, 1586

Whoever was to feel spurred to retaliate against role-naming in 1 Henry V, its theatrical company might sleep securely in mid-July 1596. Dutton emphasizes: “The licensing system was there precisely to prevent an unregulated proliferation of texts, any one of which might be—or might be made—seditious, heretical, or abusive of those in power…. In turn, Streitberger held of Edmund Tilney, who licensed 1 Henry IV with its revived Oldcastle denomination: “It is more likely he did not imagine using the name would cause concern because a prominent character in The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth, one of Shakespeare’s principal sources for his Henry IV and Henry V, was named Oldcastle. Since The Famous Victories never sparked controversy, there was no obvious reason to suspect that the use of the name in Shakespeare’s plays would either.”

52. James Shapiro, supra note 23, p. 18.
53. Richard Dutton, supra note 13, p. 212 (Dutton’s italics).

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Through one mid-1590s eight-month period *The Famous Victories* was staged what James Shapiro styles “an extraordinary thirteen times.”\(^{55}\) Expert on *1 Henry IV* Alice-Lyle Scoufos capsulized *The Famous Victories*: relevantly:

In the older play, *The Famous Victories of King Henry the Fifth*, Sir John Oldcastle appears as a character in the entourage of young Prince Hal. On coronation day Oldcastle and the other knights are renounced by the new king as ungodly men whose characters are incommensurate with the new standards of royalty. This anonymous play has long been considered a part of Shakespeare’s source material.\(^{56}\)

Scoufos understood that someone wrote *The Famous Victories* topically, on a personal level, even as *1 Henry IV* was to be framed. Scoufos records of *circa* 1585: “A total rift developed between [Edward de Vere, 17\(^{th}\) Earl of] Oxford and the Cecil circle [of his father-in-law William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and brother-in-law Robert Cecil], which of course included [William Brooke, 10\(^{th}\) Lord Cobham.”\(^{57}\) Since 1572, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, had been Lord High Treasurer.\(^{58}\) Since marrying Mildred Cooke in 1545,\(^{59}\) Burghley had been brother-in-law of Elizabeth Cooke.\(^{60}\) As seen hereinabove, Cecil sister-in-law Elizabeth Cooke Hoby was to become widow

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of John Russell.\textsuperscript{61}

Scoufos adds that Cobham and Oxford, were rivals for appointment to the Privy Council in 1586. By February 12, Brooke edged Lord Oxford:

The queen, in what was to become a traditional pattern of behavior with her, apparently chose to console Oxford with the annuity of one thousand pounds and control over the entertainments at court. Oxford used his new power to his best advantage, it would seem, and Lord Cobham was soon derided through the attack upon his famous ancestor. The rejection scene in \textit{The Famous Victories} in which Oldcastle, Ned, and Tom are charged to reform or be sent into exile appears to have a salient message buried just under the surface of the text. The removal of unworthy councilors is the duty of the ideal king, the play asserts. And there is no doubt about who those unworthy councilors were in the court of Queen Elizabeth.

Such a usage of the topical in drama is propagandistic. The twentieth-century reader may be both disillusioned and repelled at the mundane content and meaning, but it is there. A decade later Shakespeare

\textsuperscript{61} Chris Laoutaris, \textit{supra} note 24, pp. 17 and 132-133. Lady Elizabeth (Russell’s widow) as sister-in-law to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and maternal aunt of Sir Robert Cecil, Alice-Lyly Scoufos, \textit{supra} note 41, p. 240, might seem natural ally thereof against, e.g., Henry Wriothesley, 3\textsuperscript{rd} Earl of Southampton.

On the other hand, Lady Elizabeth also was sister-in-law to Frances (Grey) Cooke (wife of Elizabeth’s brother William): Frances was niece of Anthony Browne, 1\textsuperscript{st} Viscount Montagu. Chris Laoutaris, \textit{supra} note 24, p. 278. The latter’s daughter married the 2\textsuperscript{nd} Earl of Southampton and bore Henry Wriothesley, 3\textsuperscript{rd} Earl of Southampton. George Steven Swan, \textit{supra} note 1, pp. 71-72.

SO: William Cooke was uncle of Robert Cecil (because Robert’s mother Mildred was William’s sister). BUT: William’s wife Frances was cousin to Henry’s mother, whose own father (Anthony Browne, 1\textsuperscript{st} Viscount Montagu) was brother of Frances’s mother (Mary Browne).
was to resort to the same technique in very similar circumstances. His victim was to be the very same family, the [10th and 11th] lords of Cobham.\footnote{Alice-Lyle Scoufos, supra note 41, p. 181.}

Hence how heartening for Edward were some anonymous playwright simultaneously reflecting glory upon Vere and flaying William Brooke in 1586. For 1586 proved precisely the moment of Oxonian spite. Scoufos discovers: “Against the explicit aggrandizement of the ancestral earl of Oxford, the contrasting denigration of the ancestral Lord Cobham stands out like a sore thumb.”\footnote{Ibid., p. 180.} Hobbie is Oldcastle’s horse, reminiscent of Sir Thomas Hoby and his 1558 bride, Elizabeth Cooke Hoby.\footnote{Ibid., p. 179.} If only one were able to tie the creator of The Famous Victories (performed initially \textit{circa} 1586,\footnote{Charles Boyce, supra note 15, p. 188; Jane Kingley-Smith, The Famous Victories of Henry V, in The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare, supra note 16, p. 117.} whenever first formulated) to the author of \textit{1 Henry IV}.\footnote{P.M. Handover, supra note 46, p. 61. At Anne de Vere’s funeral her chief mourner was Lord Cobham’s wife, Lady Frances. Stephen Alford, supra note 58, p. 311. Lady Frances presumably mourned more in accompaniment to the grief of Anne’s father (her own husband’s old friend, William Cecil) and less in accompaniment to the grief of Anne’s husband (her own husband’s longtime rival, Edward de Vere).}

\textbf{ii. The Famous Victories as Backdrop to \textit{1 Henry IV}, 1596}

Oxford’s wife Anne died on June 5, 1588.\footnote{Alan H. Nelson, supra note 50, p. 322 and 337; Stephen Alford, supra note 58, p. 304; Alan G.R. Smith, Servant of the Cecils: The Life of Sir Michael Hickes, 1543-1612, p. 33 (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977).} Anne’s father William Cecil (not their own father, Edward de Vere) then took guardianship of Anne’s young daughters Bridget, Susan and Elizabeth.\footnote{Alan H. Nelson, supra note 50, p. 322 and 337; Stephen Alford, supra note 58, p. 304; Alan G.R. Smith, Servant of the Cecils: The Life of Sir Michael Hickes, 1543-1612, p. 33 (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977).} By the aforementioned letter of March 16, 1597, Sidney was told by Whyte that Henry Brooke (son of William Brooke, 10th Baron...
Cobham) was to wed 12 year-old Lady Bridget Vere.\textsuperscript{68} Ponder whether William Cecil-William and Henry Brooke marriage negotiations likely opened \textit{circa} August 12, 1596. \textit{Quaere}, whether Edward underwent agonies envisioning his own flesh-and-blood Bridget as merchandise.

Bridget proved vendible (like the 13 year-old daughter in \textit{Romeo and Juliet}, shopped to her father’s “friend” Count Paris). Bridget was vendible by Edward’s erstwhile father-in-law to Cecil’s longtime friend\textsuperscript{69} but Edward’s longtime rival, William Brooke (through Sir William’s son and presumptive heir, Henry). An anguished Oxford probably delighted watching Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell (Burghley’s sister-in-law) figuratively flailed onstage like William Brooke (and like Henry, through his father) in autumn 1596: Edward’s ire already had been roused by her intermeddling in financial dealings surrounding the January 26, 1595, marriage of William Stanley, 6\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Derby, to Edward’s daughter Lady Elizabeth Vere.\textsuperscript{70} Cecil circle. \textit{Total} rift.

Scoufos says of the \textit{1 Henry IV} acting company in 1596:

It was during this hectic autumn, I believe, that Shakespeare started composing Part One of the \textit{Henry IV} plays. By November, I think the playwright was at work on the comic scenes depicting the famous roisterer we call Falstaff. But in the first version of the play Falstaff

\textsuperscript{68} Alan H. Nelson, \textit{supra} note 50, p. 367. Lady Bridget Vere was born on April 6, 1594. \textit{Ibid.}, p. 293.
\textsuperscript{69} Allan G.R. Smith, \textit{supra} note 67, p. 103.
\textsuperscript{70} Alice-Lyle Scoufos, \textit{supra} note 31, p. 242, citing Hatfield House, Salisbury MSS., 31: 106 (Vere’s anger); George Steven Swan, \textit{The Proximate Source of A Midsummer Night’s Dream: Anthony Munday’s John A Kent and John A Cumber}, the quint: an interdisciplinary quarterly from the north, pp. 49, 90-91 and 100 (Vol. 6) (No. 3) (2014) (Stanley-Vere wedding date).
was called Oldcastle; the players were too unhappy in their misfortune [e.g., Brooke’s accession, August 8] to be overly subtle. This first play, and again I conjecture, was apparently finished and produced before the death of Lord Cobham on 6 March 1597….

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….The poet was concerned with ridiculing the new lord chamberlain [William Brooke] through an established dramatic character who had stridden the stage when the Queen’s Company produced *The Famous Victories of Henry V* in the 1580s. But this character was only the point of departure for Shakespeare’s wit. He developed within the chronicle material context a broad comic plot in which the Falstaff-Oldcastle character could be manipulated to reflect not only the image of the ancestral Lollard martyr but also certain aspects of the life of the contemporary Lord Cobham, Sir William Brooke….

Scoufos implies the 1596 dramatist far more hostile to William Brooke than had been the 1586 (“only the point of departure”) dramatist, for some reason or another. *Quaere*, whether some reason or other included manipulation-inspiration from “certain aspects of the life of the contemporary Lord Cobham.” *Contemporary* Sir William. Hence how happy for Edward de Vere were some circa 1596 playwright to crop Cobham and, to boot, to lash Lady Elizabeth Russell (both whipped as if by a pubescent girl’s inflamed father). For 1596 proved precisely the juncture of Oxford’s presumable impulse to push against a Brooke-suitor. If only one descried evidence

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71. Alice-Lyle Scoufos, *supra* note 31, p. 102. The March 6 date is in Scoufos.
linking the creator of 1 Henry IV during 1596 with the author of The Famous Victories during 1586.

Whereas Tom Ritter observed that others had doubted Oldcastle in 1 Henry IV “was meant to offend the Cobhams at all: as Janet Clare, Richard Dutton and Peter Corbin and Douglas Sage all note, Oldcastle already had been depicted as the disreputable ‘Jockey’ in The Famous Victories of Henry V, apparently without negative consequence.”73 Either hypothesized authorial confidence that The Famous Victories proved precedent for safely using Oldcastle’s name, or reckless authorial intent to tug the beard of Lord Cobham, would explain Oldcastle’s name for Quarto Zero of 1 Henry IV. As seen hereinabove, literarily portentous August 8, 1596, illuminated how realistic vel non would have been acting company confidence through August 7: 10th Baron Cobham became Lord Chamberlain.

iii. Elites’ Playhouse Stage-Communications via a Fresh Character’s Name, 1596

In any case, Peter Lake ascertained:

[W]hat is interesting and undeniable is the fact, that, at a time of high political tension, Shakespeare (perhaps by accident, perhaps not) can be found insulting on the public stage the one great publicly acknowledged and unappeasable enemy and rival of the earl of Essex, much to the subsequent delight of central members of the earl’s circle.

And what is not subject to any doubt at all is the close attention paid by members of the court to the political and personal resonances of the drama, and in particular the intimate knowledge and easy reference to these plays made by members of the Essex circle as a means of sending (rather insulting) messages to their rivals at court and making private jokes amongst themselves.\(^{74}\)

Elites’ communication through (and about) the playhouse stage is the more comprehensible because, e.g., these aristocrats’ country was one wherein the Privy Council had ordained in 1586 that English-language newssheets must not print, for circulation among the public, any domestic news.\(^{75}\) More specifically, this particular dramatist’s language influenced the very mode whereby the country’s foremost families articulated their own exposure to national and court politics.\(^{76}\)

However, happenstance (e.g., as hypothesis explaining the theatrical company’s misguided overconfidence in that *The Famous Victories of Henry V* precedent) falters in explaining use of the name of Harvey. For Harvey proves a name never wrapped into *1 Henry IV* via overconfident borrowing of a character and name from *The Famous Victories*. The *1 Henry IV* Harvey character’s name, in contrast to Oldcastle’s, is absent from the roles in *The Famous Victories of Henry V*.\(^{77}\) Hence, Harvey-


\(^{76}\) James Shapiro, *supra* note 23, p. 18.

becoming-Peto solicits measuring *1 Henry IV* against not Happenstance Theory but the Marian Theory.

**B. The Famous Victor Robert Devereux Might Inspire Confidence**

The *1 Henry IV* composition took place after 1595, and likely during early or mid-1596, i.e., the interval very roughly concluding on August 12. During March 1596 an English assault under Essex against Cadiz, Spain, impended. Whatever inspired naming roles in *1 Henry IV*, Essex then could closely have been connected with playscripts only dubiously. For by April 3 the Spanish captured a fort commanding the Calais harbor’s approaches; Essex, in Dover on April 13, was in line to take 6,000 troops to Calais. Calais fell on April 15. Thus, on May 15, the army and Essex were instead in Plymouth. The assault force initially departing Plymouth for Cadiz on June 1 met unfavorable winds, and actually set sail only on June 9. Essex returned to Court on August 12.

Nevertheless, the Essex variable might be relevant to *1 Henry IV*. The initial evidence for the Earl of Southampton’s attentions to the Queen’s Maid of Honor Elizabeth Vernon dates from September 1595. Vernon is cousin to Essex having

84. P.M. Handover, *supra* note 46, p. 140.

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obtained her position through him.\textsuperscript{87} Southampton’s biographer G.P.V. Akrigg surmises Vernon an Essex dependent, being a recipient of his gifts as well as his yearly 50 pound-allowance.\textsuperscript{88} Essex realized Vernon could bring her bridegroom no dowry. She would one day be espoused to Southampton. And of the days around March 17, 1596, Rowse writes of England’s gathering attack against Cadiz: “Southampton was ardently hoping to follow his leader [Essex] on the great expedition.”\textsuperscript{89}

Rowse delimned Devereux during the days around his August 12 return to Court: “Essex, after Cadiz, stood at the apex of his career, a famous figure both at home and abroad.”\textsuperscript{90} If anyone between June 9 and August 8 (e.g., July 23) feared Oldcastle name’s igniting explosions over \textit{1 Henry IV}, then an acting company’s confidence in immunity from reprisal could mushroom insofar as it supposed itself shielded by Essex. The Lord Chamberlain (61 years, 13 days of age on March 17, 1596) was Henry Carey, 1\textsuperscript{st} Baron Hunsdon. The 1\textsuperscript{st} First Baron Hunsdon was uncle to Robert Devereux’s mother, Lettice.

\textbf{C. The 1\textsuperscript{st} First Baron Hunsdon Inspires Confidence}

The \textit{1 Henry IV} company’s own patron was Henry Carey himself.\textsuperscript{91} Hence it was known both as Hunsdon’s Men, and the Chamberlain’s Men.\textsuperscript{92} This 1\textsuperscript{st} Baron

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{87} A.L. Rowse, \textit{supra} note 7, p. 104; G.P.V. Akrigg, \textit{supra} note 37, p. 69.
\bibitem{89} A.L. Rowse, \textit{supra} note 7, p. 107. Wriothesley’s hope to join an assault is credible: “Elizabeth had made it clear that she expected all plunder to be brought back to defray her expenses. If this was really thought to be true or enforceable, there would have been no gentleman volunteers--they had joined the expedition not just out of bravado or patriotism, but because they were looking for loot.” Raleigh Trevelyan, \textit{Sir Walter Raleigh} p. 272 (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2002).
\bibitem{90} A.L. Rowse, \textit{supra} note 7, p. 110.
\bibitem{91} Charles Boyce, \textit{supra} note 15, p. 303.
\bibitem{92} Ibid., p. 304.
\end{thebibliography}
Hunsdon was first cousin to Queen Elizabeth\textsuperscript{93} as son of Mary Boleyn (sister of the Queen’s mother Anne), albeit likewise the Queen’s likely half-brother by being bastard of Henry VIII.\textsuperscript{94} In 1577, the Queen had appointed him to her Privy Council, and it would be at her expense that 1\textsuperscript{st} First Baron Hunsdon was buried in Westminster Abbey.\textsuperscript{95} Its patron for years,\textsuperscript{96} Essex-kinsman Carey could elevate his umbrella above his company.

Laoutaris says of Henry Carey’s niece Lettice’s lad that viewing \textit{1 Henry IV} “…with growing relish was a nobleman who made no attempt to disguise himself before the common play-goers. On the contrary, he wanted to make sure he was seen in public attending Shakespeare’s plays about the rise of Henry IV’s glorious dynasty. This theatregoer was Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex.”\textsuperscript{97} Elaborates Laoutaris: “Tracing his ancestry back to Henry IV, Robert Devereux was using the theatres to cultivate a public persona as the living embodiment of the royal bloodline which would produce the warrior-prince Hal; the man who would become Henry V and the heroic victor of Agincourt.”\textsuperscript{98}

Additionally, Laoutaris underlines the grisly connection of Henry Carey and William Cecil, Lord Burghley, with the 1585 presumable murder (but official suicide) of Henry Percy, 8\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Northumberland,\textsuperscript{99} as rather nourishing the nascent play.

\textsuperscript{93} Steve Sohmer, \textit{supra} note 169, p. 143.
\textsuperscript{94} Chris Laoutaris, \textit{supra} note 24, p. 229.
\textsuperscript{95} Steve Sohmer, \textit{supra} note 30, p. 144. “Actually the Queen treated the ladies quite generously,” A.L. Rowse, Eminent Elizabethans, p. 188 (London: The Macmillan Press Limited, 1983), after the 1\textsuperscript{st} Baron Hunsdon’s death, gifting money to his widow and a pair of her daughters. \textit{Ibid}.
\textsuperscript{96} Steve Sohmer, \textit{supra} note 30, p. 127.
\textsuperscript{97} Chris Laoutaris, \textit{supra} note 24, p. 233.
\textsuperscript{98} \textit{Ibid}., p. 234.
\textsuperscript{99} \textit{Ibid}., pp. 145-146 and 240.
For *1 Henry IV* presents its doomed Hotspur: Henry Percy, himself eldest son of Henry Percy, 1st Earl of Northumberland. Laoutaris actually styles “as the chief promoter of the Oldcastle play [*1 Henry IV*]—the Lord Chamberlain, Henry Carey…”

Sohmer supposes *1 Henry IV* both written and staged before July 23. Laoutaris likewise supposes a staging of *1 Henry IV* in London before its company in August launched a provincial tour. However (in)accurate that is, Bulman sensibly stipulates: “In early summer, it could not have been anticipated that Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, would die, nor that [William Brooke, 10th] Lord Cobham would succeed him;…” Laoutaris relates: “On 21 July 1596, Shakespeare’s patron, Henry Carey, finishing his supper, suddenly felt ill….By the end of the next day he would be dead.” Carey would be buried on August 12, the day Robert returned to court.

Besides permission to perform, every company required a license to travel. By July 22, every suburban theatre had been shut, ostensibly for fear of a plague outbreak. That August, the (presumably) licensed *1 Henry IV* company departed to tour through early autumn, to return for Christmas season court performances.

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109. “[T]here apparently was more to the order than simply a precautionary move to safeguard health.” Alice-Lyle Scoufos, *supra* note 31, p. 99.
in London. It might believe its drama—born beneath the wing of the late Carey, licensed by Tilney, drawing on precedent of *The Famous Victories*, and possibly produced in London before July 23—impregnable.

V. LORD CHAMBERLAIN BROOKE BLOWS-OFF LIKE A PETARD

A. An Authority’s Outburst: Angry, Yet Comprehensible

Consistently with Jean E. Howard’s observation, Charles Boyce proposed probable production of *1 Henry IV* in the winter of 1596-1597. Also consistently with Howard’s apprehension, Streitberger supposes likely the performance in London of *1 Henry IV* during the days of Lord Chamberlain Brooke between August 8 and March 1597. James M. Gibson advocated for a Court performance of *1 Henry IV* on December 26, 1596; presiding as master of ceremonies was William Brooke. Bulman receptively detailed Gibson’s contribution, noting Gibson’s dating. Gibson and Bulman incline to accept an adult grew incensed by fictionalization of a relative—not ancestor—gone 179 years and more.

A letter to the Lord Chamberlain from Court-figure Edward Jones concerned, as construed by Gibson, a disturbance begun by Jones during the December 26 performance but exacerbated by Brooke: Jones seems (to Gibson) to have been situated in the hall apart from his pregnant spouse. Jones objects to Cobham: “That

which grieves me most is the public disgrace which you gave me at the play on Sunday night, not only before many of my friends that thought you did me wrong, but in the hearing of my wife who being with child did take it so ill as she wept and complained in the place, for I came to her but to ask her how she did, and not to stay there; and you lifting up your staff at me called me ‘sirra’ and bid me ‘get me lower, you sawcy fellow’; besides other words of disgrace.”

Quaere, whether Brooke discerned irregularity surrounding a woman, misread as disorder demanding defense of a pregnant mother.

Lord Cobham’s daughter Elizabeth was wife of Principal Secretary to the Queen Robert Cecil. On December 23, Robert and Elizabeth hosted Her Majesty and a swarm of suitors and relations (Russells, Cecils, Hobys, etc.) albeit, as his biographer P.M. Handover relates, “Anxiety was close to Cecil’s heart at this time, for Lady Cecil, who was pregnant, did not survive this stupendous demand on her hospitality.”

Defending a pregnant mother. Brooke would have seen Elizabeth big with child.

Elizabeth unexpectedly dying in childbirth on January 24, 1597, her monument in Westminster Abbey reads: “Blest with two babes, the third brought her to this.”

Quaere, whether a December 26 pregnant mother incident exposed William’s paternal anxiety for his daughter and grandchild: Brooke’s newest and most vulnerable

descendant. Not purely guessing, Ian Wilson “on surer ground”120 says grief led to William’s preparation of his will on February 24, 1597, and his March death.121

### B. The Authority’s Outburst-Outcome: Harvey-into-Peto

The earliest surviving evidence of a wedding brewing between Sir William Harvey and onetime Mary Wriothesley is a May 1597 letter (Rowland White to Southampton’s friend122 Sir Robert Sidney). Rowland recounts that “a Speech goes that my Lady Southampton will have Sir William Harvey, 20th May 1597.”123 Anthony Davies estimated the creation and performance of *1 Henry IV* in 1596, with the Harvey character when Sir William Harvey “was about to marry the dowager Countess of Southampton.”124 Imagine, *ex hypothesi*, that a dramatist acquainted with Southampton’s resistance to Mary’s mulled marriage impaled Sir William with malice aforethought between July 23 and December 26, 1596.

Switches of Oldcastle to Falstaff and Harvey to Peto transpired by the printing of the First Quarto.125 For by February 1598 the jealous Earl of Essex already refers to

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125. Charles Boyce, *supra* note 15, p. 255. Presumably the spelling in the 1598 First Quarto was “Peyto,” as in the 1599 Quarto. The “Peto” spelling is found in the First Folio of 1623. Halliday opined the change complete before the February 1598 registration of the *1 Henry IV* Quarto One. F.E. Halliday, *supra* note 51, p. 341.
the 11th Lord Cobham (Henry Brooke) as Falstaff. Nevertheless, transmutation by, e.g., about April 1597 (following December’s blowup) of Harvey into Peto promised no peace between the dramatist (if aligned with Southampton) and Sir William Harvey. For Southampton’s friction with Harvey endured unresolved.

VI. ENTER PETO-AS-HARVEY, TO HARRY WILLIAM-AND-MARY

A. Peto Correlates with Sir William Harvey’s Biography

i. Breastplate, Spain and Harvey

In Spanish, ‘peto’ signifies a breastplate. It meant as much in 1605’s *Don Quixote* by Miguel de Cervantes (d. April 23, 1616): “aunque le habian quitado el peto y el espaldar,….” Or: “… el buen hombre, lo major que pudo le quito el peto y el espaldar para ver si tenia alguna herida.” That common noun was relevant to jousting in medieval and/or renaissance Iberia. The inventory of the Royal Armory (a portion of Charles V’s collection) made during 1594 includes

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130. *Ibid.*, p. 88 (Bk. I, ch. 5). This writer is indebted to North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University Professor Jorge Gaytan for his report that “peto” is to be found in Cervantes.

the “peto” in the jousting armor of his son, Phillip I.\textsuperscript{132} Within that inventory lies another example encompassing the “peto,” owned by Charles V.\textsuperscript{133}

The First Quarto’s progenitor perhaps spoke some Spanish. Thereby he need not seek the Spanish word for ‘breastplate’ in some London dictionary; in the “El Vocabulario” of his 1591 \textit{The Spanish Schoolmaster}, William Stepney translated “a breastplate” with “las coracas.”\textsuperscript{134} (Compare: ‘cuirass.’) Were the author familiar firsthand with the Spanish for ‘breastplate,’ it might bespeak acquaintance with jousting.

It proves suitable a Sir William-figure (Peto) swears a name meaning breastplate. Further, it is fitting his name signify breastplate in \textit{Spanish}. For the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography records of William Harvey (or Hervey):

As a young man Hervey served aboard the lord admiral’s flagship during the Armada campaign of 1588, earning renown in the action off Calais. In 1596 he commanded his own vessel, the \textit{Darling} of Portsmouth, on the expedition to Cadiz, and was knighted by the earl of Essex [sic]. The following year he sailed on the voyage to the Azores as commander of the \textit{Bonaventure}. In September 1598 he was

\textsuperscript{132} Antonio Dominguez Ortiz, Concha Herrero Carretero and Jose A. Godoy, Resplendence of the Spanish Monarchy: Renaissance Tapestries and Armor from the Patrimonio Nacional, p. 113 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991).

\textsuperscript{133} Ibid., p. 114.

one of several candidates for the controllership of the navy,....

Charlotte Carmichael Stopes records of Harvey: “He was knighted on June 27th, [sic] 1596, for brave service at Cadiz,....” She states that in Spain Harvey’s knighthood was for “signal bravery before Cadiz.” Spain. Some slendermost evidence hints Southampton spontaneously comprehended the foreign noun supplanting ‘Harvey.’ The refugee in the English court Antonio Perez, former Secretary of State to King Phillip II of Spain, published his autobiography during 1593 or 1594 and presented a copy (accompanied by a commendatory letter) to Henry Wriothesley. Spanish.

ii. Harvey, Hero Home from Spain

Akrigg attests that by autumn 1598 the Dowager Countess “had long been on intimate terms with Sir William Harvey.” Mary’s second husband, Sir Thomas Heneage, had died during 1595. Whether or not on the heels of her second widowing, Harvey did avidly pursue the no longer off-limits Dowager during the days of 10th Baron Cobham as Lord Chamberlain, i.e., after August 8, 1596. It is is credible that


137. Charlotte Carmichael Stopes, supra note 82, p. 98.

138. G.P.V. Akrigg, supra note 37, pp. 36-37, citing Antonio Perez, Obras, p. 531 (Geneva: 1631). “…Perez, as Philip II’s former Secretary of State, knew all his secrets.” A.L. Rowse, supra note 95, p. 181.

139. G.P.V. Akrigg, supra note 37, p. 73.

140. Ibid., p. 49; A.L. Rowse, supra note 95, p. 186.

141. Ian Wilson, supra note 49, p. 227. The post of Lord Chamberlain was awarded William Brooke on August 8, 1596. Ibid., p. 213. But Brooke’s elevation relegation by Akrigg to July 22, 1596, G.P.V. Akrigg, supra note 37, p. 248n.4, instead cites predecessor-Carey’s date of decease. Chris Laoutaris, supra note 24, p. 240 (“end of the next day” after “21 July 1596”).
by the latter half of 1596 the Dowager Countess’s closest kin apprehended a potential wedding of William with Mary. Scoufos offers: “The unpleasantness between the earl of Southampton and Sir William Harvey started possibly as early as 1596.”

Return of the Essex expedition extended over August 7 and literally fateful August 8. Quaere, whether the span between August 12 (when Essex arrived at Court) and December 26 looked ideal for knighted-and-reunited hero of the wars William to pursue Mary. If August 12-December 26 offered opportune time for William to spark his intended, then it inevitably marked interval wherein might money-minded Southampton incite assault against William.

1 Henry IV’s onstage-Harvey hectors offstage-Sir William. Jabbing Mary (through Sir William) while jabbing Lady Elizabeth Russell constituted kicking only one extended-family. Lady Elizabeth’s sister-in-law Frances Gray Cooke was cousin to Southampton’s mother, Mary. For Frances Grey Cooke’s maternal grandparents were Sir Anthony Browne (1500-1548) and Alice Gage Browne. Mary Wriothesley’s paternal grandparents were Sir Anthony and Alice.

Scoufos ascribes the play’s inception to autumn 1596. Dutton declares the

143. Charlotte Carmichael Stopes, supra note 82, p. 98.
144. Lady Elizabeth was related by marriage to the Brownes “through Frances Grey, the wife of her brother William Cooke and niece to Anthony Browne, Viscount Montagu….” Chris Laoutaris, supra note 24, p. 278. Frances (Grey) Cooke was daughter of John Grey and Mary (Browne) Grey. The latter was Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montagu’s sister (they both being offspring of Sir Anthony and Alice). Daughter of Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montagu (thus niece of Frances Cooke’s parents), Mary Browne married her future son Henry Wriothesley’s father when she was thirteen, sans consent from her groom’s mother-and-guardian. G.P.V. Akrigg, supra note 37, p. 7.
Lady Elizabeth was related by marriage to George Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon, and from 1597 to 1603 the Lord Chamberlain. Her son Sir Edward Hoby married Carey’s sister Margaret. Sir Edward Hoby (https://www.tudorplace.com/ar/Bios/EdwardHoby.htm) (last visited August 18, 2018).
145. Alice-Lyle Scoufos, supra note 31, pp. 102 and 279.
date of *1 Henry IV* has been most frequently assigned to 1596, to add that the bulk of editors presumed “it was after July.”146 (A pre-July 23, 1596, script could be refined to revile Sir William post-August 12.) Thereby, a barrage launched onstage could land atop Brooke as if precisely on schedule for a December 26 Lord Chamberlain’s outrage reversing it.

### B. Peto Correlates with Sir William Harvey’s First Name

#### i. Warrior Peto in *1 Henry IV*

After December 26, *1 Henry IV*’s Lieutenant147 Peto protracts the character cast to needle Sir William. Peto was encapsulated by Evangeline M. O’Connor: “He was Falstaff’s lieutenant in his ‘charge of horse’.”148 F.E. Halliday summarized Peto: “In *1 Henry IV*, he helps Falstaff to rob the travelers, and later tells the Prince how he and his companions tried to disguise their cowardice.”149 Conflating the Peto of *1 Henry IV* and of *2 Henry IV*, Kenneth McLeish defined Peto: “One of FALSTAFF’S crookedest and slowest-witted cronies. He speaks all of half a dozen lines, of little liveliness; one’s heart goes out to any actor hired to play this part, and this part only, night after night.”150

Furthermore, this *1 Henry IV* characterization of Peto--by Prince Hal (as recollected by Melchiori) or else by Poins--commanded Melchiori’s attention: “Well, for two of them, I know them [Falstaff and Bardolph] to be as true-bred cowards as

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ever turned back; and for the third [Peto], if he fight longer than he sees reason, I’ll forswear arms.”¹⁵¹ These bracketed identifications are Melchiori’s.¹⁵² In Melchiori’s appreciation thereof:

This comment, presenting Peto as not exactly a coward, but as a person devoid of martial pretensions, must belong to the earlier version of the play of *Henry IV* [Quarto Zero], in which he bore the name of Harvey and, with Sir John Oldcastle and Rossill (Sir John Russell), was one of the figures conceived as part of a general design of comic satire….In his case the allusion was to the recently knighted (June 1596) Sir William Harvey who, to improve his fortunes, wooed the considerably older widowed mother of the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare’s patron, and therefore represented a threat to the young Earl, only heir to the family fortunes.¹⁵³

Melchiori drops a footnote: “For a fully documented treatment of this view see Alice-Lyle Scoufos,….”¹⁵⁴

**ii. Warrior William Harvey in Cadiz**

Scoufos instructs of Harvey and his joint commanders Essex and Lord High Admiral Charles Howard:

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¹⁵³. *Ibid*.

We know only that in this encounter with the Spanish, Harvey served as a captain with one hundred soldiers in the regiment of the earl of Sussex. Sussex, his captains, and their men were aboard the Swiftsure, the vice-admiral ship of Sir Walter Raleigh’s squadron. We know that in the Cadiz action Harvey was rewarded with a knighthood, but the knighting occurred in an unexplained, delayed dubbing. …[O]n Sunday, 27 June, Howard and Essex created some fifty-odd knights for their gallantry performed in battle. The Slyngisbie manuscript describes the dubbing of the unusually large number of men…, but this first-hand account of the events also states that it was the following Monday morning that “the lords general knighted Sir William Harvey.” Whether or not this “extra” accolade was an afterthought performed to correct an oversight we do not know. It possibly was another manifestation of the exaggerated feeling of competition between the two leaders.155

On June 28, Lord High Admiral Charles Howard-Essex disputation proved a reality. For the Slingsby manuscript adds that on Monday the invasion chiefs conferred to determine disposition of the despoiled156 (says Akrigg) community. Essex proposed


156. “A humane truce allowed the inhabitants of Cadiz to evacuate their city. Then the troops were turned loose for two weeks of pillaging.” G.P.V. Akrigg, supra note 37, p. 57. Whereas Handover holds: “He [Essex] failed to realize that the capture of Cadiz was useless unless he recouped, at the very least, the expenses of the voyage. He ignored all opportunities…” P.M. Handover, supra note 46, p. 139.
Cadiz be occupied and held. Yet Howard withheld Howard’s assent, at least for an occupation specifically as Essex advocated. Then came the decision to depart. But they put prostrate Cadiz to the English flame before they shoved-off (say the Slyngsby manuscript, and Samuel Purchas).

This evidence comports with: Southampton incites insertion into the 1598 *Henry IV* of dialogue devaluing any warrior-credit accruing to character Harvey (“not exactly a coward”). Simultaneously, the evidence comports with Essex belittling Sir William Harvey. (Essex would feel pronounced displeasure regarding Harvey during the 1597 Islands Voyage, when William landed at Faynal with Raleigh. Essex behind closed doors might claim Harvey’s tardy June 28 knighting (Scoufos: “an afterthought”) merely Harvey’s unearned (Melchiori: “devoid of martial pretentions”) byproduct of intracommand cross-pressures (Scoufos: “competition between the two leaders”). Consider whether insider-denigration of Harvey’s knighting reached the playwright’s ears from the lips of Wriothesley. Essex was cousin of the playwright’s

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159. Sir William Slyngsbie, *supra* note 157, p. 84.

160. *Ibid.*, p. 87. “The next day after, being the fourth of July, the Lords general caused the towne of Cadiz to be set on fire, and rased and defaced as much as they could;...” Samuel Purchas, Purchas His Pilgrimes, p. 19 (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1907) (vol. 20) (orig. ed. 1625) (Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society Extra Series, Iss. 33). (Purchas identifies Harvey among those knighted in Cadiz over a span of days, without citing any date for Harvey. *Ibid.*, p. 19.) Whereas Handover refers to July 5, “the same day that Essex sailed from Cadiz..., leaving the city scarcely touched....” P.M. Handover, *supra* note 46, p. 137.

dedicatee-Southampton’s future wife, Elizabeth Vernon (the aforementioned Maid of Honor, whom Southampton unseasonably was to fertilize).

The Slingsby manuscript declares (using the plural quoted by Scoufos) that “the lords general knighted Sir William Harvey.”¹⁶² This language permits supposing a June 28, 1596 (not Stopes’s June 27) captains’ one-daylong mutual accommodation (whether or not co-commanders’ comity). Pluralizing, Slingsby’s manuscript said of June 27 “…the lords general gave honours” and “by their several swords made…knights.”¹⁶³ This language permits supposing teamwork sustained two days. Nonetheless, never assume Essex must have been deterred from repudiation of the dubbing of Harvey.

For Sir William Slingsby’s elaboration supplied data devoid from Slingsby’s news as rebroadcast by Stopes and by Scoufos. Each June 27 honoree in Spain’s steep pile of newly-minted knights had been knighted not by both Lords General, but by either Lord General: Essex, moreover, separately dubbed knights on at least two Cadiz-voyage dates beyond June 28.¹⁶⁴ The adjective ‘several’ in a phrase like “their several swords” can communicate: particular (i.e., taken singly); independent or individual (i.e., not joint); or exclusive (i.e., not common).¹⁶⁵ So maybe Harvey enjoyed knighthood simply through someone or other’s independent exercise of authority at the level of “the lords general.” The evidence accommodates this reading:

¹⁶³. Ibid., p. 81.
¹⁶⁴. Ibid., pp. 81-83 and 85.
Essex bore no responsibility for Harvey’s knighthood\textsuperscript{166}; Essex felt embittered by Lord High Admiral Charles Howard’s resistance to garrisoning Cadiz; and Essex relished demeaning both Howard and Harvey.

Any Essex-innuendo about Charles Howard’s independently dubbing undeserving Harvey on June 28 (a folly Essex himself circumvented) conveniently could stab two backs of expeditionary brothers-in-arms with one thrust. Thereby, the evidence allows explanation of that \textit{1 Henry IV} Peto-passage perused by Melchiori: Peto (i.e., Harvey) is signaled not exactly a coward. And the evidence affords explanation of how during 1597 or 1598 Essex face-to-face could warn Harvey to “think advisedly” about marrying the Dowager Countess for fear “they would both repent it.”\textsuperscript{167} The evidence accommodates the Marian Theory of \textit{1 Henry IV}.

\textbf{iii. A Warrior’s Christian Name}

\textit{Circa} 1596, in Quarto Zero the character-Harvey’s name through Sir William’s \textit{surname} hearkened to Harvey. \textit{Circa} 1597, the meaning of Peto’s name alerted auditors to Sir William’s \textit{Christian} name. For the Teutonic name ‘William’ means “Resolute helmet, \textit{or} helmet of resolution.”\textsuperscript{168} The helmet and the breastplate (peto) go together. At least, thus had Elizabethans authoritatively been prompted by Saint Paul’s First Epistle to the Thessalonians (as translated in the Geneva Bible, upon which the dramatist drew): “For they that sleepe, sleepe in the night, and they that be

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{166} Rowse deems William Harvey as “One of Essex’s knights,….” A.L. Rowse, \textit{supra} note 7, p. 128. Rowse cites no source.
\item \textsuperscript{167} Charlotte Carmichael Stopes, \textit{supra} note 82, p. 135. Stopes recognizes dating difficulties, \textit{ibid.}, p. 132. She ascribes these words to a November 5, 1597, Essex letter. \textit{Ibid.}, p. 134.
\item \textsuperscript{168} Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary, \textit{supra} note 18, p. 1250 (italics in original).
\end{itemize}
drunken, are drunken in the night. But let vs which are of the day, be sober, putting on the brest plate of faith and loue, and of the hope of saluation for an helmet.”

Therefore, real-life warrior William witnesses still his playhouse-reflection in the rather lowlife Peto. To reiterate, Laoutaris envisioned Southampton watching performance of Quarto Zero’s pre-1598, Harvey-denominated role. Laoutaris further speculated Southampton felt “thrilled to see his mother’s lover lampooned in this way.” How felt William and Mary about Quarto One’s Peto state of stage-affairs, during 1597 or 1598?

Perhaps intertwined were the helmet (William) and breastplate (Peto) in 1597 Elizabethan chivalry’s rites of knighthood, whether within the minds of men like Sir William and the Earl of Essex, or in Elizabethan literature (Henry IV). In 2019, who dares hazard how those exact individuals spoke spontaneously? The University of California published an historical account by Richard C. McCoy of an Azores incident in that 1597 Islands Voyage, during the Anglo-Spanish War (1585-1604) against Spain:

When Sir Walter Raleigh set out to reconnoiter one of the islands, Essex ordered him back lest Raleigh win the honor of going ashore first. With a rashness…, Essex then leapt with only his sword and collar into a boat rowed by men no more adequately armed.

When Raleigh yelled to warn him he should take his helmet and breastplate,

169. 1 Thessalonians 5: 8-9 (Geneva) http://studybible.info/Geneva/1%20Thessalonians%205.
171. G.P.V. Ackrigg, supra note 37, p. 59.
Essex replied that he ‘disdained to take any advantage of the watermen that rowed him’.”\(^{172}\)

Regarding relevance of the Marian Theory to *1 Henry IV* and *2 Henry IV*, it means naught were the mass of the audience deaf to verbal subtleties of helmet (William) and breastplate (Peto). Those parallel nouns wrapped inside the same man’s lifelong name (William) and fictional name (Peto) merely needed prominence before one attendee among the audience. William was his name. Inasmuch as Harvey had sailed in the 1597 voyage to the Azores as commander of the *Bonaventure*, consider whether some strain of McCoy’s anecdote had reached the ears of Harvey from Raleigh or Essex himself.

The Oldcastle/Harvey version of *1 Henry IV* (Quarto Zero) rendered William Brooke-Henry Brooke plus William and Mary rather aligned, if merely as four figures openly disdained at once. And Schoenbaum styles Henry Brooke an “intimate”\(^ {173}\) of Sir Walter Raleigh. Consequently, consider whether some watermen anecdote-variant reached Mary *circa* 1597 by way of Henry Brooke. Picture the helmet and breastplate anecdote whispered into Mary’s ear by Harvey himself.

**C. Peto Correlates with Sir William Harvey’s Vocation**

Moreover, martial (thus pertinent to Sir William’s career) is the suggestion in the Spanish common noun ‘peto’ of the English common noun ‘petar,’ a “bomb,

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explosive”174 (or “Small engine of war used to blow in a door or to make a breach”175), or else of ‘petard,’ being “A small engine of war used to blow in a door or gate, or to make a breach in a wall, etc.”176 Hence, Hamlet’s “For ‘tis the sport to have the enginer/Hoist by his own petar;….177 The Prince communicates that a military man (engineer) “blown up by his own device”178 (petar) lives and dies as jolly jest.

Peto’s Spanish name somehow assimilates to a tool of warfare styled “small.” This runs almost as though in diminution of Harvey. Too, the Spanish common noun conjures an English common noun ultimately traceable to a verb meaning “to break wind.”179 Melchiori says that in 1 Henry IV180 Sir William Harvey’s stand-in “…was given the insulting soubriquet of ‘Peto’ that the court gallants in the audience would recognize as Italian for ‘fart’.”181

In 1 Henry IV’s Act II, scene 3, the Prince tells Bardolph, then Peto, and then Falstaff: “Go bear this letter to Lord John of Lancaster, to my brother John; this to my Lord of Westmoreland. Go, Peto, to horse, to horse! For thou and I have thirty miles to ride yet ere dinner-time. Jack, meet me to-morrow in the Temple-hall at

178. David Crystal and Ben Crystal, supra note 174, p. 326.
180. Giorgio Melchiori, supra note 19, pp. 46-47.
181. Ibid., p. 47.
two o’clock in the afternoon. There thou shalt know thy charge,…..”¹⁸² Bardolph is entrusted with two missives, but not told to climb his mount. Falstaff bears no burden at all until after lunchtime the following afternoon. Whereas Peto immediately must jump on a horse to bounce across thirty miles before his next meal. If their dramatist “drew straws,” then judge to which of his three soldiers chance allotted the short one.

In 1 Henry IV’s Act II, scene 4, in the presence of the sleeping Falstaff the Prince tells Peto: “I’ll to the court in the morning. We must all go to the wars, and thy place shall be honorable. I’ll procure this fat rogue a charge of foot, and I know his death will be a march of twelve score.”¹⁸³ Peto is promised an “honorable” place. But the context of the Prince’s promise is Peto’s contrast with a fat rogue, whose death would be a footsoldier’s march no farther than the length of an archery-field. Decide whether Princely language like that compliments Peto, or damns Peto with faint praise.

Weigh whether the Harvey-into-Peto transubstantiation heralds hostilities-escalation. The theatrical company’s play had been shorn of Oldcastle, Russell and Harvey. These subtractions transpired, presumably, beneath Brooke’s goad. Nevertheless, this company persists in pestering Harvey. To the ears of the wiser sort, it might have become a company more acidic than when the Lord Chamberlain was Henry Carey. Perhaps soon post-December 26, 1596, mischief revitalized with a


vengeance.

William Brooke’s final illness was in the wind at least as early as February 18, 1597, and such reports provoked jostling (even while failing Brooke struggled still) for the various offices with which William had been entrusted. Their total encompassed his influential, profit-generating title of Lord Chamberlain. That Lord Chamberlain expired in March. As of April 14, 1597, the successor Lord Chamberlain was George Carey, 2nd Baron Hunsdon. Paul E.J. Hammer understands that “Among his Carey cousins, Essex was clearly friendly with Hunsdon’s heir, Sir George Carey, who succeeded as 2nd Lord Hunsdon....” This new Lord Chamberlain continued his father Henry Carey’s patronage of the company. As his patronage endured, the company resumed performing as the Chamberlain’s Men.

D. The Marian Theory and Peto in 1 Henry IV

Approximately August 12, 1596, incorporation of the Harvey-Peto character (therein denominated Harvey) into Quarto Zero of the popular 1 Henry IV is explicable as the script-father’s reaction to a Mary-Henry concurrent clash over the intentions and future of Sir William Harvey. Comparably, the Marian Theory of the popular

184. Steve Sohmer, supra note 30, p. 131.
185. Ibid., p. 127.
186. Ibid., p. 129.
Romeo and Juliet explains the 1597 Quarto One of Romeo and Juliet as partially reactive (remotely, at any rate) to the once high-profile husband-wife friction between the 2nd Earl of Southampton and his Countess (Mary, mother of 1596-1599’s 3rd Earl). For Rowse parallels the younger Mary-2nd Earl breach with the older Mary-3rd Earl breach, even down to the presence (during each cleavage) of the same Thomas Dymoke,\(^\text{191}\) one of the 2nd Earl’s Gentlemen of the Bechamber.\(^\text{192}\)

Specifically respecting the substance of that Harvey-Peto response, the 1596-1598 1 Henry IV Quarto Zero-Harvey/Quarto One-Peto element skewed negatively regarding widow Mary’s suitor. That is, the fiction’s anti-Harvey dimension (implicitly skewering Harvey given widow Mary’s uxorial availability) mirrored the 1596-1598 nonfictional, anti-Harvey stance of the 3rd Earl of Southampton. Comparably, the Marian Theory specifically comprehends Romeo and Juliet’s Quarto One as relatively (beside Quarto Two) anti-Capulet. That is, the 1597 Romeo and Juliet Quarto One (slanting comparatively unfavorably to the play’s heroine-wife: its Mary Wriothesley-figure) mirrored 1597’s nonfictional position of the 3rd Earl of Southampton. For 1597’s 3rd Earl still seems inclined more to the side of his father, her husband, respecting the Mary-2nd Earl’s long-past intramarital discord.

None of this ought to astonish critics. After all, the Marian Theory posits some playwright-Southampton alignment along the span of years marking Mary Wriothesley-Henry Wriothesley estrangement. Those years seemingly embraced the 1596-1599 nativity of, e.g., two Romeo and Juliet quartos and of 1 Henry IV quartos.

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VII. THE MARIAN THEORY AND 2

A. The Marian Theory and Peto in 2 Henry IV

Insofar as the playwright circa 1596-1598 adopted Southampton’s aversion to Sir William Harvey, one would expect the playwright to paint Harvey’s doppelganger Peto repulsively. So, suppose Southampton’s satisfaction over onstage negativity clouding around the Harvey-character in performances of the 1 Henry IV Quarto Zero of circa 1596. Then, the playwright perpetuated bitterness regarding the Peto-character in Quarto One of 1598. Quarto One was completed before April 1597, in Gibson’s reckoning. However, Quarto One was not the final word on Peto.

i. Peto and 2 Henry IV: Born-Again by 1599

Frederick Gard Fleay recognized that in Quarto One of February 25, 1598, the name ‘Peto’ substitutes for the ‘Harvey’ of Quarto Zero. Better yet, Fleay further grasped of Harvey/Peto and Russell/Bardolph:

These were evidently originally the names of the characters, and were changed at the same time as that of Oldcastle: Russell was the family name of the Bedford Earls, and Harvey that of the third husband of Lord Southampton’s mother. The new names were picked up from the second part [were used exclusively from creation of 2 Henry IV]; in which Lord Bardolph and Peto (a distinct personage from the “humourist” of Part I.) were serious characters. The play [2 Henry IV] was produced

in the spring;….

For 2 Henry IV incorporates the historical Thomas Bardolf, 5th Baron Bardolf (1369-1408) as himself a distinct personage (“serious”) onstage. Confusingly, Lord Bardolph (as that Lord is identified without exception) joins the cast of characters additionally to the Bardolph/Russell role among Falstaff’s down-market entourage.196

Kenneth McLeish’s take on Lord Bardolph runs in its entirety: “One of the minor rebel leaders, with SCROOP, against King Henry; he has no special characteristics, and vanishes from the action about halfway through the play.”197 That unfolds as though Lord Bardolph the war leader exists as more respectable contrast to plebian Bardolph/Russell. The latter lives destined to be “hanged for looting churches in the French wars,….”198 in Henry V. For in Henry V it comes to pass that “Bardolph’s vital thread be cut/With edge of penny cord and vile reproach.”199 To 1599 Henry V audiences’ wiser sort, doomed Bardolph/Russell met a Henry V repugnant end from which Peto/Harvey was spared through their creator’s 2 Henry IV clemency toward newlywed Harvey.

ii. Peto and 2 Henry IV: Peto, and Playscript Pivots by 1599

Melchiori meanwhile highlights that, noteworthy (for one reason or another) within 2 Henry IV, … is the presence, for the first time in a Shakespearean history, of an Induction spoken by an allegorical figure, as well as of a formal Epilogue. They

195. Ibid., p. 199.
197. Kenneth McLeish, supra note 150, p. 25.
198. F.E. Halliday, supra note 51, p. 51.
deserve a much closer look.

*Induction: Rumour and the Role of Jealousy.* The speaker of the Induction of the *Second Part of Henry the Fourth* appears in the list of “Actors’ Names” appended to the First Folio Edition of the Play as “Rumour, the Presenter.” As the only allegorical “character” in a Shakespearean play, apart from Time in the much later *The Winter’s Tale*, Rumour is perhaps something more than a mere personification. The unusually punctilious opening stage direction in the Quarto, that requires he should enter “painted full of Tongues,” is a clear indication that the actor should wear a painted coat like those traditionally used for the figures of Fame or Report in pageants, masques, or interludes. A coat that could be removed quickly upon his exit, so that the actor impersonating Rumour could reappear a moment later as the character awkwardly named Lord Bardolph [i.e., not Bardolph/Russell], the bringer of false news from Shrewsbury, the incarnation in the world of history of the notion itself of rumor. This technique of doubling parts, by which the audience was made aware that the character entering upon the stage was a concrete projection of the abstract principle represented by the allegorical figure that the same actor just had been impersonating, was a common practice in the sixteenth century.²⁰⁰

Consistently with Melchiori, Boyce understands of Thomas Bardolph: “Lord Bardolph brings Northumberland a mistaken report of a rebel victory in 1.1, and he helps encourage the crestfallen Earl after the real news arrives.”²⁰¹ Of course, inaccurate-reporter Lord Thomas Bardolph “is a rebel against King Henry IV.”²⁰²

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In short, Lord Bardolph is unwelcome bad guy ("rebel against King Henry IV") plus a deficient reporter ("bringer of false news"). To caricature: Lord Bardolph is an ambulatory rumor. Contrariwise, contextually affirmative Peto could be welcomed, consistently with acknowledging Peto to be Fleay’s distinctly new and serious personality in 2 Henry IV. For Boyce understands of Peto: “In 2.4 of 2 Henry IV Peto brings the Prince news of the King’s preparations against the rebellion, stirring Hal to action.”

Boyce’s take on Peto proves consistent with Isaac Asimov’s formulation:

But now a messenger comes. The King is in London too, and the rest of the army must move northward at once. In Henry IV, Part One, when the news of Hotspur’s rebellion first comes, that does not at the start move the Prince or interfere with his pleasure. Now, however, he says at once:

*By heaven, Poins, I feel me much to blame,*

*So fully to profane the precious time.*

—Act II, scene iv, lines 370-71

He makes ready to leave at once:

*Give me my sword and cloak. Falstaff, good night.*

--Act II, scene iv, line 375

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That is his last farewell to Falstaff as his friend.\textsuperscript{204}

News in \textit{1 Henry IV} does \textit{not} move the Prince from the start. Instead, in \textit{2 Henry IV} the Prince proves moved by Peto’s news \textit{instanter}. Peto appears as good guy (supporting Prince Hal) plus a good reporter. Contemplate the incongruencies between newsbearers Peto and Lord Bardolph in \textit{2 Henry IV}: Lord Bardolph (rebel) looks less sterling beside reliable, however humble, messenger Peto/Harvey (loyalist). That unfolds as though war chieftain Lord Bardolph exists as less favorable contrast to Peto. This unwinds as if through playwright change of heart between \textit{1 Henry IV} and \textit{2 Henry IV} about Sir William Harvey (i.e., Peto).

Contrasting to the \textit{2 Henry IV} more benign presentation of Peto/Harvey is its viciousness toward targets tied to its Bardolph/Russell character. Bulman supposes the Russell revision “to avoid giving offence” with a new name spelled “Bardoll or Bardol” in the \textit{1 Henry IV} quarto: “Nevertheless, it is curious that the new name Shakespeare chose was that of Sir Reginald Cobham’s wife, Bardolf….”\textsuperscript{205} Contra Bulman, plebian Bardolph’s replacement of Russell nearly flamboyantly (for the


The Chairman read a letter he had received from Mr[.] Wentworth Huyshe, mentioning the existence in the church in Lingfield, Surrey, of a tomb, with effigies in alabaster, of Sir Reginald Cobham and his wife Ann Bardolf, and pointing out the curious coincidence that Shakespere, who first gave Falstaff the name of Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham) should have given his fellow the name of Sir Reginald Cobham’s wife--Bardolf. Mr[.] Huyshe suggested that Shakespere, while first writing \textit{Henry IV}., might have been aware of the alliance of the houses of Cobham and Bardolf, and have adopted the latter name for one of Oldcastle’s followers accordingly.

wiser sort among audiences and readerships) evinced icy malice.

For this tactic jeers the Brookes to drag them again onstage unwillingly. Hitting the Brookes with this fraught ‘Russell’-replacement kills two birds with one stone. The playwright’s self-publicization as unapologetic simultaneously strikes Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell. For the wiser sort among audiences and readers realized his ‘Bardolf’ insult to the Brookes erupted at playscript spots where once had lain Elizabeth Russell’s name.

Moreover, portrayal of Thomas Bardolf, 5th Baron Bardolf, bearing his Cobham-connected name (i.e., of Sir Reginald’s spouse, Bardolf) meant Bardolph in himself could convey a message for playgoers and readers of the wiser sort. This Baron’s name independently could tickle awareness that nominal affiliation (however tenuous) of the Cobhams with the 5th Baron somehow offset lofty Cobhams’ identification with remote relative Oldcastle (warrior once loyal to future King Henry V: Henry, Prince of Wales). For some among them imaginably appreciated of Baron Bardolf: “In 1405 he joined [Henry Percy] the [1st] Earl of Northumberland in his rebellion, and with him fled to Scotland, and was declared by Parl. to be a traitor, 4 Dec. 1406, (a) while the peerage became forfeited. Returning, however, he was defeated at Brambam Moor, co. York, 19 Feb. 1407/8, (b)….206

Satirical insertion (in effect) of Sir Reginald’s wife Ann Bardolf (1389-1453) into Falstaff’s gang precludes attributing Russell-renaming to authorial affability.

True, one encounters a David Scott Kastan contention reported by Bulman: “Kastan warns against uncritically assuming political censorship, for Shakespeare himself, understanding the political climate, may have made the change in Oldcastle’s name himself to avoid intervention by the authorities….” Yet this author disinterred Bardolf to instigate contempt openly against family-protective Brookes. Contra Kastan, this playwright preferred fighting retreat.

Comorting with display of Fleay’s distinctly new Peto of 2 Henry IV, Bulman propounds of Peto:

A companion of the Prince who plays a significant role in 1H4 but appears in this play only to bring a message to him in the tavern. Peto, like Poins, seems to be well born.

Peto was the name of a Warwickshire family, and William Peto, a clergyman in the reigns of Henry VIII and Mary, was elected Cardinal in 1557. Bulman understands the 2 Henry IV Peto to be both a trustworthy messenger (not merely a false-news bringer, like Lord Thomas Bardolph), and apparently well-born (not merely an example of lowlifes, like the 1 Henry IV Harvey). But Bulman overlooks a Peto-subtext. If Peto “appears in this play only to bring a message,” then ‘Peto’in himself could convey a message to playgoers and readers of the wiser sort.

For William Cardinal Peto proved brave as a soldier when legendarily accurate in speaking truth to power. During the period of King Henry VIII’s divorce, and

208. Ibid., p. 157n.28.
subsequent marriage to Anne Boleyn, the order of Franciscan Observant Friars persevered in hostility thereto. Friar William Peto (of the Observants of Greenwich) preached before Henry VIII in 1534. Friar Peto, however humble, cautioned his King that he must never behave as had the Old Testament’s Ahab. For thereby might it develop that, just as dogs had licked Ahab’s blood after Ahab’s death, so someday should dogs lick the blood of bygone Henry. Offended courtiers threatened to sew William and his brothers within sacks to drown in the Thames; thereupon, the latter replied that the way to Paradise overland no more stretched open than that by water.  

It came to be recounted after Henry’s 1547 death how, in church, leakage from the King’s coffin was licked by dogs. A manuscript to this effect (penned around those days) supposedly survived into 1681 to inform English Reformation-historian Gilbert Burnet. (See Appendix II.) Quaere, whether in 1598 and 1599 this Cardinal Peto backstory to Harvey/Peto informed the wiser sort’s savoring of 2 Henry IV. For one wonders whether the wiser sort alone could appreciate, the more, anyone named with ‘Peto’ face to face faithfully, and accurately, telling the truth to his Prince.  

On the other hand, skeptics can fancy it overstretching evidence to speculate ‘Peto’ evinces playwright consciousness of both Italian-tongue naughtiness and two generations-past English royal history. Admittedly, such sophistication better  

bespeaks lordly Oxbridge polyglots steeped in Tudor history lifelong than a Stratford grammar school alumnus. Yet Peto-associations are as demonstrable as any Stratford schooling is not.

Finally, apprehend the immediate onstage-occasion of the (at last) conciliatory toward Harvey-author’s final farewell to Peto. It is the Prince’s final farewell as Falstaff’s friend. So this scene contains a trio of turningpoints: (1) The energized Prince’s own turnaround is overt, to fellow characters in the play. (2) The Prince’s pivot from Falstaff’s comrade to Falstaff-repudiator grows unmistakable to the audience or readership. (3) The pivot in the playwright’s outlook on Sir William Harvey becomes visible (through Peto) solely to the wiser sort within that audience or readership. Consider how this last pivot reminds that wiser sort about three backstories intersecting before them: (1) Peto/Harvey’s backstory; (2) William-and-Mary’s backstory); and (3) the two male Southamptons vs. one female Southampton backstory.

Peto, as just appreciated, presents a solitary speech of a half-dozen lines. Nonetheless, the author gratuitously introduces Peto—who looks well-born, to Bulman—by name to the audience, from the lips of Peto’s Prince not less:

Enter Peto.

Prince. Peto, how now! what news?
Some would wonder why. But the solitary thing that counted was whether Sir William would know.

**iii. Peto and 2 Henry IV: Secure from the Dragnet by 1599**

In the 2 Henry IV final scene, the miscreant-crew arrested with Sir John Falstaff for dispatch to the Fleet proves exclusive of Peto. The Lord Chief Justice commands: “Take all his [Falstaff’s] company with him.”\(^{214}\) That company for Falstaff/Oldcastle-in-custody encompassed, e.g., both Bardolph/Russell and Pistol. Constructive messenger Peto’s absence from this scene signified that thereafter neither Peto nor William and Mary remains naked to the playwright’s pointed quill. Outside this communication of prospective untouchability are Bardolph/Russell and either the 10\(^{th}\) or 11\(^{th}\) Barons Cobham.

And events unfold thus: King Henry V returns abruptly, in the highly military Henry V. (It concludes the three-play heart of the Henriad.) As already observed, in Henry V Bardolph/Russell “goes to fight at Agincourt, but steals from a church and ends on the gallows.”\(^{215}\) Whereas Peto has served-out his own tour of duty. For now the dramatist’s *detente* with Sir William Harvey (treated civilly onstage, as Peto) fructifies.

Respecting 1 Henry IV, Fleay is accurate in his February 25, 1598, Quarto One dating. Regarding 2 Henry IV, Fleay demonstrates insight nearly unique because grasping it distinguishes Peto as a serious, distinctly new man. Unfortunately, Fleay’s

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readers well might wonder what motivated daintier disposition of well-born Peto in 2 Henry IV than in 1 Henry IV. Fleay (like Jean E. Howard or Bulman after him) appears unaware that Harvey was not yet the second stepfather of the Earl of Southampton even into October 1598.

B. The Playwright of 2 Henry IV by 1599

Like the Henry IV known to 2019, Sir John Oldcastle (written by Anthony Munday, et al., and published in 1600) constituted a two-part creation revolving around the fall of the onetime former associate of King Henry V.216 Nevertheless, the February 1598 Henry IV entry in the Stationer’s Register failed to identify Henry IV as Part One.217 Hence, 2 Henry IV probably never had been in performance.218 Jean E. Howard determined that ”2 Henry IV was…probably performed sometime between February 1598, when 1 Henry IV was entered in the Stationer’s Register with no indication that it was the first part of a two-part play, and early in 1599.”219 Jonathan Bate’s and Eric Rasmussen’s Complete Works ascertained of Henry V: “DATE: 1599. Must have been written soon after 2 Henry IV; not mentioned by Meres in 1598; published 1600.”220 Consistently therewith, Asimov declared: “Immediately after the completion of Henry IV, Part Two, Shakespeare went on to write Henry V in 1599.”221 Quaere, when (reasoning from this guidance) 2 Henry IV reached completion.

218. Ibid.; Giorgio Melchiori, supra note 19, p. 3.
221. Isaac Asimov, supra note 204, p. 449.
Analysis in Bate and Rasmussen recognizes: “It is nearly always assumed that ‘the general…from Ireland coming’ (Act V Chorus) refers to the Earl of Essex’s Irish expedition, which lasted from March to September 1599.” Lake pronounces this reference “notorious.” Henry V bears the solitary such authorial reference to an (ongoing) historical event plainly datable, because its Act V Prologue implicitly compares King Henry V with the Earl of Essex in context of the latter’s hoped-for return from Ireland triumphant. This reference flags itself: Essex, as Blair Worden perceived, presents “the only politician alive at the time who is unmistakably alluded to by Shakespeare.”

Essex and his troops departed London on March 27, 1599. Essex is why Hardin Craig set April 15 as the earliest date of Henry V. Therefore, a circa September 1598-April 15, 1599, creation of 2 Henry IV permits the circa April 15, 1599-June 30, 1599, arrival of Henry V (given guidance that Henry V had “been written soon after 2 Henry IV,” or even “immediately” thereupon).

Shapiro hears autumn 1598 London laughter of Curtain Theatre patrons drinking-in dark humor from 2 Henry IV. Shapiro posits autumn 1598’s 2 Henry IV Falstaff, Will Kemp, reciting its Epilogue; Kemp thereby entices audiences at the Curtain with continuation by his playwright of 2 Henry IV’s story, incorporating

223. Peter Lake, supra note 74, p. 386.
226. P.M. Handover, supra note 46, p. 188.
228. James Shapiro, supra note 23, p. 65.
appealing Katherine of France.\textsuperscript{229} Thus, Kemp excites patrons about \textit{Henry V}, already in process.\textsuperscript{230} Consistently with Shapiro, Dutton believes \textit{2 Henry IV} written and performed by 1598.\textsuperscript{231} Shapiro’s picture can be correct: November 1598 was when knowledge about Essex’s projected, military mass-incursion into Ireland was widespread.\textsuperscript{232}

Scoufos concurs that during 1598 \textit{2 Henry IV} was in performance.\textsuperscript{233} She apprehends 2019’s \textit{2 Henry IV} as answering Ben Jonson’s \textit{Every Man in His Humour}: “In the continuation of Falstaff’s comic crew Shakespeare introduces Pistol, capitalizing upon the conception of the irregular humorists in Jonson’s play.”\textsuperscript{234} She emphatically embellishes her point:

Part Two [\textit{2 Henry IV}] was written, I believe, after Jonson’s \textit{Every Man In [His Humour]}, which appeared in September 1598; the introduction of Pistol in \textit{2 Henry IV} is elaborate, and the character is dependent for success as a take-off on the popularity of Jonson’s conception of the humor characters in \textit{Every Man In}. The swaggering Pistol is a spoof. Half of the fun of the character is gone or is meaningless without the exploitation of the background Jonson created in his comedy. Furthermore, to keep the game going Jonson mentions Justice Silence [of \textit{2 Henry IV}] in his next play, \textit{Every Man Out of His Humour} (V. ii. 22), which we date as a product of 1599.\textsuperscript{235}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{} Scoufos' emphasis. This paraphrases her language elsewhere. \textit{Ibid.}, p. 280.
\end{thebibliography}
comports with an on-stage *Henry IV* during or shortly following November 1598. Hence, its risible audiences audible to Shapiro. Scoufos appears to permit accepting 2019’s *Henry IV* as the product of authorial repolishing of a preexisting manuscript: “We date the *Henry IV* plays as compositions of 1596-1597 and early 1598 (*Part One* was registered with the stationers on 25 February 1598).”236 A *Henry IV* playscript promptly post-February 25, 1598, might merely have been amended between September 1598 and April 15, 1599.

The dramatist residing in the late 1598 Shapiro-Scoufos world retained *Henry IV* in front of his nose while begetting his 1599 *Henry V*. He carried in-performance *Henry IV*’s playscript fresh in mind. Therefore, to tinker with as minor a role as Peto’s in *Henry IV* (and hence to tinker with Peto’s presumably minor role in any September-December 1598 version of *Henry IV*) to soothe spouses William and Mary scarcely could tax time or ingenuity: *Henry IV*’s Peto speaks seven times only.237 Shrinking an autumn *Henry IV* Peto-actor’s role (from speaking twice or more to a single speech) possibly proved pressing: Dutton remarks that *Henry IV*, in any of its three versions, presents “a very long play.”238 It survives (with single-speech Peto) in three texts ranging from 2,898 to 3,140 lines.239

Yet, at this remove, who dares guess what could prod the playwright (during Shapiro’s December 1598) to tweak his onstage work-product? Shapiro has the

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Chamberlain’s Men performing *2 Henry IV* before the Queen at Whitehall on December 26, 1598. They performed there on January 1, 1599, and February 20, 1599, as well. And of a *2 Henry IV* court performance, Dutton appreciates that “such was the popularity of Falstaff that there must be a very good chance that it was performed there unrecorded between 1598 and 1600.” Dutton feels that the plays especially connected with court performance were those of lengths exceeding the average, e.g., *2 Henry IV*.

The official line of the Privy Council was its pretense that theatrical companies were licensed primarily to produce plays for the monarch. The pretense ran that tolerated performances for the public actually were rehearsals for entertaining the Queen. Shapiro points out that details acceptable at the Curtain could fire discord at Court. Consistently with Shapiro’s alertness to disarray at Court, Dutton numbers *2 Henry IV* among Shakespearean plays apparently engendering second (even third) thoughts on the part of their progenitor.

Dutton does so although *2 Henry IV* would “seem to have a perfectly satisfactory court-performance text in quarto…. For: “There was no pressure on Shakespeare to keep ‘tinkering’ [e.g., imaginably, Peto’s role-revision placating William and Mary] this way for public performances [e.g., at the Curtain Theatre between September

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243. Ibid., p. 125.
245. Ibid.
246. Ibid., p. 33.
248. Ibid.
1598 and January 1599]. But there was almost certainly pressure—when the plays appeared at court [e.g., at Whitehall on December 26, 1598, or on January 1, 1599, or on February 20, 1599]—to make them as impressive and memorable as might be.” 249 Dutton declares one must assume that plays performed on a major festive date like December 26 (Saint Stephen’s Day) drew harsher than routine scrutiny by the Master of the Revels. 250 Prudence prompted a late revisit to 2 Henry IV.

C. William and Mary: One Flesh by 1599

Stopes found: “The year 1598 was a critically important one in the fortunes of the Wriothesley family.” 251 Something coincided with creation between September 1598 and April 15, 1599, of the 2 Henry IV that was pro-Peto/Harvey. Consider: William’s wedding with Mary. Scoufos understands it took place in January 1599 with approval of the monarch. 252 Monarchial approval appears an element of the August 19, 1599, letter from Countess of Southampton Mary to Principal Secretary to the Queen Robert Cecil regarding her Harvey marriage settlement 253: “I pray you take knowledge that Sir William Harvey hath spoken with her Majesty and given her full satisfaction in the business that concerns us. It resteth now in your favour soon to despatch us, whereof we make little doubt....” 254 Their wedding definitely had entered history by January 31, 1599. 255

249. Ibid., p. 33.
250. Ibid., p. 50.
255. G.P.V. Akrigg, supra note 37, p. 74.
Akrigg offers: “In the end Southampton apparently agreed to his mother’s marriage. After all he had no reason for not thinking well of Harvey.” Assume dramatist self-interest redeployed from (1) reinforcing, e.g., via satirical *1 Henry IV* of 1596-1597, the anti-Harvey Southampton into instead (2) reinforcing, e.g., via placatory *2 Henry IV* of 1598-1599, the pro-Harvey, matrifocal Southampton. Then, the dramatist correspondingly could reconfigure Peto (his Harvey-token): Marian Theory for *1 Henry IV* and *2 Henry IV*.

On January 31, 1599, John Chamberlain wrote Dudley Carleton that “Sir William Harvies marriage with the old countesse of Southampton that have lien smothering so longe, comes now to be published.” If Sir William and Mary’s marriage became common knowledge during January 1599, then propose any wedding present more apt and gratifying than presentation of a conspicuously spic-and-span, scrupulously scrubbed, surprise-Peto/Harvey figure, privately performed for their social circle on February 20, 1599 (i.e., before an audience of the wiser sort, privy to the hitherto-boiling backstory).

As Melchiori reads *2 Henry IV*: “Peto is a mere shadow putting in a brief appearance as a messenger—possibly instead of Poins.” Almost discomfitingly: “There is really no room for Peto in *Part Two*, and the role of court messenger is

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256. Ibid.
certainly more suited to Poins.” Melchiori guesses: “Possibly in the ur-\textit{Henry IV} a somewhat similar announcement was entrusted to Poins, but the introduction, in the writing of the new scene, of the Prince and Poins in disguise watching Falstaff’s behavior prevents the later entrance of Poins with the news, so the author had no alternative but to revive for a moment Peto as the messenger.”

Weigh whether the Peto with really no room in 2019’s \textit{2 Henry IV} (somewhat to Melchiori’s unease) squares with a playwright tinkering with playscript. Decide whether it specifically befits a dramatist flagging his own message to William and Mary (and for Whitehall’s wiser sort) via his Peto resurrected “for a moment… as the messenger.” The Marian Theory of \textit{Romeo and Juliet}, similarly, recognizes rearranged realities (relative to her son Henry) revealed results between 1597 and 1599 becoming more benign for widow-to-wife Mary. Reconfigured realities paved the road to \textit{Romeo and Juliet} Quarto Two (1599) more brightly beaming benevolent light upon its Capulet element (i.e., upon Juliet, betokening Mary). Dutton comprehends this Quarto Two \textit{Romeo and Juliet} as gloriously reframed respecting virgin-to-wife Juliet.

Between autumn 1598 and the August 23, 1600, entry of \textit{2 Henry IV} on the Stationer’s Register, anyone at all can be propounded as tweaking Peto’s role. However, Dutton distinguishes between play reviser-interpolators, and play-reviser tinkerers. His conviction concerning this point calls forth Dutton’s double emphasis:

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item[259.] \textit{Ibid.}, p. 22n.1.
\item[260.] \textit{Ibid.}
\item[262.] William Shakespeare, \textit{supra} note 212, p. 146.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
“Interpolators may be the original authors, but tinkerers almost always are.” If any 1598-1599 *2 Henry IV* textual revision represented mere tinkering, then Dutton’s conviction can comport with the Marian Theory’s look toward a Peto/Harvey-role revision reached respecting William and Mary. For Marian Theorized-revision was penned presumptively (per Dutton) by the original author anticipating a winter 1598-1599 court performance. Thereby, the author had composed conscious of Sir William Harvey and the Dowager Countess of Southampton, twice: *1 Henry IV* and *2 Henry IV*.

**VIII. CONCLUSION**

The preceding biographical-historical discussion serves as traditional, historical criticism of several literary items. It so serves at the Harvey/Peto-level, i.e., a microlevel. Hannah Arendt (from a macrolevel framework) defined the historian’s realm as that of The New. For historians recount events of never-before, to be repeated-never. History’s every event entails a minimum of one imaginable alternative and/or each event derives from numerous coincidences. An event is originated by its concrete elements only when these crystalize uniquely (however high the sum of onetime-possibilities). This crystallization marks the event, which

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illuminates its own gestation.\textsuperscript{269}

The instant discussion evidences the credibility of a courtship of the wealthy Dowager Countess of Southampton by Sir William Harvey launched around August 12. Demonstrated is the prospect that creation of \textit{I Henry IV} was initiated roughly that date. Evidenced is the financially hard-pressed 2\textsuperscript{nd} Earl of Southampton’s venomous opposition to Harvey’s suit, a counterpressure simultaneous with arrival (in a \textit{I Henry IV Quarto Zero}) of a disagreeable English soldier-character called Harvey (a role devoid of demonstrable direct antecedent). \textit{Coincidences. Crystallization. Event illuminates its gestation.}

Widely-known circumstantial evidence has been acknowledged that the Lord Chamberlain around December 26, 1596, felt \textit{I Henry IV} (Quarto Zero) a production insulting him firsthand. Therefore, its playwright reactively redubbed Harvey as Peto for his First Quarto version, published in 1598. But the instant discussion further has evidenced how: (1) Peto’s name does not befit amity toward parties bruised by the Quarto Zero version, but befits a more viciously-still scorned William Harvey; and (2) William Harvey meanwhile stayed unwedded with the Dowager Countess. These two points comport with a funding-fixated Earl’s engineering: (1) this latter (offstage) maternal marital hopes-postponement; plus (2) that former (onstage) protracted Harvey-degradation. \textit{Coincidences. Crystallization. Event illuminates its gestation.}

Thereby, of \textit{I Henry IV} it is evidenced (whether or not proved) that Dowager Countess of Southampton \textit{Mary nestles in the eye of this long-howling hurricane},

\textsuperscript{269} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 319 and 312n.12.
wherein swirl so many around her.

Further, the preceding discussion evidences that the Peto-character is exhumed for 2 Henry IV (albeit unnecessarily to 2 Henry IV’s storyline), and that this playscript dates from circa winter 1598-1599. It is evidenced that the 2 Henry IV Peto-part by no means assimilates with bitingly anti-Harvey Peto of 1 Henry IV. Evidence substantiates that by early 1599 (i.e., after September 1598) Harvey and Mary married, upon mother-and-son reconciliation. That reality squares with the Earl’s central role in his mother’s romantic frustrations, and consequently comports with the Earl’s supporting role in the Harvey/Peto-evolution through three Henry IV playscripts: Harvey animates rather ridiculously in the widely-hypothesized, circa 1596-1597 Quarto Zero; a negative Harvey-turned-Peto returns in the circa 1597-1598 1 Henry IV; yet an affirmative Peto in 2 Henry IV by 1599 concludes conflict. Coincidences. Crystallization. Event illumines its gestation.

Thereby, of 1 Henry IV and 2 Henry IV, it is evidenced (whether or not proved) that each of these 1596-1599 Harvey/Peto (re)configurations revolves around Mary.

Das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan.
APPENDIX I

ACCOLADES TO A BRACE OF INSIGHTFUL SCHOLARS

The Marian Theory hearkens to the shadow of onetime Mary Wriothesley upon the Shakespearean corpus in 1 Henry IV and 2 Henry IV. Also, the Marian Theory heeds her shadow falling across the diverging 1597 and 1599 quartos of Romeo and Juliet. Yet long before the twenty-first century’s maturing Marian Theory of, e.g., 1 Henry IV, 2 Henry IV, and Romeo and Juliet, two honored critics, especially, attested already to the impact upon Elizabethan English literary history of the Wriothesleys’ inter- and intrafamilial bitterness circa 1596-1599. This pioneering pair implicitly sensed the Marian Theory, specifically in their respective examinations of 1 Henry IV and 2 Henry IV.

A. Frederick Gard Fleay

Frederick Gard Fleay’s eyes swept over the Marian Theory, only half-aware. For Fleay: (1) connected the 1 Henry IV Harvey-character with Sir William Harvey; and (2) connected Sir William Harvey with the Dowager Countess of Southampton (Mary Browne); and (3) connected the 1 Henry IV Harvey with the 2 Henry IV Peto-character. Moreover, as quoted hereinabove, Fleay (4) recognized “distinct personage” in the affirmative-Peto. He is Fleay’s “serious” (and Bulman’s even “well born”) Peto of 2 Henry IV. For positive Peto proves distinct from the negative-Peto

of *1 Henry IV* (Fleay’s humourist).

Alice-Lyle Scoufos saluted Fleay’s pathbreaking regarding points one and two. She signalled the need for expansion thereof with: “But Fleay carried the idea no further.” Scoufos more particularly added: “Fleay offered no documentation for his suggestion or any evidence to explain why the name of a prominent Elizabethan should appear as a member of the entourage of Falstaff.”

No wonder: Frederick Fleay worked in want of the Marian Theory. In fact, Fleay fancied that the surviving *Romeo and Juliet* are a play created by George Peele and revised by Will of Stratford.

**B. Alice-Lyle Scoufos**

Scoufos’ admirable enrichment of Fleay’s inquest skirted the Marian Theory. She snugly stitched-together Fleay’s diaphanously-connected pairings of stage-Harvey/Sir William Harvey, and of Dowager Countess/Sir William. Scoufos also bound these to the Earl of Southampton’s enmity toward that knight. She accomplished this in a single explanatory package.

Nevertheless, Scoufos failed to develop Fleay’s notice of Peto’s play-to-play evolution. For she offered no explanation of why Peto’s name attaches to such distinct, two-play personages (at any rate as Fleay comprehended those personages). Scoufos

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proffered zero evidence of external, differing contexts corresponding objectively to those Fleay-perceived play-to-play divergent Petos. In fact, she seems to *equate* the Harvey/Petos within the variant *Henry IV* works: “And in these plays the name of Harvey is used for one of the comic crew surrounding Falstaff.”

Nor did Scoufos lift her eyes from *circa* 1596-1599 *Henry IV* works to test her meritorious Mary-related, Sir William/Earl Henry-friction interpretive contribution.

An analyst cognizant of the Mary-oriented, Sir William/Earl Henry-friction personified in the Harvey-role could look for their clash’s reflection elsewhere. Scoufos did not turn elsewhere, to penetrate her playwright’s playscripts published *circa* 1596-1599, e.g., the two *Romeo and Juliet* quartos. By reasonable interpretation of *circa* 1596-1599 circumstantial evidence, Mary influenced the two *Romeo and Juliet* quartos as well as influenced Quartos Zero and One of *1 Henry IV* and *2 Henry IV*. Only one woman was a central figure in the lives of both Sir William and Earl Henry: Mary. Yet nobody searched for Mary. For the rightly respected Alice-Lyle Scoufos, like her probing predecessor Fleay, still lacked the Marian Theory.

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APPENDIX II

BISHOP GILBERT BURNET ON FRIAR WILLIAM PETO

A. Of 1534

This appeared most signally at Greenwich, where the King lived most in summer; for one Peto, being to preach in the King’s chapel, denounced heavy judgments upon him to his face, and told him, *that many lying prophets had deceived him; but he, as a true Micaiah, warned him, that the dogs should lick his blood as they had done Ahab’s;* (for that prophecy about Ahab was his text;) with many other bitter words: and concluded, *that it was the greatest misery of princes, to be daily so abused by flatterers as they were.*

B. Of 1547

This being agreed on the thirteenth of February, on the day following King Henry’s body was, with all the pomp of a royal funeral, removed to Syon, in the way to Windsor. There great observation was made on a thing that was no extraordinary matter: he had become extremely corpulent, and, dying of a dropsy, or something like it, it was no wonder if a fortnight after, upon so long a motion, some putrid matter might run through the coffin. But Syon having been a house of religious women, it was called a signal mark of the displeasure of Heaven, that some of his blood and fat dropped through the lead in the night: and, to make this work mightily on weak people, it was said, that the dogs licked it next morning. This was much magnified in commendation of Friar Peto, afterwards made cardinal, who (as was told in the

former Part) had threatened him, in a sermon at Greenwich, *that the dogs should lick his blood*: though, to consider things more equally, it had been a wonder indeed if it had been otherwise.

But having met with this observation in a manuscript written near that time, I would not envy the world the pleasure of it.278

C. Of Kingly Demise and Postmortem Destiny: Against Obscurantism

Writing in terms of “to consider things more equally,” Bishop Gilbert Burnet suggests in-depth insight. However, consider things still more equally. King Henry’s future corpse might have been feared in 1534 to become lost at sea, or charcolized in a fire, or irretrievably crushed underground, or otherwise unavailable for dogs to lick blue blood. Undoubtedly, the Bishop grasped that many 1534 alternatives had been envisionable. The multitude of Henry’s potential carnal climaxes throws into relief his actual sequel. Among multitudinous alternatives, Biblically-inspired sermonizer Friar William Peto articulated Henry’s true, 1547 biographical epilogue. Like bold clerics through the centuries,279 the Friar spoke truth to power.

*Quaere*, whether Bishop Burnet deliberately deflected (via the Bishop’s silence) attention from the collective weight of those numerous post-1534 alternatives foreclosed by events in 1547. If such deflection were the Bishop’s conscious option, then weigh whether as historian of England’s Reformation he ignored all the 1534-1547 alternatives for fear those thereby alerted could discern the Friar’s words as

wonderful. Current international scholarship appreciates: “The charge of obscurantism suggests a deliberate move on behalf of the speaker who is accused of setting up a game of verbal smoke and mirrors to suggest depth and insight where none exists.”

*Quaere*, whether the Bishop sincerely believed wordless perpetuation of popular unawareness beckoned better outcomes for a Church-trusting mass readership.

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Shakespeare’s Shoes

Debbie Cutshaw

Reno, Nevada

Henry Condell knew he should not have stayed late at the pub. Or had that last drink. Then, he wouldn’t have been robbed, he thought, as he felt the wound on his head. Elizabeth must be worried! He shakily stood up, and walked to lighted buildings on a small gray road. Sitting on a concrete bench, he checked himself. He had his gold ring, but no money. Suddenly, water sprayed. When Henry heard its noise, he ran to another bench, further away and sat down again. Turning his head, he saw a newspaper stand. Fascinated, Henry read: “O-re-gone, June 23, 1999, and rubbed his eyes. The moonless sky was frightening and gave no answer. Henry stood up, sat down, closed his eyes, and looked again. The date remained. “This must be a dream.” Henry said out loud, just wanting to hear something familiar. He pinched his right arm; nothing changed. He poked his chest, and thought it must have been bad Left Leg beer. He thought back. Jack and Ben went out together. I left later. The rain had eased, but I saw three men. Now I’m here. Where is here—Venus? Henry asked himself, noticing more un-London things: a green plastic trash can chained to a lamppost, large concrete sidewalks, manicured lawns, and a white and orange
container that read *Fed-Ex*. He looked across to a shop sign, Tudor Guild Gifts, and walked towards it. It was closed. Nearby was a door that said Hemming’s Travel Agency, Ashland, (541) 555-1616. Although it wasn’t spelled the same as his friend, Jack’s name, seeing it brought him some comfort although the room was vacant. 1616 was good, but the other numbers puzzled him. Henry heard voices and then saw a man and woman walking. Quickly, he hid behind the green dumpster in the alley. The woman spoke first: “Why did we have to wait until midnight to eat? The only thing open then is McDonalds and you know I can’t eat Big Macs. I asked for a fish sandwich. You always forget that I’m a beginning vegetarian. I can’t eat this.”

“Well, then leave it on the bench for the birds— gulls will eat the bread,” the man said.

She placed the open *Big Mac* sandwich carton on the bench. Henry saw their pace quicken, and could no longer hear them talking. He could smell the meat, and remembered he had eaten mutton for dinner long ago. The man said bread. He looked at the open carton, and saw the bread first, and leaned in for a whiff. It felt oily and warm. Hunger and curiosity distracted him from even thinking the food was unsafe. Maybe eating it will help me think, Henry rationalized to himself while taking a bite. It surprised him how tasty it was. He chewed slowly this time, and then swallowed. Nothing happened. A bigger bite; still nothing, so he gobbled the rest and smelled his hands. He liked the odor, and now had a plan. He would remain sitting until the Travel Agency Shop opened and inquire about passage to London. Elizabeth will be so worried; he sighed as he lay down on the bench and dozed off.
Sunrise woke him, but it was still quiet in the courtyard. He wet his face with water from a nearby puddle. 23 June, 1999, the paper said. He had lost two days and gained over 300 years, but he still didn’t believe it. A young woman with long, dark hair, dressed in a black skirt and boots approached the door and unlocked it. Upon entering, she noticed Henry who smiled at her. Deirdre was glad she had locked the door until the man knocked on it. “Sorry, sir, we’re closed—it’s Sunday.”

“Madame, I desperately need to return to London. Please—I was robbed.”

Deirdre knew that something was not right about the man, and wondered why she wasn’t afraid of him. “I can call the police for you.” Noticing his outfit, “Did you get robbed after a rehearsal?”

“Yes, and then after a drink, but I did not see who robbed me. Please assist me; my wife will be worried.”

Deirdre decided to take a chance. She would stand by the alarm system by the light switch. And Starbucks was open; someone would hear a commotion. At least he looked over forty and not seedy. And, he was dressed in stage clothes; a doublet and long sleeved white shirt with brown pants and boots. She unlocked the door. “Please sit down. I’d offer you coffee, but we’re not technically open. You need to get to London right away?”

“Yes.” Henry looked around, distracted by the lime green metal cabinets and matching cloth chairs. Deirdre noticed him staring at the Shakespeare Festival posters on the wall behind her. “Are you auditioning for a play? I act also, but just have an
Henry played along: “Yes, I am auditioning for Macduff in Macbeth, and will double another part of course.” He picked it because that play had not opened yet. “Also, Earl of Kent in King Lear. Not good enough for important parts, as my mates often remind me.” Henry smiled; glad to be talking about something familiar.

Deirdre thought his accent sounded legitimate. “How soon must you be in London?”

“As soon as possible,” he answered.

“Your auditions won’t interfere?” He shook his head no, realizing that his audition story did not match then. Deirdre turned on her computer, but then waited by the alarm switch. She noticed his head wound when he scratched his head. “May I ask if you saw a doctor after you were robbed?”

“Oh, no. I didn’t see the ruffians’ faces. I am more worried about my wife not knowing where I am, you see.”

“I see,“ said Deirdre, wanting to trust him. She sat down. “British Air has the best rate. I can book you for tomorrow night, 9PM, flying out of Portland. So I can either book you a puddle jumper to there, or I can help you with a car rental. Which will it be?”

Henry’s brain stopped processing her words after hearing flying out of Portland. Flying out must mean traveling, he thought. But where was Portland? Obviously
near water, he decided. Deirdre noticed his blank look. “Are you ok, Mister---?”

Henry apologetically stood up and replied: “Henry Condell, my pleasure, Miss Hemmings.” He didn’t know whether to shake her hand or kiss it. She had no gloves on, so he bowed slightly. Immediately, Deirdre laughed: “I get it—Mister CONDELL. This is a great joke. I remember—Hemengs and Condell. Who put you up to it—Lisa? And your clothes and makeup—that head injury stuff is great.”

Henry hadn’t felt like crying since he was a boy, and his face showed it. He gazed at the Shakespeare poster to compose himself. Deirdre did not fail to notice his eyes tearing up. “Mr. Condell, if you’re not part of a joke from my friends, please reassure me that you’re not crazy or worse, a criminal. I will gladly take you to a Doctor or the police for help.”

Henry sighed. “Miss Hemmings, I was indeed robbed after my friends left me at the public house. All I remember is seeing three men outside, then some thunder and lightning, and then waking up here. And, it is even more horrible—I not only live in another place, I live in—another time. These clothes are mine. Although I am an actor, I am also a businessman. A very frightened businessman who desperately wants to return home. If this is a bad dream, I am not awakening. I miss my wife. Please help me.”

Deirdre played with her business cards, betting that he had to be from an asylum and sympathetically played along. “Mr. Condell, what time are you from—when was it you were drinking? And, were you drinking a lot?”
“Friday, 21 June, 1616. I was very drunk when my friends left. I was upset about my friend, Will’s recent death; so were they, but they-.”

“Will Shakespeare?” Deirdre couldn’t believe she asked him.

“Yes, how did you know?”

“I’m an Anglophile—1616 was the clue—and you said Will. What day did he die, and from what?” Deirdre already knew the answer.

“Thursday, the 23rd of April. Ben said that he had had a cough and a fever; mind you, not the Black Death. Never recovered in a fortnight.”

“Your friends’ names?”

“Ben Jonson and Jack Hemmengs. That’s why I knocked on your door—same last name—E. Deirdre Hemmings.”

“However spelled differently; but of course, your time had no spelling consistency.”

Henry looked puzzled. “You are E. Deirdre?”

“Yes—E for Elizabeth.”

“My wife’s name is Elizabeth.” Henry wanted to cry again, but bit the inside of his lip, and tightly grasped his shirt cuffs. Deirdre jumped up. “Look, Mr. Condell. I’m starving and am in great need of coffee. Would you like something to eat? A scone and coffee or tea? You can walk with me around the corner or stay here. I suggest you stay here.”
Henry nodded. “That would be lovely.” Deirdre closed the door, figuring he’d be gone when she returned, but he wasn’t. She placed two Starbuck coffees and maple oat nut scones on her desk. He perked up when she entered. “The food aromas here are delicious.” He said.

“Eat something—you’ll feel better.” Deirdre didn’t mention that she had left her friend, Lisa, a voice mail summarizing the situation and to call her soon. She wanted to quiz him more. “So, Shakespeare didn’t die of the plague—er black death?”

“No, he was lucky. His son, Hamnet, had died of that, but Will was still in London at the time. He received the news three days later. The boy was only eleven; Will lost himself in work—wrote voraciously.”

“So, he called his play, Hamlet, after his son who died?”

“Oh no, that was an Old Norse folktale-Amleth-- idea he borrowed. His son was named after his neighbor—same neighbors who had named their son, William.”

“What was his wife’s name?”

“Anne Hathaway.”

“His mother?”

“Mary Arden.”

“Father’s occupation?”

“John Shakespeare was a glover, a brogger, and an Alderman.”
“Was Shakespeare Catholic or Protestant?”

“Officially Church of England, but of course given last rites, but really followed no religion after Hamnet died. Didn’t even return often to Stratford.”

Deirdre was glad he had answered her questions correctly. Henry examined the paper cup and took a bigger swallow. He was glad that they had eaten the same food, wondering if poisoned food was part of this place or dream. “May I ask Miss Hemmings, what did I just eat and drink?”

“A maple oat nut scone and a bold Starbucks Grande coffee with cream.”


Deirdre laughed. At least it wasn’t her usual boring Sunday. The phone rang. It was Lisa. “Oh, hi. Yeah, I’m fine. Thought you were playing a joke on me. You know—Hemmings and Condell, the *first folio*. Dressed for the part. A folio is bigger than a quarto, Lisa. Don’t you remember anything from Renaissance lit? OK, later.”

“Miss Hemmings, do you have folios and quartos here?”

“Oh no, not unless I find a million bucks in this file cabinet.” She saw his quizzical look. “I’ll explain later.” Deirdre did not want to bring up the year 1616 again. “Mr. Condell, getting to London is about twelve hours by plane from here, and you do not look in any shape to travel. My suggestion—get you to a Doctor, then rest, then discuss. Who knows? Maybe, you’ll wake up from your bad dream by that time.”
Henry agreed.

“Good. I’ll drive you to the hospital; my car is around the corner.” Henry was reluctant to leave his new comfort zone, but he followed her to a tan VW convertible. She leaned over and buckled him in, glad she had the top down for screaming purposes if needed. Henry’s stomach jolted when the car moved; he was too nauseous to talk. “You’ve never rode in a VW?” He shook his head no. Deirdre felt guilty that she hadn’t explained the car ride, but she still didn’t totally believe him. While helping him out of the car at the hospital, he collapsed outside the emergency entrance and was immediately rolled in on a gurney. Deirdre filled out paperwork, guessing at his age and other information while the Doctor examined him. She listed herself as emergency contact—friend. It was an hour before Doctor Howard spoke to her. She blurted out: “Doctor, he’s from England.”

“Well, he doesn’t need stitches, but he was given a tetanus shot. Nasty concussion. He’s awake now—asked about you. Vomited his food. I recommend bed rest. Here’s a prescription for the nausea, if needed. He appears exhausted—bad case of jet lag and a touch of the common cold virus. No temperature. Have him drink plenty of fluids. Call me, or bring him back if he gets worse.”

Deirdre nodded and opened Henry’s curtained partition. He was relieved to see her. “I believe the prior big MacDonald I ate made me sick, Miss Hemmings. The maple oat nut scone you gave me was delicious.”

“Perhaps your 17th century stomach can’t deal with 20th century food. Remind
me not to give you Pepsi. How did you get a *Big Mac*?

“A lady left it on the bench in the park near your shop.”

Deirdre was amazed that she was starting to believe his story. Maybe I’m the one dreaming all this, she thought. After all, I didn’t drink enough coffee yet. “Let’s go, Mr. Condell. I’ll drive slowly. Cars are like horseless carriages; they take you wherever-- quickly. Tell me if you feel sick, and close your eyes if it helps.”

“Are we driving to London?”

“No, that would take four days and a ship and—we are going to my house where you can sleep. Doctor’s orders.”

Henry sat still with his hands on his lap, clutching his hospital paperwork tighter when he thought another car would hit them. After parking, they walked upstairs to her apartment.

“Are your parents at home, Miss Hemmings?”

“I live alone. My dad owns a hotel, but the doctor said to keep an eye on you, so here we are.” There were three posters of London on the walls and two book shelves. The tan carpet and brown hounds tooth cloth texture of the furniture was relaxing to Henry, and the dim lights dulled his senses until a gray cat jumped in front of them.

“Marlowe, get out of here!” Henry wondered if she had known Kit Marlowe. He was suddenly embarrassed: “Miss Hemmings, I cannot stay alone with an unmarried woman.”
“Don’t worry, I’ve brought up other—“ She stopped. Everything was complicated enough. “There are two bedrooms; you stay there—the bathroom is between. If you’re thirsty, bottles of water in the fridge.” She opened the door. “Any questions?”

“Yes, where’s the chamber pot?”

Deirdre thought he’s too good or too loony, as she led him to the bathroom. “Go in there, then press this lever and it goes away!”

“Sir John Harington built something like this for Queen Elizabeth in 1596—I never saw it, just heard about it. Marvelous.” Deirdre made a mental note to check that fact. “Don’t go anywhere. I’ll be back with your medicine.” She wished now that she had asked the Doctor to have a psychologist examine him. She would hurry.

Henry had flushed the toilet ten times before the phone ring made him stop. He looked around when a female voice, not Deirdre’s, started talking: “Hi, just checking to make sure your throat’s not slit. Call me soon, or I’ll be over with my Uzi.” Henry was troubled. Of course, Miss Hemmings would think he was a criminal. If some filthy beggar had approached him with a story like his—well, he would have kept on walking. Henry hugged himself while pacing by the bookshelf, reading the titles: The Prince, Montaigne’s Essays, Richard Hakluyt’s Voyages and Discoveries, Dr. Faustus, Utopia, Poems of Michelangelo. The books were so small and delicate; he didn’t want to touch them. As he sat on the sofa, Deirdre entered. “I got medicine and dinner; figured Chinese would be easiest on your stomach.”
Got must mean have, Henry thought. “Oh it smells exotic,” he said, trying to see inside the bags.

“Medicine first, so you won’t throw up.”

Henry hesitated.

“It’s all legal—label from Dr. Howard, with today’s date--better not look at dates,” Deirdre said. Henry swallowed a spoonful, hoping that if he didn’t die, the dream would end.

“Did anyone call?”

“No one knocked,” he dutifully answered.

“I mean—did the phone ring?”

“There was ringing and a woman’s voice spoke.”

“Probably Lisa.” She went to her bedroom, and pushed the button on the answering machine by her bed, and then dialed Lisa. “Yes, still here. Has a concussion and upset stomach. I was getting his prescription. Lisa, he heard your message,” she whispered. “The poor guy’s a wreck; worse than a nine year old at a new school. I haven’t told my dad since he doesn’t trust me with men since the divorce. Come on over, I got us take-out.” She sat down across from Henry by the bookcase. “I’m sorry you heard my friend, Lisa. She was joking. If I thought you were dangerous I would have already called the police—had you arrested.” Henry nodded and watched her put on the kettle and set the kitchen table. Deirdre truly wished to help him, but
wanted more that he not be crazy. Let Lisa keep checking for escapes from mental institutions, she thought. Henry ate slowly this time. First soup, then little bites of rice and chicken. His full stomach and the chamomile tea were making him sleepy, so he leaned his head on his closed left fist. Deirdre poured him more tea. “Here’s your fortune cookie. Maybe a message from beyond!”

She dramatically broke hers and read aloud: “An old friend will re-enter your life. May I?” Henry gave her his cookie. “You will be taking a trip soon. Pretty accurate, huh?”

Henry nodded sleepily, and let Deirdre lead him to his bedroom. She helped him remove his boots, and then covered him with a blanket when he stretched out on top of the bedspread. He fell asleep immediately.

Lisa knocked instead of ringing the doorbell. She had even worn her black trench coat, excited to be investigating, although she didn’t think Deirdre’s information on Henry was accurate. Probably some old wino pulling her leg, and just wanting money. But Deirdre’s bad luck with men worried her. After her ex had stolen her car, she only drove manuals now. Weird. Deirdre opened the door, holding two fingers to her lips. Lisa whispered: “Where is he?”

“In there sleeping.”

“How do you know?” Deirdre shrugged, and motioned her to the bedroom. Looking down, Lisa mouthed to her: “He’s cute.” Deirdre rolled her eyes. Closing the door, they sat down at the kitchen table. Deirdre opened a bottle of chardonnay. “Henry
Condell’s still his name? He doesn’t look much older than 45.” Lisa said.

“Yeah—that’s why I thought you were playing a joke—remember Hemmengs and Condell published Shakespeare’s *First Folio* in 1623 after he died in 1616.”

“Like I remember anything from that Renaissance lit class—I cut it a lot, but liked reading Machiavelli’s *The Prince*—reminded me of Clinton.”

“Bill or Hilary?”

“Both.” They laughed. Lisa continued. “There are no missing person reports with that name and description, approximate age, in the Oregon-Washington area. Is there a Plan B? My ex-boyfriend, the cop, loves doing favors for me.”

“I guess check the entire USA and Great Britain. Any ideas, Lisa?” Deirdre asked.

“Well, I never read *The Time Machine* in school, but I did see the movie on television. Then, there was another movie *about* H.G. Wells time traveling to San Francisco because Jack the Ripper I think stole his time machine and later a girl saves him and Jack gets his, and he returns to London, with the help of the girl, of course.”

“Lisa, there is no time machine involved.”

Lisa finished her glass quickly. “Yeah, just hoping. As my dad, the sleazy lawyer would say, let’s examine facts. What does Henry say?”

“He was drinking heavily with his two friends, Ben Jonson and Jack Hemmengs, who went home early. He stayed on in the bar-uh pub, but when he left he remembered...
seeing three men outside in the rain. He thinks they robbed him; but maybe he got hit by lightning. He woke up in the park by my office this morning, two days and 383 years later.” Deirdre said, looking down at her calculator.

“And you feel safe with this guy? I know he’s cute, but—“

“That’s the weird thing, Lise; I feel safe around him. Besides, he’s married. I’m not interested in him as a date—especially if he’s 383 years old. Look what he took out of his pocket. His wife must have embroidered it.” Deirdre showed her a meticulously embroidered white handkerchief with the letter, H. “He used it to wipe his mouth after taking his medicine.”

“So what’s the game plan? You’re the British scholar. I suggest you get him rip-roaring drunk or stoned and see what happens. Maybe he’s on bad LSD now and has amnesia and we can get some good LSD to counteract it.”

“I’ll be the adult, here, Lisa. Maybe he’s just an ex university professor with a head injury. My thoughts are to get him under hypnosis; perhaps he’ll remember or say something.”

“That’s good. I could try reading his Tarot cards. I took a class once. Or maybe there’s some numerology clue. 383; three plus eight plus three equals five. I can’t remember what five means in numerology.”

“We already know he’s in trouble, Lise. Don’t need fortune telling.”

“Ok, ok, I’ll get my ex to check Interpol and you find a hypnotist.”
“You might have to sleep with your ex again, Lise.”

“All in the line of duty, my dear. Just get more correct ID info. Bill knew I was making a lot up. Just in case he is a cute ax murderer, I’ll stay over. No classes tomorrow.”

“And I’m calling in sick tomorrow,” Deirdre said. “I can’t leave him alone.”

Henry woke up ten hours later. It was five in the morning and dark. Opening and shutting his eyes several times did not change anything, so he got up. He splashed water on his face and sat on the couch by the bookcase, soon hearing music from Deirdre’s clock radio. Dressed in her white terrycloth bathrobe, she yawned hello at him. Henry stood up.

“I’ll make us coffee and toast.” He followed her and sat at the table, noticing Lisa’s trench coat on the chair. “My friend, Lisa, stayed over and we have an idea of how to help you.” She pushed in four slices of whole wheat bread into the toaster. “We think that you should go under hypnosis; you might say something that could help us get you back to family.”

“What is under hypnosis?”

“You would see a Doctor or a professional hypnotist who talks to you and relaxes you to where you are almost asleep. When the hypnotist questions you, you might not even remember.”

“I am willing to try.” Henry said. He smelled the coffee brewing. “Is there
a stag bucks in that pot?” Deirdre laughed and shook her head no. Just then, Lisa entered the kitchen in a hot pink bathrobe. “Hi Henry, glad to meet you. I’m Lisa, Deirdre’s friend.” Henry stood up and smiled, trying not to stare at her spiked short blonde hair. “I heard Deirdre explain the hypnotist stuff to you; don’t worry, it doesn’t hurt.” He sat down again, and sipped the coffee Deirdre placed by him. Lisa added: “I found two names on the computer last night. They’re in Medford. We can all drive there.—One is Dr. Rodrigo Lopez and one is a Dr. John Moore.” Henry looked quite worried.

“After we get him meds for sea sickness; good Mr. Condell?” Deirdre asked.

“You may call me Henry, Miss Hemmings. Are we sailing by wherry?”

“No, pills for car sickness, and call me Deirdre. You all right?”

“I was taken aback by the name—Dr. Roderigo Lopez was a Jewish doctor accused of attempting to poison the Queen. The Earl of Essex helped capture him in 1594 and he was executed. Will formed his idea for Shylock from him. We never thought the chap was guilty though. His last words-- about loving the Queen as he loved Jesus Christ, made the crowd laugh and see it as more admission of guilt.”

“I could see where that name would get a reaction. Here’s your toast; and butter and jelly.” Henry hungrily ate the toast after he buttered it; Deirdre made more. While she washed the dishes, Henry looked at the bookshelf after Lisa went to shower. “There is no folio of all of Will’s plays.” Henry stated seriously, pointing to the large paperback.
“I’m glad you brought that up,” Deidre said after drying her hands and pulling the book off the shelf. “You can look at any of my books. Here is the weird thing. After Shakespeare died, his friends published all of his plays in 1623, and we 20th century people continue to identify it as the first folio. Actually, you and Mr. Hemmengs were responsible for publishing it. See why I was uh-confused.” Henry looked as if he’d seen a ghost; his own ghost. Deirdre didn’t know what else to say. He barely spoke for the rest of the morning.

Two hours later, they drove to get Henry hypnotized. They stopped at MacDonald’s when Henry got excited seeing the yellow arches. Deirdre ordered them fillet of fish sandwiches and coffee; Lisa ate two big macs and a coke. “I ate a big MacDonald’s meat pie before, Miss Lisa.” Henry boasted. After finishing, they drove to the park by Doctor Moore’s office and waited since they were early. Lisa went shopping, and returned with blue striped pajamas for Henry. Sitting in the park sunshine eased him. “You’re not scared, I hope.” Lisa said.

“No, glad to be doing something.”

“If this doesn’t work, we’ll keep trying to get you home,” Deidre added.

Henry thanked them as they entered the waiting room. Both girls hugged him when the nurse called his name. After an hour, the same nurse asked Deirdre if she wanted to speak to the Doctor. Deirdre thought that the Doctor looked like an actor playing a doctor. He wouldn’t look her in the eye. “Mr. Condell genuinely believes that he lives in London, and the year is 1616. He has no idea what the United States is about,
much less who is President or Governor. He did comment about taxes, King James, and his favorite meal being a *big mac*. His wife’s name is Elizabeth Smart, whom he married on October 24, 1596. He described Adder Street and his *parish* in London which I would continue to check for missing person reports. Sometimes another shock to the system can recover memory. I also recommend an MRI. Good luck.”

Their drive back to Ashland was more serious. After dropping Lisa off, Deirdre warmed up leftover meat loaf and potatoes. While Henry poured more burgundy, Deirdre got out the Shakespeare book. “A lot of people don’t believe that he wrote all these plays—because he wasn’t college educated. They think the Earl of Oxford or Francis Bacon wrote them for the money.” She still wanted to test his knowledge.

“Will was the truest-mannered man,” Henry answered. “He was smart, and could remember everything, and even describe strangers from face to foot. Indeed, he parsed stories and descriptions, and there was no book, such as Holinshed’s, that he did not know of. Francis Bacon is busy revising his essays again. He married a rich woman, and has no need of money from writing. The Earl of Oxford was always too busy courting the ladies; some ladies he wrote poetry for, but Will wrote sonnets also when the theaters were closed. Will did partner with John Fletcher on the play, *Two Noble Kinsmen*, but he indeed wrote all the plays listed in your large book. When younger, he did compete a bit with Kit Marlowe until his murder, but Will’s best work came around the time his son, Hamnet died. Was a changed man. I saw him actually cry when he chanced upon a beggar boy coughing in the street. Will gave him money and stared so long when the boy scampered away.” Deirdre poured
wine. “Did you understand what the Doctor recommended?”

He shook his head no.

“MRI’s an expensive medical test for your head. But, we can wait a little.” They talked about the theatre until midnight like old buddies. Deirdre mentioned that she had to work tomorrow for sure, but would be home by tea time, announcing: “Housekeeping 101. Tea kettle on stove; turn on here. Unplug coffee pot. Lunch in fridge—wrapped; see. Beer in bottle. Chips and dip in cupboard—AND, if you are good, I will bring home a star stag coffee and maple oat nut scone. Now, here are the pjs—uh nightclothes, that Lisa bought. I’ll wash what you have on, and iron in the morning I guess. I’ll show you how to work the bath. Any questions?” She noticed him squinting.

“Could you make it less bright in here? Perhaps light one of those candles?” After turning off the lights, Deirdre lit three candles, and then asked him: “I’m dying to know. What was Shakespeare’s favorite play?”

“That’s like asking which child is favorite. Let me think. He enjoyed writing Merry Wives of Windsor because the Queen requested it for Garter Feast to celebrate the election of Lord Hunsdon. The Histories—he liked creating a new Richard III from Thomas More’s work. Lear was a challenge—thought adding Lear’s madness and the tragic ending made a more stirring play. He was fond of Falstaff in Henry IV; especially when the audiences raved.” After finishing the third bottle of wine, Deirdre put on tea and put out leftover apple muffins. Henry ate three almost simultaneously.
He started to doze while she was fixing the automatic coffeepot, so she led him to the bathroom, and ran bath water. After handing him pajamas, she closed the door. Deidre called out to make sure he was all right. Henry had never slept so peacefully after a bath.

When Henry awoke at 9 A.M., he kept looking at himself in the mirror, while dressed in his blue striped pajamas and feeling their texture. The teakettle was ready, so he drank his tea after putting on his clean and ironed clothes. He ate toast and coffee that Deidre had left on the table, along with a bowl of milk-less cheerios. He had read *Othello*, *Hamlet*, and *Macbeth* before realizing he was hungry again. Henry grabbed the roast beef sandwich from the fridge and decided he wanted to read the comedy plays. Bianca in *Taming of the Shrew* reminded him of Lisa. After finishing that play and starting *The Comedy of Errors*, he dozed off. When he awoke, the stove clock said 3:30, and he knew Deirdre would be home soon. He cleaned off the table except for the play book and put the kettle on again while he finished his leftover cup. A police car siren outside made him jump and spill tea all over the book. He instinctively grabbed his handkerchief, but it failed to wipe up enough. Next, he patted the book more with a tea towel that he had seen Deirdre use, but the stain was still on the pages. Henry was devastated. Such an expensive folio, he thought. He sat still; fumbling with the gold ring Will had left him.

Deirdre arrived, still surprised to see him. She kept thinking that he really would turn out to be a street person and eventually get tired of staying in one place. He blurted: “I am truly sorry. I spilled tea on your folio and I have no money with...
me to replace it.” Deirdre looked down at the table and saw the stained book and the hurt in Henry’s eyes. Henry was so upset. He had damaged Will’s book. His dear, dead friend. Deirdre gently led him to the couch and made him sit. She covered him with a comforter, sat next to him, and kissed him on the cheek. “It’s all right, Henry. It’s only a paperback that cost $25.” Deirdre didn’t understand why she kissed him on the mouth next. She wasn’t romantically interested in him. He kissed her back; only the whistling kettle stopping them. Henry turned away and sadly stared at the London Tower Bridge poster. Deirdre took her time with the new tea when she saw his sad, embarrassed gaze. She threw the wet things in the washer, and wiped the table.

Henry couldn’t believe that he had dozed off yet again. It was dark and he heard the cat purring and smelled tea. He sat up when he felt her lips. “I am sorry that I missed tea with you dear,” he softly whispered. Suddenly he felt her hugs and hands and lips all over him. Elizabeth’s lips. “I was so worried, Henry. The three men that carried you home said they saw you struck by lightning. You have not awakened for two days and three nights. We thought you would die. Oh Henry,” she cried and pressed her head on his chest.

“I dreamed, Elizabeth. There were exotic foods and strange inventions, odd colors, and it was so very bright—even at night.”

“Yes? I sat with you at night. We lit many candles. I stayed with you until they burned down.” Their gray cat jumped on the bed again, and Henry stroked it. He saw Elizabeth’s tears and reached for his handkerchief that wasn’t there. His eyes
widened, trying to remember something. “And there were so many books Elizabeth; marvelous, marvelous books.”
In 1933, University of Oxford student Raymond Spottiswoode evaluated the first generation of cinema, offering provocative questions and conclusions about a young art form in transition. His assessment of cinema, published in 1950 as *A Grammar of the Film: An Analysis of Film Technique*, is defined in part by the author’s suspicion of films being made as a mere imitation of life or cinema in general as an “instrument of realism” (60). Though the book is not widely regarded as a fundamental text on the subject of film grammar, Spottiswoode’s expressed desire for the camera to be emancipated from the stage and from “the connected and dramatic narrative” (57) which had developed in the first decade of cinema, reads like a forerunner to later declarations such as The Birth of a New Avant-Garde: The Camera-Stylo from 1948, The First Statement of the New American Cinema Group and the Oberhausen Manifesto from 1962, and the Dogme Manifesto from 1995, among others.

Central to all of these statements and manifestos is a longing for cinema, in its
narratives and constructions, to be freed from aestheticizing conventions and/or commercial demands. For his part, Spottiswoode rightly predicted the use of stereoscopics to immerse the audience within the imitation. At the time of the publication of his book in the United States, various forms of immersion were the tools through which producers, distributors and exhibitors lured cinemagoers away from television and into the theaters. Heightened dimensionality, hypnotism, and carnival-esque promotion brought the viewer into the text, but not in a manner that required a more cognitive sort of viewing.

The rise and fall of a classical Hollywood style and the dissolving of boundaries between national cinemas have done little to transform the commercial imperative for the passive viewer. Though David Bordwell and others have written of the proliferation of story platforms in the digital age, engagement with the primary text of any cinematic universe requires little more than sitting in front of a screen. That a majority of films ranked in the top ten worldwide grosses of all time were at some point exhibited in 3D speaks to viewers’ preference for being in the story world. Yet there is no evidence to suggest a corresponding depth of critique, and the content of these top grossing films could be described as privileging spectacle above other narrative or aesthetic concerns.

Against this backdrop, I will examine a considerably more active form of immersion involving viewers who fill apparent gaps left by filmmakers within and around classic and cult films. “The Death of the Author” (Barthes 142) has been long presumed and debated, but postmodernism, poststructuralism and the Internet age have enabled movie enthusiasts, accustomed to the mechanics of traditional cinematic narratives, to reshape or rewrite texts by injecting their own theories and values.
Message boards, blogs, fan edits, DVD commentaries, documentaries, and social media musings are the present vehicles for this form of immersion. Theories of a critical viewership add up to a form of authorship that frees the texts from being mistaken for a mere imitation of life, particularly concerning films designed to lack conventional narrative coherence and definitive solutions.

But such feverish theorizing does not ensure that a film communicates any more conclusive truth than that of a film passively observed. Barthes writes that “when the Author has been found, the text is ‘explained’—victory to the critic” (147). In the specific cases of Stanley Kubrick’s *The Shining* (1980) and Mark Region’s *After Last Season* (2009), it is the filmmakers’ rebellions against conventional film form and combinations of verisimilitude with fantasy, that create the gaps for viewers to disappear into. A full circuit finds the viewer conquering the text by discovering the author and then reviewing the film through that discovery. This is a potentially endless process of discovery and validation.

*The Shining* is easy to discuss in this regard because of how thoroughly Rodney Ascher’s documentary *Room 237* (2012) showcases the many theories that have been attributed to Kubrick’s adaptation of Stephen King’s horror novel. King’s book is about Jack Torrance, his wife Wendy, and their son Danny, who experience supernatural evil at the Overlook Hotel. Jack’s dependencies and psychoses make him an ideal conduit for Evil’s designs on the precognitive Danny. *Room 237* uses visuals from *The Shining* and other sources (mostly Kubrick’s films) to illustrate and correspond to statements made by spectators, whose faces remain unseen. The formal strategy of the documentary is a canny realization of the author’s absence. He is seen and not heard. His audience is heard but not seen.
Room 237 is about these unseen characters, which have devoted their time and energy to solving The Shining. They assume authority regarding what The Shining is about, and the movie, in turn, reveals the substance of their fixations. For journalist Bill Blakemore, The Shining is a movie intended to provoke thoughts about the genocide of Native Americans. Juli Kearns similarly thinks Kubrick’s film is a puzzle that encourages the viewer to assemble its meaning, but the conclusion of her thinking is that The Shining is a retelling of the myth of the Minotaur. Geoffrey Cocks, on the other hand, sees a film about the Holocaust. For Jay Weidner, Kubrick made the film to confess his involvement in a faked Apollo 11 mission. Finally, John Fell Ryan seize upon the notion that The Shining is meant to be read forwards and backwards. He stages formal experiments in which simultaneous exhibitions, one from first frame to last and the other from last to first, supposedly unearth Kubrick’s theme—in this case, the ignorance and acceptance of visual information.

All of these individuals have immersed themselves in Kubrick’s film. In his Grantland review of Room 237, Chuck Klosterman coins the term “Immersion Criticism” to describe the activity that takes place in the documentary. These are people that have watched The Shining so much that they have parsed nearly every detail. And as several critics have pointed out, the subjects also bring their own personal histories (as researchers of the Holocaust, as film editors, as experts on American Indian artifacts, etc.) to the work, creating associations linked to their experiences. Perhaps anticipating such responses, Kubrick himself said in a 1980 interview with Michel Ciment that, “People can misinterpret almost anything so that it coincides with views they already hold” (“Kubrick on the Shining”).

Yet even as Ascher focuses his documentary on these individuals and Kubrick
made films with an awareness of subjective misinterpretation, it would be shortsighted to pretend Ascher’s subjects are forming these theories exclusively from the perspective of their experiences. Before they were conquering critics of The Shining, they were viewers of The Shining. Though some of them such as Jay Weidner, now credit Kubrick’s films with changing their lives, it was the initial encounter with the work that provided the occasion for later immersion. Kubrick’s meticulous arrangement of narrative, visual and aural information remains the catalyst for the range of reactions.

It is a myth of Kubrick that the man was secretive about his intentions. This myth is fueled by instances such as final work Eyes Wide Shut (1999), which was shrouded in secrecy during production. That the content of Eyes Wide Shut is so conspiratorial intensifies the filmmaker’s reputation as a man using stealth tactics to warn the viewer about things unseen. Yet one needs only to read interviews with Kubrick to understand that even when dealing with things unseen, he was quite prepared for plainspoken discussions and in some cases eager to explain his intentions and methods. In the previously cited interview with Ciment, conducted around the release of The Shining, Kubrick says, “in some ways, the conventions of realistic fiction and drama may impose serious limitations on a story”—an expression similar to Spottiswoode’s critique of the “connected and dramatic narrative” that he believed limited cinematic expression. There is another echo of Spottiswoode in Kubrick’s assertion that “Most films are really little more than stage plays with more atmosphere and action.” He argues that “the scope and flexibility of movie stories would be greatly enhanced by borrowing something from the structure of silent movies” (“Kubrick on the Shining”).
It is within this framework of silent movie convention, within sound film form, that *The Shining* comes into focus as a film with perceived incoherencies or gaps that demand to be solved or filled with meaning. Kubrick directed *The Shining* as a fantastic story world with a realistic appearance. This sort of execution is ideal for a plot in which there must be a rational explanation for the inexplicable, until the revelation that supernatural forces do indeed exist. The attempt to explain away the supernatural occurrences strictly through the lens of Jack’s psychosis fails, for instance, when he is impossibly freed from a locked room. Much of the analysis of *Room 237* is about the so-called “impossible” spatial relationships of the setting in the film. The isolated shots of blood pouring forth from an elevator are presented without traditional causality, but their presentation in the film is consistent with Kubrick’s explanation to Ciment of young Danny’s “perception of the paranormal [as] imperfect and fragmentary.” Thus the tonal shifts from fantasy to reality, the spatial shifts from consistent to distorted geography, and the narrative shifts from cause-effect plotting to associational montage all combine to encourage the addition of missing information by immersed viewers.

Thus possible continuity errors within the film, such as a chair that appears and disappears, are read as intentional disruptions of continuity. The most plausible theory concerning the missing chair presented within *Room 237* is that Kubrick is parodying the form of the horror film to remind his viewers that *The Shining* is not merely a horror film. There is evidence of such a technique later *The Shining*, when a brief scene of skeletons in a coolly lit corridor suggests a much more literal and conventional use of Universal Studios-style horror film imagery. The skeleton tableaux evokes the Overlook hotel’s eternally damned New Year’s party into which Jack is
photographically and phantasmagorically absorbed by the film’s end. In the greater visual framework of *The Shining*, the inclusion of skeletons plays as parody, merging at least two hallmarks of parody Dan Harries has identified in exploring combinations of similarity and difference, specifically a kind of reiteration of earlier forms that seems like extraneous inclusion relative to this specific form.

In *Stanley Kubrick: A Narrative and Stylistic Analysis*, Mario Falsetto links Kubrick’s “rupturing of classical continuity” (127) with the confessed “dialectic of realism and artifice” (143) that characterizes much of the director’s work. Additionally, Pat Gehrke and G. L. Ercolini have written at length about the ways in which Kubrick’s films “refuse an audience’s attempt to identify with them” (114). Though Gehrke and Ercolini convincingly identify the difficulty of interpreting Kubrick’s work within “a known schema,” the existence of *Room 237* and scores of essays, websites and videos devoted to unlocking the supposed secrets of Kubrick and *The Shining* are evidence that contemporary audiences enjoy the work of creating new “systems of interpretation” (114).

Whether such investigators realize that this process kills the Author in order to resurrect him is a question for another time. Other documentaries, such as *The People vs. George Lucas*, are evidence that many immersed critics are well aware of their complicity in pushing the creator aside to generate new, reactionary content that nonetheless results in nothing less than a monument to the creator. Storied filmmakers like Kubrick and Lucas are natural subjects for this emerging, networked process of evaluation. Their documented influences, histories, experiences with studio interference, and above all, repeated contributions to cinema art, create bodies of work through which to surmise authorial intention, even or especially in the absence of
clear evidence.

A more recent development in the critical approaches of immersion and substitution concerns a filmmaker about whom very little is known. Mark Region, director of *After Last Season* (2009), has created no other feature films and has dropped out of filmmaking and the public eye following the release and reception of *After Last Season*. A viewer wanting to better understand the text by learning more about the man himself is left to a relatively small Internet community of investigators, the members of which pose theories as fantastic as those shared in *Room 237*.

There are several similarities between *The Shining* and *After Last Season*. In conversation with *Filmmaker Magazine*, in what might be the only interview he granted to a major professional publication, Region describes his film as a drama and a thriller. The interviewer, Scott Macaulay, admits he finds the film’s trailer “baffling” and has not seen the film at the time of the interview. Region has not made a screener available for review. Macaulay is therefore reacting to an online reaction to the film’s trailer and other testimonials from those few who have seen the film in one of its four cities of release. When asked about the film’s mysteriousness, Region responds:

I had this idea about the play between science and science fiction . . . [By dealing with schizophrenia you] can do that play between what’s real and what’s not real and where science can go in the future. . . After you’ve seen it, you know the whole plot. It’s all in there. It’s very logical. I wanted to make the movie as realistic and logical as possible, it’s just in the way it’s presented. The way it’s presented it will produce some kind of thrilling or disturbing reaction. (“Interview: *After Last Season’s Mark Region*”)
Whereas Kubrick’s technique in *The Shining* is to dramatize fantasy through realism, Region dramatizes reality through the fantastic. In both works, the equation within the directorial intention could probably be flipped and a viewer would find the distinction to be negligible. Nevertheless, *After Last Season* is a considerably more radical formal experiment than *The Shining* because of its much more pronounced refusal to be known through conventions of film grammar. Kubrick himself is said to have used the phrase “mode jerks” to describe the “sudden shifts in time and space” that “subliminally force us to create the continuity ourselves in order to be able to understand the wider narrative” (Struthers and Harlan 32). *After Last Season* has a reputation for containing few such cues and no obvious system.

Region creates in *After Last Season* a film that achieves the freedom from convention so often longed-for in film texts and manifestos dating back to cinema in its first generation. But reactions to the film, those reactions to which Region’s interviewer was reacting, largely regard the film as joke, a put-on, or as Rodney Perkins of *Screen Anarchy* stated at the time of the film’s theatrical release, “so genuinely and startlingly bad that a movie cult will undoubtedly form around it” (“Film Review: After Last Season”). Though a cult has grown in the decade since the trailer emerged, Region and the company behind the film, Index Square, have neglected to make the film regularly available on home video. Other than a one-time DVD release, there is no legal way to obtain *After Last Season*. The effect of the unavailability is that the viewing audience for the film remains small, but the interest among those curious about the film increases. I will share some of their findings in my conclusion.

But first it is worthwhile to recall some impressions from my own initial en-
counter with *After Last Season*. I tried to watch the film without creating associations beyond the series of images and sounds in the film. I was, however, aware of the film’s reception online, and I watched the film in accordance with Region’s declared intention of logical storytelling. I found the film to cohere to an unexpected degree, in light of its reputation. Understanding from the filmmaker’s own limited promotion of his work that ghosts and schizophrenia are the subject matter, it is logical to conclude that those are the particular subjectivities or points of view through which *After Last Season* exists.

The first images in the film are basic: shapes, rectangles and colors. The title appears out of order. There is no establishing shot. There is no exposition. The first scene is set in a doctor’s examination room that is a barely masked bedroom of a suburban home. There are seemingly random shots of windows and walls. Pieces of blank paper are taped along the walls, and an MRI machine constructed from cardboard and paper is the key piece of set design.

Region’s directorial hand might be described as inverted. The most instrumental props and production design elements are markedly artificial. Long dialogue scenes consist entirely of non-sequitur. Characters do not converse in a way that advances the plot. Rather, the substance of many conversations is spatial orientation itself—the locations of rooms, streets, local attractions, and the like. The timing of shot-reaction-shot combinations is not rhythmically off, but instead precisely incorrect. Cast shadows are so prevalent that sometimes shadows entirely stand in for the actors whose bodies create them. In two scenes, the shadow of an unilluminated work light is conspicuously featured in the frame. For the first third of the film, the experience of watching *After Last Season* is one of faulty perception. The film incites the urge
to create order and relationships, but the viewer is powerless to intervene. In other words, we are asked to assume both the mind of a schizophrenic and the limited agency of a ghost.

Scholars of the film are few, and the most eloquent ones have not written substantially on such unifying points of view and their effects on the film. Jim Donahue of *Cashiers du Cinemart* concludes that the film “makes no sense from a logical or even a dream-like perspective” (“I’ve Never Been to That Movie But I’ve Been Through It: Deciphering *After Last Season*”). He criticizes the film’s largely animated second act for its duration relative to the total running time, commenting that the sequence with the “low-rent CGI […] is just a red herring that doesn’t really have anything to do with the nominal plot of the movie.”

I contend that the protracted second act is the single strongest key for understanding the movie. The second act is punctuated with signs that read “psychology exercise.” Sometimes these signs are among the ubiquitous printer paper set design and other times they occur within the animation. The activity of the second act is two characters linking minds through chips they attach to their heads. A major visual transition occurs as the information flow exercise begins, which is that a massive box (part of the medical student’s hardware) disappears from view as the viewer goes inside the minds of the characters. Region’s authorial signature is on a different artistic level than David Lynch, but his use of a box to signal a transition into another world has much in common with the blue box of *Mulholland Dr.* (2001).

When the two characters in this sequence, Matthew and Sarah, enter the world of the psychology exercise, Matthew, wired to receive images says, “I’ll see a basic composition of geometric objects.” If the viewer stops to consider that the set design for the
film is constructed from such basic compositions and that the first images of the film were flat geometric shapes, then the impression is that everything in the film to this point has been priming the viewer for this psychology exercise. It is here that Region subverts his own inverted technique. The film, which has been full of abrupt edits and no regard for traditional continuity or matching on action or establishing shots, transitions into a pace that accommodates the shared perspectives of the viewer and Sarah, who is the generator of shapes and thoughts within the film. Matthew instructs her to think of an object. Region treats the viewer to a black screen, giving us time to think of an object along with Sarah. Region repeats this technique later with cubes, which we and Sarah are asked to visualize before they appear on screen. This process continues as viewers are asked to picture a letter emerging from a flat surface.

The crude animations of the objects, shapes and figures we are asked to imagine look like a previsualization for a live action film, which is one of After Last Season’s greatest ironies. This pre-visualization is another key to understanding the film as a whole, and yet it occurs after the viewer has become disoriented by the filmmaker’s rebellions against formal expectations. The mechanism is similar to what Gus van Sant employs with his crudely animated first-person shooter video game adaptation of feature film Gerry (2002), which appears within Elephant (2003) as a means of illuminating the way an audience is intended to watch Elephant—a film about a school shooting. For a final comparison, Region achieves with his blank-face-killer sequence the kind of projection critics ascribe to John Carpenter with Michael Myers’ blank lifeless mask in the Halloween franchise (1978-2018). By including a blank-faced killer within a “psychology exercise” in which the viewer is asked repeatedly to form images, Region is inviting responses in a most active way. Immediately after
the psychology exercise ends, Matthew and Sarah discuss topics like dreams versus reality, temporality, dream time versus real time, movement and pacing. In short, they discuss aspects of film language and film conventions, which were unearthed by the psychology exercise.

I will conclude by acknowledging the success of immersed viewers in bringing to light many truths about Mark Region. *Alternate Takes* has compiled this information on a page called “After Last Season: Interns, Intention, and the Internet.” *Alternate Takes* and other online discussion threads reveal that Mark Region is actually Sean Chheang Chhun, a treasurer and real estate business manager for several companies in Massachusetts. To learn that one detail shapes *After Last Season* in significant ways. For instance, all of the dialogue about locations of homes and buildings seems like the logical talk of a real estate broker.

Among an immersed fan community, the journey to discover Mark Region turns into a discovery about Sean Chhun, who resists discovery by making his sole feature film unavailable for a larger audience. There is no doubting his film’s suitability for the age of Immersion Criticism, as its apparent gaps are so numerous. But too much investigation into the background *After Last Season* could overshadow the more substantial cinematic achievements of *After Last Season*. It is a film that seems designed to erase what Spottiswoode characterized as viewers’ “trained sensibility and intelligence,” freeing them to ponder genuinely new images and notions unfettered by preexisting associations and conventions.
Works Cited

*After Last Season.* Directed by Mark Region. Index Square, 2009.


In his new introduction to his seminal work *Transcendental Style in Film: Ozu, Bresson, Dreyer* published in 1972, Paul Schrader revisits his observations on slow cinema and the stylistic devices employed by directors to create a transcendent film reality. He recalls the clash between his spiritual religious upbringing in the Christian Reformed Church and the pursuit of the forbidden, the profane, and how it was upon viewing Robert Bresson’s *Pickpocket* (1959) that he noticed a “bridge of style” between the two, whereby “the convergence of spirituality and cinema would occur in style, not content. In the How, not the What” (2). Exploring how such a style worked in the films of Ozu, Bresson and Dreyer, Schrader observed that a transcendent film reality was often conveyed through a movement away from narrative and the employment of certain distancing devices. His career is not necessarily emblematic of these features, but his latest masterwork *First Reformed* (2017) abides by the many theoretical
Schrader identifies the *everyday* as the first step of transcendental style. It is defined as “a meticulous representation of the dull, banal commonplaces of everyday living” (67). This phase is often characterized by monotony, silence, stillness and *First Reformed* embodies it through its static frame compositions and minimal camera movement. Schrader’s technical craftsmanship works to create a certain visual austerity. Silence, diegetic music and practical sound effects also preside in place of a traditional score, all serving the quotidian reality of on-screen situations. Within this sterile and minimalistic setting, viewers are privy to the quiet monotony of everyday life of Reverend Toller, the minister of a small congregation in upstate New York. To accommodate the style of the movie, Ethan Hawke delivers a controlled and restrained performance, his face often expressionless yet conveying a sense of hardship his character had experienced in his life. The plot focuses on how Toller’s quiet everyday life as a pastor is affected by an encounter with an unstable young environmental activist, Michael (Philip Ettinger), who wants Mary (Amanda Seyfried), his pregnant wife, to have an abortion.

As the everyday is overemphasized with Toller’s deadpan narration of his daily diary entries, *disparity* arises—“an actual or potential disunity between man and his environment ... a growing crack in the dull surface of everyday reality” (70). The disparity in *First Reformed* echoes Schrader’s own analysis of Bresson’s *Diary of a Country Priest* (1951), where he identifies that disparity “tries to evoke a “sense” of something Wholly Other within the cold environment” (99). This creates a sense
of alienation for the character we had first identified within the everyday. Reverend Toller’s church draws few parishioners, and he diverges significantly from the ways of the modern corporate and prosperous Abundant Life Church. Yet his alienation goes beyond that of the social, as he struggles to pray and find solace within the sacred. Fraught with his own solitude and burdens, he nonetheless opens up his arms to Mary and her husband, Michael. Engaging in discussion about Michael’s environmental concerns and agony over humanity’s inaction with regard to the depleting natural environment pulls Toller towards a rather emotional envelopment with environmental concerns of the world. This engagement is further reinforced by Michael’s suicide. Toller becomes involved, as he researches the files on Michael’s laptop, performs the memorial ceremony at a polluted site to the tune of Neil Young’s environmental protest song, and becomes more embittered with his surroundings. All this increases his disunity from the everyday environment and social dissonance from those around him. This cumulating burden and alienation resonates also with his increasing physical ailment. The clash between everyday realism and the ‘spiritual passion’ of the protagonist, as Schrader suggests in his book, can be seen as a “spiritual density within a factual world [which] creates a sense of emotional weight within an unfeeling environment” (104).

*Disparity* typically concludes with a decisive action, which creates a form of outlet for the release of emotions. As viewers at this stage, we align ourselves with the character’s dilemma. In *First Reformed*, disparity, in which Reverend Toller finds himself in a hopeless and powerless disunion from the rest of the world, leads him
to violence and martyrdom, as he dons the eco-terrorist suicide vest that belonged to Michael. The appearance of Mary at the Church alters his plan of actions but only for him to subjugate himself to his cause by wrapping barbed wire around his body. Due to the effects of the everyday and the disparity that is created, the surge of emotion is intensified, in particular when Mary appears just as he is about to drink the drain cleaner. At this stage, where the outburst of emotion reaches its peak, rules that seemed unbreakable within the everyday are overturned. The once static camera now spirals out of control orbiting around Toller and Mary’s embrace of each other. Music that once was diegetic crosses realms as Anthony J. Showalter’s hymn “Leaning on the Everlasting Arms”, sung by Julia Murney, accompanies their passionate kiss. It is a moment of stasis, which “represents the ‘new’ world in which the spiritual and the physical can coexist, still in tension and unresolved, but as part of a larger scheme in which all phenomena are more or less expressive of a larger reality—the Transcendent” (108). At this stage, the viewer cross-interprets between the coldness of the everyday environs and the occurring spiritual actions. It is a cross section of the contradictions of the everyday’s despair and anguish clashing in unity with the love, grace, hope and salvation brought about through Mary. Similarly to Schrader’s analysis of stasis in The Trial of Joan of Arc (1962), it is what he calls “the spiritual expression of martyrdom” (108).

First Reformed is a fascinating exploration of Schrader’s own theoretical underpinnings of a film style. As such, it is a demanding film too, requiring patience
and emotional commitment from the viewer. Trapped in the everyday with Reverend Toller, the viewer is faced with the clash between the quotidian realism and the character’s ‘spiritual passion’, and becomes engrossed in the ‘emotional weight’ developing within the factual unfeeling milieu that draws towards that emotional release of passion. *First Reformed* is also a very timely piece, as the environmental concerns and the desperate calls for action voiced in the movie strongly resonate with today’s dangers associated with pollution and climate change.

**Works Cited**


Film Review: Bronson (2008)

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Known for starring in high-concept films like Christopher Nolan’s *The Dark Knight Rises* (2012), or his supporting role in Alejandro González Iñárritu’s *The Revenant* (2015), actor Tom Hardy asserts himself as one of the great names in Hollywood. However, arguably one of his greatest performances in his career can be seen before his breakthrough in America, in the role as the British prisoner Bronson in the film of the same name. Embodying the character’s very nature, starting with his voice and ending at his beard, he embraced the almost mythical figure. Directed by Danish film director Nicolas Winding Refn, known for his 2013 picture *Only God Forgives,*Bronson stands as an example of exceptional art in film, due to its polarizing effect on the audience on a thematic level, as well as the translation of this tension into cinematography. In accordance with this, Bronson portrays the plot of a most uncharacteristic prison movie.

The movie retells the life story of Michael Peterson, better known as Charles

1. At only 24, Nicolas Winding Refn started his career as writer and director of *Pusher* (1996), which became a cult film in Denmark. More recent productions include *Walhalla Rising* (2009), *Drive* (2011), and *The Neon Demon* (2016). He pursues a consistent style throughout his career, which can be described as hyper-stylized. Using high-contrast lighting and bold colors, he creates an uncomfortable and surreal atmosphere for his characters, who are themselves stylized to the point of becoming enigmatic. He is notorious for his unforgiving portrayal of violence and intertwined symbolism of these acts.
Bronson, England’s most dangerous prisoner. Far from being just a biopic, *Bronson* does not attempt to explain or justify its violent visuals, but lets them speak for themselves. The audience is not offered a benevolent look onto the character. Much rather, Bronson’s actions stand alone and remain unmotivated throughout the narrative. Consequently, the underlying plot is as linear as can be. As a young adult, Bronson is first arrested and sentenced to seven years imprisonment. At this point, a series of violent actions against guards within the facilities and a stream of different internments and solitary confinements is set off. With the exception of a short period, in which Bronson was released for 69 days, the audience witnesses him in his ‘hotel room,’ as he refers to his prison cell (*Bronson* 00:10:07). At the end of the film, the audience is left with the picture of a body, naked and covered in blood, wringing in a cage its size, bluntly confronted with the animal the prisoner has become. However, *Bronson* does much more than portraying violence for violence’s sake.

On the level of editing, the film works with intriguing visuals and sound effects that aestheticize the extreme instances of violence. The mise-en-scène is mostly held in cold colors, fitting the somber environment of a prison. Starkly contrasted are scenes drenched in luminous red light. Outbursts of extreme violence are especially cast in these hues, standing as a literarization of ‘seeing red.’ While the visuals emphasize the overarching topic of violence, the sound editing is implemented antithetically. Ranging from Verdi, to Wagner, and Puccini, classical music accompanies portrayals of unmotivated, sheer brutality. This technique bestows a sense of grandeur to these actions, raising moral questions for the audience witnessing the violence from a safe
distance.² The stylized way in which the plot is narrated prepares the audience for a refined portrayal of beauty and evokes associations of opera performances. Framed like this, the unreasonable, brutal outbursts of the protagonist elicit a feeling of estrangement that distances the audience not only from the character, but also from the entire narrative. Therefore, the beauty at which is hinted at through the dramatic musical accompaniment remains inaccessible to the viewers. Instead of understanding this juxtaposition of beauty and brutality as geared towards the viewer, it has to be understood as a mental backdrop provided by the character of Bronson himself, which opens up the film’s interpretation.

Counter to the straightforward plot, the movie is intricately narrated, incorporating subjective tendencies as already pronounced by the audio-visual techniques. In the first scene, the audience is introduced to a narrative instance, that breaks the fourth wall. Throughout the narrative, Bronson sits against a black background and recounts his life story directly to the extradiegetic audience in an unvarying medium close up shot. Although this narrative instance appears to be a mental representative of the prisoner, he does not offer any insight into the character’s feelings, motivations, and ambitions. A more abstract representation of the protagonist’s character is provided in yet another layer within the narrative. In front of a theatre audience, Bronson comments on the actions depicted in a dramatic performance. Wearing heavy make-up, he impersonates not only different characters, but also different sides of his

². The juxtaposition of classical music and unsettling and violent imagery reminds of Stanley Kubrick’s A Clockwork Orange (1971). Bronson is even addressed as “A Clockwork Orange for the 21st century” in its trailer (“Trailer” 00:00:46). In Kubrick’s movie, the recurring motive of Beethoven’s 9th Symphony is used as background music, when depicting the protagonist’s vile actions, but also during his inhumane treatment from violence. While the effect of estrangement for the audience holds true for both A Clockwork Orange and Bronson, the effect is extended to Kubrick’s protagonist. In contrast, Refn’s use of classical music boldly underlines the topic of violence and savagery.
personality. Refn explained that *Bronson*’s structure was influenced by fragmented storytelling as employed in US Independent films during the late 40s to the early 60s (‘Making Of’ 00:02:03-00:02:26). This fragmented editing technique constitutes the key to understanding the narrative.

The first level of the narrative, the plot of Bronson as the violent prisoner, is the central strand within the movie. It portrays the life that has been shared with other inmates, the media, and, ultimately, the world. It is the layer of Bronson’s personality that he wants others to see in “a place, where soon every native will know [his] name” (*Bronson* 00:11:14-00:11:20). The narrator instance, in contrast, provides the audience with more information about the character within this main plot. Without offering explanations, he connects the unmotivated actions of violence into a coherent narrative. The last layer, the commentator instance, abstractly portrays a side of Bronson’s personality that is caught between art, violence, and delusion. In this instance, emotions, feelings of being wrongly treated, and attempts to give reason to the actions are expressed: “Now, I’m not gonna stand here and tell you - yeah - tell you that prison is ‘not bad.’. No! That would be misrepresenting myself and I think enough of that has been done already, don’t you!?” (*Bronson* 00:09:38-00:09:52). With a theatrical grandeur, he mocks the people around him, who applaud his performance. By doubling the audience, the intradiegetic theatre audience as opposed to the real, extradiegteic viewers of the movie, the film points towards the dualisms between reality and performance, as well as authenticity and artificiality.

Refn explains that *Bronson* is a metaphor for someone becoming an artist
(“Making Of” 00:03:26-00:03:37). He depicts Bronson as a showman, who is aware of his role within the prison, but also within media (“Making Of” 00:01:45-00:01:51), reflected by the opening words: “My name is Charles Bronson. All my life, I wanted to be famous” (Bronson 00:00:33-00:00:39). However, this reading only points to the result of the narrative. The process actually depicted is the one of (self-)staging. Throughout the film, characters behave artificially, moving in exaggerated manners, and engaging in overtly scripted conversations. The bold use of lighting, music editing, and mise-en-scène underlines this process. The movie constitutes a meta-narrative of Bronson’s life, a staging of an already staged life. As Tom Hardy in his role, Charles Bronson staged his person, fulfilling a role he has cast himself in. The movie lives off the tension between Bronson’s person and his enactment of hyper-violence. Sudden changes of emotion and unmotivated attacks against police guards become means to fulfill the role of England’s most dangerous prisoner.

This notion especially becomes apparent during one of the last scenes, in which Bronson is depicted naked, covered in black shoe polish, holding a prison staff member hostage (Bronson 01:17:37-01:25:02). Despite being dramatically staged himself, wearing only sunglasses and a hat and holding a mask on a stick, he turns his hostage into a still-life art piece. The artificiality of this scene, combined with symbols of theatre and personality-layering, engage with the topic of (self-) staging on multiple levels. Eventually, it becomes apparent that the character of Bronson is a construction of self-imposed role description and the elicited expectations from his environment in response to that role. The third layer of his character, the commentator instance,
becomes the true embodiment of the whole person: a one-man show, performing in front of an attentive audience.

The controversial appeal of Bronson has not abated since its release more than ten years ago. Its mesmerizing visuals and theatrical portrayal of the prisoner push the viewer’s empathy, although the movie blatantly states that he is undeserving of it. Nicolas Winding Refn’s directing style combined with Tom Hardy’s performance create a multilayered enigma of a person that requires an active reception from its audience that has not lost its intricacy and allure. The same holds true for the interpretations the film allows, which are universal and timeless. It is a meta-narrative of the person himself, but also a meta-commentary on celebrity society and going to great lengths in order to become known and famous, no matter on which grounds.

On any account, it is an exceptional movie that captures different angles and layers of a single person and encourages an active examination of morals and justice. It is only fitting that this prison movie is unconventional in its very make-up: instead of attempting to break out of prison, Bronson will do everything to stay in it.

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3. Films that can be compared to Bronson are scarce, due to the exceptional visualization of its plot and themes. A similar set-up can be seen in Chopper (2000) by Australian film director Andrew Dominik, which is based on the autobiographical books of the criminal Mark Brandon ‘Chopper’ Read. A movie picking up the intricate question of morality and becoming (in)famous is Dan Gilroy’s Nightcrawler (2014), starring Jake Gyllenhaal. Gilroy’s screenplay, as well as Gyllenhaal’s performance create an eerie atmosphere that constitutes the ground for a discussion of ethics in journalism in a voyeuristic society. Lastly, S. Craig Zahler’s Brawl in Cell Block 99 (2017), starring Vince Vaughn, is another example of an uncharacteristic prison movie, where the protagonist’s aim is to advance ever further into a prison. Similar to Refn, Zahler’s depiction of brutality is unapologetic with impactful visuals that circle around the metaphor of being trapped.
Bibliography


CONTRIBUTORS

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Debbie Cutshaw is a retired prison caseworker who first received her Bachelor’s degree in Criminal Justice from the University of Nevada-Reno in 1974. She finished up two Master’s degrees in teaching English and Literature while instructing inmates part time due to a shortage of prison college instructors. She saw a need to share African American Slave Narratives and poetry with them also which they appreciated. Suffering from retirement angst in 2007, Debbie entered screenplay contests and posted An Ordinary Death, about the power of love in Theresienstadt Concentration camp, and Don’t Mention Shakespeare, (based on her short story, “Shakespeare’s Shoes”) about a time traveling 1999 Henry Condell which she posted on Amazon Studios. Her first academic paper was presented in April 2006: “Love, Suspense and Therapy in Rear Window and North by Northwest” at University of California Riverside, followed by “Dust as a Signifier in Owen Wister’s The Virginian, A Horseman of the Plains” at the University of Westminster in July 2006 in London. When not visiting grandkids, she spends her time researching and writing about western film, notably in Love in Western Film and Television, Lonely Hearts and Happy Trails, (edited by Sue Matheson) or presenting essays at PCA such as, “The Necessity of Domestic Violence in Westward the Women” (1951), in 2014 in Chicago. A Quint article, “Much Depends on Coffee in Western Film—Sometimes” was first presented at Film History 2012 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Debbie is currently writing “A Hatred of Domesticity and Post WWII Accepted use of Violence in Westward the Women” (1951) believing that more study is needed on the film. She recently finished grading film essays at the University of Nevada Reno, and still teaches Writing Skills to Inmates, when not volunteering for the community, or playing with her dogs, Daphne and Niles (who mirror their namesakes).

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51.4 (December 2018): Living On

This issue brings together papers presented at Mosaic’s 50th-anniversary Living On Symposium, held at the University of Manitoba on March 9-11, 2017. Taking its theme and title from Jacques Derrida’s “Living On/Borderlines” (1979), the Symposium brought together participants from diverse disciplines to reflect on the continuing life of their fields into the next 50 years. The issue includes essays by Antonio Calcagno, Diane Enns, Daniel Fischlin, Alphonso Lingis, Elizabeth Rottenberg, and Nicholas Royle.

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The quint’s forty fourth issue is issuing a call for theoretically informed and historically grounded submissions of scholarly interest—as well as creative writing, original art, interviews, and reviews of books. The deadline for this call is the 15th of August 2019—but please note that we accept manu/digi-scripts at any time.

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