STUDIES FOR THE FUTURE:

STUDENT CONTRIBUTIONS UNDER THE NATIONAL TALENT PROGRAM AT THE ENGLISH AND AMERICAN STUDIES SCIENTIFIC STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION OF THE ESZTERHÁZY KÁROLY CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

TANULMÁNYOK A JÖVŐNEK:

VÁLOGATÁS AZ ESZTERHÁZY KÁROLY KATOLIKUS EGYETEM ANGLISZTIKA ÉS AMERIKANISZTIKA TDK-KÖRE HALLGATÓI MUNKÁIBÓL A NEMZETI TEHETSÉG PROGRAM TÁMOGATÁSÁVAL





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MINISZTERELNÖKSÉG Családokért Felelős Tárca Nélküli Miniszter

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A NOTE FROM THE EDITOR

An educator at any level of the school system has not only to fulfil tasks imposed by the present, but help the emergence of the future generation of scholars. It is always a special pleasure for an instructor in a higher education institution to help their students to reach higher or be present at the launching of their careers. Consequently, I feel privileged to become the editor of the present volume containing their scholarly essays.

The treatises published in this volume include the results of rigorous research performed by the members of the Scientific Students' Association of the Department of English and American Studies at Eszterházy Károly Catholic University.

The articles display a great variety and cover a rather wide area of studies. Anna Merényi retraces the emergence of the female private investigator in contemporary American hard boiled fiction and compares her to her male counterpart. Dominik Gócza explores the manifestations of the American value system in Frederick Douglass' slave narrative and Sarolta Jakab explores the potential causes behind the Salem witch trials with special emphasis on the public health aspects. Levente Nyíri sheds light at the changing depiction of the male protagonist in the God of War video game series. Enikő Kovács applies the theory of the abject in exploring the female gothic and the same topic is discussed by Anna Juhász as she focuses on the portrayal of women in Edgar Allan Poe's gothic short fiction. Last but not least, Sára Megyesi compares the media portrayal of John F. Kennedy with the President's real life.

As the editor of this volume let me express my hope that the readers will find as much enjoyment in perusing these articles as the respective authors did during writing their contributions.

András Tarnóc Editor

Eger, 20 June, 2022.

CONTRIBUTORS

Dominik Martin Gócza

Dominik Martin Gócza is an ambitious English & American Studies undergraduate student with a relatively newfound fascination with writing and publication. During his 3-years long studies at the Eszterházy Károly Catholic University, he acquainted himself with the necessary educational background that was essential for scholarly publications. He is a renowned and accepted figure in university life, he participated as judge twice in the Institutional Round of the National Scientific Students' Associations' Conference, he received various prestigious scholarships as well as a reward for his outstanding academic performance. Dominik's contribution to the National Talent Program will hopefully provide a comprehensive and fascinating insight into Frederick Douglass' slave narrative.

Sarolta Jakab

For 3 years now, Sarolta Jakab has been active in the fields of English and American Studies as a relatively ardent student of Eszterházy Károly Catholic University. She currently resides in Eger, where she intends to proceed in the investigation of American culture with the help of an MA program, in the very same institution. Her motivation to scholarly contribution is reinforced by her successful (first ever) thesis and BA degree. Driven by her personal interest, she has previously carried out an extensive amount of academic research about the historical background of the Salem witch trials and hence aims to give readers a broader insight into the event, regarding the versatility of its possible direct causes.

Anna Juhász

Anna Juhász completed her studies with a B.A. degree in 2021 at the American Studies specialization program of the Institute of English and American Studies at Eszterházy Károly College. Her research project focusing on the female characters of Edgar Allan Poe's gothic short stories started in 2020. Her main research interests include the crime and gothic literature of the 19th century and the related issues of early feminism.

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An Investigation of the Representation of the American Value System in Frederick Douglass' Narrative

Dominik Martin Gócza

I

A certain separation between the primary- and secondary values is present in major American works, specifically in one of Frederick Douglass' most recognized literary achievements. The question I intend to examine is how do these values and ideas reflect back and present us with the very meaning of the United States of America (USA). These underlying themes are although present, but mostly not explicitly explained and certainly not separated based on perceived importance, hence the primary and secondary method of separation, which examines them in a more comprehensive manner. This separation is required to better understand their significance in the field of value study in American studies.

Frederick Douglass' themes of the (American) values certainly convey those values to the readers in a unique setting and rather uncommonly. I say 'American' values parenthetically, because most of the values that appear in his book are so universal in the 21st century, that they are subject to broad interpretation, therefore 'American' values could be realized in a myriad of ways. Presenting those values in his book definitely had its reasons, but he either subconsciously did so or he possibly aimed to more genuinely convey his message. The primary aim of this journal article is to analyze the primary- and secondary values of the American discourse and associate them with the examination of Douglass' slave narrative, titled the *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (1845). I also intend to explore the possible reasonings as to why Douglass' gave priority to certain American values in his autobiography, while he ignored or did not put enough emphasis on certain others. In addition, I aim to give an explanation of what elements of his narrative are possibly based on propagandistic purposes.

Zsolt Virágos offers one of the most comprehensive understandings of the examination of the core and secondary values. The basic premise of the renowned author is that "a normally functioning society in the state of relative cultural stability must have a central, Primary Core, surrounded within the larger culture by satellites of external, secondary cores. These discrete cores tend to be linked with one another, either through analogy [~] or opposition [<-»], or both" (Virágos, "Diagnosing" 28-29). Virágos also provides four of his most intrinsic core values, as he states "The fundamental values of American civilization [are] liberty, equality, democracy, and individualism" (Virágos, "Diagnosing" 29). If one were to individually evaluate these values, they would find that their universality makes them excessively vague and broad in terms of interpretation, since anyone can define them in their own way. However, the idea they represented in the 19th and 20th century America can be easily expanded upon via the use of the tools of public discourse (like the "Declaration of Independence" or Douglass' Narrative). Although, it would be virtually impossible to thoroughly analyze the wide number of materials to facilitate the basic premise of what roles do core values play in the entire social system of the USA, I will attempt to concisely dissect them, and associate them with Douglass' book. One should also consider the fact that the cores by Zsolt Virágos can be indefinitely expanded upon, so the number of major and secondary values in the USA and in the world can both be varying.

The scholarly works of Luther Luedtke and Robin Williams enables me to develop an argument for how specific secondary values can be determined. By comparing the two authors' ideas on the basis of Virágos' categorization concept, I can determine what constitutes as primary and as secondary aspect of the USA. Relying on that information, I will be able to use selected values to deduct the various affiliations regarding the American value system.

In the essay anthology titled *Making America: The Society & Culture of the United States* (1992), Luedtke outlines the following set of values: "individual personality, self-reliance, humanitarianism, external conformity, tolerance of diversity, efficiency and practicality, freedom, democracy, nationalism and patriotism, idealism and perfectionism, mobility and change" (20). Similarly these concepts and other ones can also be found in one of sociologist Robin Williams' works as he identifies almost the same key components in the American social system in the form of: "activity and work, achievement and success, moral orientation, humanitarianism,

efficiency and practicality, science and secular rationality, material comfort, progress, equality, freedom, democracy, external conformity, nationalism and patriotism, and individual personality" (33).

Both writers present almost identical or abbreviated versions of the core ideas of Virágos' "liberty, equality, democracy, and individualism" (Virágos, "Diagnosing" 29). In accordance with Virágos' interpretation of the two sets of values, among the items listed above the core values of freedom, democracy, individualism and equality are still applicable to the primary core, while any other is regarded as a secondary value including "external conformity, nationalism and patriotism, individual personality," or "self-reliance, humanitarianism, efficiency and practicality." These are all extensions of the cores and are much more specific than their primary corresponding counterparts (Luedtke 20; Williams 33).

These values are all pivotal parts of both the social and cultural elements in the fabric of American society. Most of the features above (both core and secondary) manifest themselves in Douglass' Narrative. Using Virágos' fundamental core values and one selected from the secondary category of Williams and Luedtke, I will be able to comprehensively analyze Douglass' narrative and more competently channel the significance of values to the reader. The secondary values I choose to analyze in more detail are practicality and efficiency.

Freedom (or liberty, which I use interchangeably) as a value is considered to be first value with an utmost priority for Americans, since it is integral to American history and culture simultaneously. In the value and belief system of the USA, most scholars like Luther Luedtke, Robin Williams and Eckhard Fiedler all agree and evaluate freedom as one of the first key value components of the US (Luedtke 20; Williams 33; Fiedler et al. 25). I believe that for the purpose of emphasizing the significance of the freedom value, first I must clarify what this value stands for.

In my experiences, it is also the most challenging value to analyze or define, since most other core values identified by Zsolt Virágos, such as individualism, democracy and equality, root their origins back to this basic belief. Because of its overly simple, yet complex nature, it is possibly the most challenging definition to figure out. As I stated before, the definition for the core values varies greatly, since they are so universal that everyone may view it differently. However, I believe Karl Deutsch captures what freedom as a value constitutes. He states:

For the purposes of this inquiry, let us measure a man's "freedom" by the number of significantly different choices between actions actually available to and recognized by that man. This definition implies preference for a larger number of choices over smaller one.

All choices are choices between operations, including physical and mental operations as well as the operation of relative non-interference or passivity (Deutsch 150-151).

In Deutsch's assumption, this means that "there are actual opportunities for choice in the world that surrounds us" (Deutsch 151). Freedom and liberty alike are understood as not just cultural or social beliefs, but as a constitutionally protected right for all American citizens. As most people are aware, this has not always been the case, because they are contradictory in a sense that "American culture has been the long coexistence of an official creed of individual freedom, equality, opportunity, and justice and the de facto, when not de jure, discrimination against African Americans" (Luedtke 21).

Equality as a core value has the same attributions in complexity as the value of freedom. One may define equality as being "centrally concerned with the classic civil and political rights that constitute the fundamental freedoms of liberal democratic societies" (Baker 116). Equality may even be more than a simple value, because it can be used for "constructing one or more coherent sets of principles for a good society. Such principles can be used to criticise existing social institutions and systems and to suggest ways to improve or replace them" (Baker 120-121). I often find this value unusual, because of its relationship with inequality. My assumption is that any political decision that limits or extends one's rights as a citizen (within the logical and reasonable boundaries of common sense), should apply to everyone, regardless of political affiliation, class, age, gender, race, etc.

Those who are left out on the basis of pre-formulated judgement (prejudice), would automatically be considered as victims of discrimination, therefore subject to exploitation and unfair possibilities in life. However, just as Baker remarked above "principles can be used to criticise existing social institutions and systems", therefore even if a new law applies to everyone, it is through inequality that people address societal, historical, and cultural differences between each other and adjust accordingly (Baker 120-121). There will never be a time in the history of our species that all people will be equal, but the continuing progress of reaching better and more efficient equality will be a goal that humanity should pursue. Consequently, equality and inequality will never cease to exist, since they are both dependent on each other. Even as a value, equality is universally applicable.

In the interpretation of Bellah (and others), "individualism" is described as being the "first language" which all American citizens foremost favor in their lives along with self- determination and self-sufficiency (viii). Although, the determination by Bellah (and others) is correct, it is mainly a 20th century view on this value, which compels me to further analyze individualism on a different basis. The classic work called *Democracy in America* (1835) by French social scientist Alexis de Tocqueville, paints a somewhat different picture of how individualism used to be realized during the early 19th century USA. As he puts it "Individualism is a reflective and peaceable sentiment that disposes each citizen to isolate himself from the mass of those like him and to withdraw to one side with his family and his friends, so that after having thus created a little society for his own use, he willingly abandons society at large to itself" (Tocqueville 477).

The French social thinker makes a notion that individualism was a form of social life that encouraged the individual to determine his/her own role in society, given the circumstance of desiring to participate in it. A citizen of the US is someone who would take their own independence and embrace it as they see fit. As Tocqueville points out, "These owe nothing to anyone, they expect so to speak nothing from anyone; they are in the habit of always considering themselves in isolation, and they willingly fancy that their whole destiny is in their hands" (478). Bellah (and others), view Tocqueville's comments as a form of criticism of the American individualism, since he believed that this way Americans may undermine their own freedom. This would in turn lead to authoritarianism, which encourages such isolative tendencies (Bellah et al. 37-38).

I believe that the claim made by Bellah is false. Although authoritarianism and isolation are usually connected in the context of American individualism by Tocqueville, it is misunderstood. Tocqueville's observations on American democracy and individualism show a distinctive society that was not necessarily ready to join a social communion, however, I do not think that this fact ever led to extensive abuse of political power (excluding the slavery, which was more commonly accepted throughout history). Another way to approach individualism is on the basis of Christian values, in which individualism possesses a deep-rooted origin in North America. "The biblical tradition, a second language familiar to most Americans through a variety of communities of faith, teaches concern for the intrinsic value of individuals because of their relationship to the transcendent" (Bellah et al. ix). Up to and after the introduction of the republic system, it set a common morality, which has long followed virtually all Americans in other aspects of life such as the Protestant work ethic.

The value of democracy is a deep-seated element of the USA. As I stated before, most core values are hard to define, however, democracy can be understood as governing by the will of the public's logic and reasoning (Oommen 4). On more basic terms, democracy is "thought to be a matter of collective self-governance" (Southwood 504). Through these explanations, I see democracy as a system in which

all participants of a democratic society have the opportunity to enforce their will by the means of electing certain government officials via voting. This means that most issues may be resolved in society based on public opinion, however morally positive or derogatory they may be, they are addressed with the implementation of democracy.

All democratic countries apply this method, especially the USA. The sheer volume of democracy, makes it one of the most significant aspects in a free society, as a consequence one should prevent and/or denounce any incident that increases the endangerment of democracy, which would cause its jeopardy or dissolution (Southwood 518). As an American value, it is highly appreciated, since it furthers the will of the people, hence the famous quote by President Abraham Lincoln: "government of the people, by the people, for the people". On an individual level, democracy is reinforced by "Numerous American authors [who] plead with their readers to keep in mind that a true democracy must respect individuals and encourage the greatest possible degree of personal self-expression in its citizens" (Baym 221). I conclude that this suggestion by Baym is even truer in case of Douglass, who frequently makes observations on individualism. As Virágos expressed, the cores are closely linked to each other, which is evident in Baym's statement, since democracy and individuality, to some extent, correspond with each other through analogy. Therefore, they depend on each other to culminate in maximal efficiency.

Liberty and freedom were Douglass' main underlying values that routinely appear in the Narrative. Douglass remarks in his narrative "The silver trump of freedom had roused my soul to eternal wakefulness", meaning that freedom as value and as a goal was essential to him (Douglass 35). There are many plausible reasons for Douglass considering liberty as his primary goal in life. Clearly, the most obvious and understandable of those reasons is his forced confinement, however, as he was aware of the impact it might have had on the mind of the readers, he intentionally and rightfully made the core value of freedom his priority in the narrative. One quote embodies Douglass' idea on his perception of liberty and how that correlates with slavery, as he stated, "I often found myself regretting my own existence, and wishing myself dead; and but for the hope of being free, I have no doubt, but that I should have killed myself, or done something for which I should have been killed" (Douglass 36).

Here Douglass plays with the idea of committing suicide or making a situation, which would result in his demise, but the thought of freedom prevents him from doing so. Later on, in the book, his attitude changed from his depressing state of mind, when he got into a fight with one of his masters called Mr. Covey. The fact that he showed irreversible defiance against his master, knowing very well that his strong resistance will probably end up in his death or severe punishment, was the turning point in his life. As he states, "This battle with Mr. Covey was the turning-point in my career as a slave. It rekindled the few expiring embers of freedom, and revived within me a sense of my own manhood. It recalled the departed self-confidence, and inspired me again with a determination to be free" and "I did not hesitate to let it be known of me, that the white man who expected to succeed in whipping, must also succeed in killing me" (Douglass 63). Therefore, Douglass changes his view of barely clinging to freedom as a last hope and reassures his determination on his own freedom.

Douglass also states, "In coming to a fixed determination to run away, we did more than Patrick Henry, when he resolved upon liberty or death. With us it was a doubtful liberty at most, and almost certain death if we failed. For my part, I should prefer death to hopeless bondage" (74). His dedication to fight with all means for his freedom and the fact that he would even devote his life for it, has the same determination as the aforementioned Patrick Henry's famous quote "give me liberty or give me death!" (Patrick Henry in NCC Staff). Douglass' idea of establishing a parallel with the patriotic Patrick Henry leads one to believe that the secondary values of Luedtke's abovementioned "patriotism and nationalism" as secondary values were integral to portray himself as a 'freedom fighter' (20). For this reason, I suspect that Douglass' representation of the freedom value is unquestionably authentic and closely resembles its affiliation with Luedtke's secondary value. One might also come to the conclusion, that freedom might have been "(...) exaggerated" for propagandistic purposes, which I believe to be somewhat true, however, due to Douglass' circumstances, the message and the goal he tried to achieve, it would be an acceptable motive for the author to exaggerate this value (Virágos, "Portraits" 198).

Equality as a value is exhibited through Douglass' continuous comparison between him, different slaves, his captors and ordinary Caucasians. When Douglass recalls him seeing a city slave, a slave with vastly different conditions and lifestyle, he says, "A city slave is almost a freeman, compared with a slave on the plantation. He is much better fed and clothed, and enjoys privileges altogether unknown to the slave on the plantation" (Douglass 30). Although, neither of them are equal in the face of pro-slavery laws, still they are different in comparison. One slave may face far more suffering, torture and forced work, than the others who at the very least can enjoy things as simple as receiving decent food rations and clothing. From Douglass' account, it seems some slaves are in a sense more 'equal' to the whites than others.

Douglass also stated, "I had very strangely supposed, while in slavery, that few of the comforts, and scarcely any of the luxuries of life were enjoyed at the north, compared with what were enjoyed by the slaveholders of the south." Therefore he refers to equality by comparing his conditions to that of slave masters, which of course was vastly different (Douglass 96). This is a constant topic of discussion in the book and the comparisons made in it were possibly used as a deterrent. So, the assumption can be made that Douglass intended to use this imagery as a means to communicate the acute social inequalities in the 19th century USA.

Douglass makes frequent comparisons between different slaveholders as well. Most share similar methods in slaveholding and exhibit especially cruel methods like his former masters: Mr. Covey, Thomas Auld, Edward Lloyd and Captain Anthony. The slaves' treatment differed to a great range, since among the owners' motives and methods one can find fanatic religious justification, the practice of pre-inflicted punishment, punishment for no reason at all, etc. On the other hand, Douglass acknowledges those individuals who at the very least display some level of fairness or provide more equal treatment despite being slaveholders still. He states:

But to return to Mr. Freeland, and to my experience while in his employment. He, like Mr. Covey, gave us enough to eat; but, unlike Mr. Covey, he also gave us sufficient time to take our meals. He worked us hard, but always between sunrise and sunset. He required a good deal of work to be done, but gave us good tools with which to work. His farm was large, but he employed hands enough to work it, and with ease, compared with many of his neighbors. My treatment, while in his employment, was heavenly, compared with what I experienced at the hands of Mr. Edward Covey. (Douglass 69)

Douglass recalls his time at Mr. Freeland's plantation in a manner that is unseen in case of other captors. This shows that Douglass was willing to feature such slavers who are not as vicious or self-righteous as others. This indicates that not all slavers practiced equally brutal and barbarous treatment of slaves, therefore strengthening Douglass' benefit of the doubt in the Narrative. Another comparison between people is simply based on ordinary folks, who were fortunate enough to be born white. Douglass makes this clear in the very first page as he states, "The white children could tell their ages. I could not tell why I ought to be deprived of the same privilege. I was not allowed to make any inquiries of my master concerning it" (Douglass 1).

By today's standards, such a simple fact as knowing one's age seems not like a 'privilege', but a universally equal fact in life, which was not the case for slaves in the early 19th century USA. The fundamental value of equality in Douglass' interpretation reveals his deprivation of such basic rights that limits him as an individual, but amplifies his goal of pursuing happiness. For Frederick Douglass, equality is in all likelihood the second most significant value he stood by. Douglass' ambition to free the slaves from the physical confinement of slavery expanded further to desiring to grant them equal social- and political freedom. In order to achieve that, it was necessary to ensure emancipation from slavery, giving citizenship and securing voting rights for black males, which were all made into reality with the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendment to the US Constitution, respectively.

Following his ambition to do away with slavery, granting blacks equal rights and equal representation were among the foremost of goals for Douglass. Although, he promoted equal rights to women as well, he concluded that because of the violent and racist treatment of black people they had to first promote black equalization while addressing the issues of female equality only later. The American Woman Suffrage Association argued that if black equalization is properly addressed, then achieving female suffrage and equal rights would be less challenging, so they settled to continue their work together with Douglass (Darrah 151-152). Therefore, Douglass' determination to achieve equality transcended his membership in the black community in the USA.

As Sandefur reflects on Douglass' view on the value of individualism, he states, "In fact, individualism was the centerpiece of his creed—a creed he embraced proudly and with full consciousness" (xii). I would argue that Douglass, as an individual, does not directly assert his state of being in a literal sense. Douglass steadily develops, with the reader, from object to subject in the course of a hundred pages. This is clearly outlined in his narrative. The ultimate goal of individualism as a value is to establish one's 'well-being' in all aspects of his or her life. Douglass constantly mentions that some of his masters had a belief in the justification of slavery, which was enforced through religious means, when he remarks:

I have said my master found religious sanction for his cruelty. As an example, I will state one of many facts going to prove the charge. I have seen him tie up a lame young woman, and whip her with a heavy cowskin upon her naked shoulders, causing the warm red blood to drip; and, in justification of the bloody deed, he would quote this passage of Scripture—'He that knoweth his master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes'. (Douglass 48)

Sandefur elaborates on this by saying "This propaganda was a powerful device for weakening the incipient individualism of those kept in servitude, strengthening the resolve of the tiny master class, and assuaging guilt among whites who, like Captain Anthony, owned few slaves, or none at all" (2). Douglass deeply condemned this cruel practice and as a profoundly religious person who would frequently pray for his salvation and liberation, he understood the reason behind the possible intention of slaveholders. They managed to deform and corrupt individualism among blacks, using one, if not the most significant aspect of the African-American community against them, which is religion.

Another example of the slave narrative's manifestation of the value of individualism is through the secondary value of "self-reliance" by Luedtke (20). Douglass portrays his great sense of accomplishment in work. Towards the end of his book, after he got a job as a calker, Douglass says that he was able to command the highest wages given to the most experienced calkers.

I was now of some importance to my master. I was bringing him from six to seven dollars per week. I sometimes brought him nine dollars per week: my wages were a dollar and a half a day. After learning how to calk, I sought my own employment, made my own contracts, and collected the money which I earned. My pathway became much more smooth than before; my condition was now much more comfortable. (84)

Douglass takes great pride and joy in his employment. This is due to actually earning a decent wage and presumably him feeling becoming more and more self-sustaining and self-reliant. It was a unique way of communicating how the value of individualism appeared in his work. His well-being and feeling successful at work reveal a correspondence with William's and Luedtke's secondary value of "achievement and success" and "(...) individual personality (...)" (Williams 33; Luedtke 20). However, this would not last for too long, and the reason is that

[He] was now getting, as I have said, one dollar and fifty cents per day. I contracted for it; I earned it; it was paid to me; it was rightfully my own; yet, upon each returning Saturday night, I was compelled to deliver every cent of that money to Master Hugh. And why? Not because he earned it,—not because he had any hand in earning it,—not because I owed it to him,—nor because he possessed the slightest shadow of a right to it; but solely because he had the power to compel me to give it up. The right of the grim-visaged pirate upon the high seas is exactly the same. (Douglass 85)

Douglass feels rightfully angered by the dispossession of something that he earned with his own two hands. This event also has a high resemblance to two of Williams' key secondary values of American society, which are "activity and work" and "material comfort" (30). By the latest quote I referenced from Douglass, it can be assumed that he deeply cared for these secondary values noted by Williams'. It has always been crucial in the world that an individual could actively work and

create material comfort in life, thus making Douglass' ambition of breaking free of his confinement is even more symbolic.

Democracy as a primary value was crucial to Douglass, because he saw it as one of the only assurances of liberating his brethren. The way of how the black slaves would achieve their desire to take their place in politics by democratic means was always disputed. There was a constant fear among citizens that those "Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow", therefore fearing the potential of a slave rebellion (Sandefur on Lord Byron xvi-xvii). There was a notion in the 19th century, that liberty should not be granted to African-Americans by the white majority of the voters, simply because from then on, the freedom of the blacks would be at the democratic mercy of the white majority (Sandefur xvii).

Instead of believing in such notions, Douglass dismissed the idea of not gaining liberty through the white majority of the votes as "He believed that only by taking responsibility for their own fates—through hard work, education, and diligence; by undertaking the duties of citizenship on the battlefield, in elections, and in the jury box; by demanding and meriting an equal place in democratic society—could black Americans achieve and deserve their own liberty" (Sandefur xvii).

In his narrative, Douglass even mentions "A representative could not be prouder of his election to a seat in the American Congress, than a slave on one of the out-farms would be of his election to do errands at the Great House Farm" (Douglass 10). This sort of comparison is meant to be 'compliment' for the democratic institutions of the USA, which would eventually grant Douglass' wishes on emancipation.

Furthermore, there are other indications of democracy in the book's preface. Here we are familiarized with Daniel O'Connell an Irish national, emancipator, and abolitionist (Garrison in Douglass Preface ix). Although, he was a politician in Ireland and represented the Irish Catholic majority, his influence and representation of the Irish people's cause in attaining independence from Britain was sufficient enough to be mentioned in Garrison's Preface. In this sense, O'Connell's aspiration had a striking affinity with the American Revolutionary War. William Lloyd Garrison remarks on O'Connell's commentary of the slavery issue, as he states:

No matter (...) under what specious term it may disguise itself, slavery is still hideous. It has a natural, an inevitable tendency to brutalize every noble faculty of man. An American sailor, who was cast away on the shore of Africa, where he was kept in slavery for three years, was, at the expiration of that period, found to be imbruted and stultified— he had lost all reasoning power; and having forgotten his native language, could only utter some savage gibberish between Arabic and English, which nobody could understand, and

which even he himself found difficulty in pronouncing. So much for the humanizing influence of THE DOMESTIC INSTITUTION! (Garrison in Douglass Preface ix).

Garrison includes the harsh criticism by O'Connell, since the Irish nationalist leader severely disagreed with the USA's policy on African-Americans. The reason behind Garrison, including O'Connell's disapproval of the USA's domestic situation at the time served as a grave reminder that common sense outside of the US dictates the wrongful nature of the practice of slavery. I assume that the mentioning of this Irish patriot was for propagandistic reasons (although they also did it to reflect truth). Douglass was an avid believer in democracy, however, it is also worth mentioning that he rarely points it out directly in the book. The only logical assumption, I can think of, for not putting enough emphasis on democracy is that Douglass could have felt disappointed in democracy, that it failed him and his fellow slaves, still he knew more than anyone, that democracy was also the solution to his problems. Douglass was a solid believer in the value of democracy and the opportunities that it represents, which was also evident in his ambition of emancipation and female suffrage, that could not have been achieved without the support of the American people, regardless of racial or gender tensions, respectively.

He exceeded himself not only in his efforts to bring forth emancipation, but afterwards, for instance, he continued his agenda to make female suffrage a reality as demonstrated among others in an 1847 newspaper article "Right Is of No Sex–Truth Is of No Color–God Is the Father of Us All, and All We Are Brethren" (Douglass, [a] "Rochester" 1). His' remark about 'sex' being an unimportant feature, when it comes to 'rights', shows that one's sex affiliation should not be a dividing factor in the American public life. Douglass' support reveals that in his mindset, American women should not experience any form of limitations of freedom, equality and democracy, nor share any commonality with slave treatment. Despite the fact that later on, he did place the black issues above those of female issues in society, he eventually endorsed suffrage for women after his fellow slaves were set free.

As I discussed in individualism, Douglass highly evaluated the paid work he did as a calker, however, due to practicality and efficiency (as secondary values) being strongly connected to the Protestant work ethic, it is worth investigating further Douglass' attitude towards working. The Protestant work ethic is characterized by "discipline, thrift, lean welfare, and above all, hard work" (Jordan 7). All these virtues promote a strict life, that ensures one's complete determination to work and God.

Following Douglass' escape, he found "employment (...) in stowing a sloop with a load of oil. It was new, dirty, and hard work for me; but I went at it with a glad heart

and a willing hand. I was now my own master. It was a happy moment, the rapture of which can be understood only by those who have been slaves. It was the first work, the reward of which was to be entirely my own" (Douglass 99). Douglass spoke graciously about his own labour, but he also noted how challenging and hard it was. Despite that, he still found enjoyment in his employment, which is an admirable feat, but it also has close connections with the Protestant work ethic, which I mentioned earlier.

Therefore, he projected the value of practicality and efficiency, through hard working and radiated his strangely positive attitude towards any jobs. This is further implied in the narrative, since after he left stowing, he states "Finding my trade of no immediate benefit, I (...) prepared myself to do any kind of work I could get to do There was no work too hard—none too dirty. I was ready to saw wood, shovel coal, carry wood, sweep the chimney, or roll oil casks,—all of which I did for nearly three years in New Bedford, before I became known to the anti-slavery world" (Douglass 99). Through those three years of hard labour, Douglass did not falter and executed any odd jobs effectively. His practical approach presents him as a true representative of the Protestant work ethic.

III

In conclusion, I firmly believe Douglass to be a promoter of the abovementioned values, which becomes rather obvious in his own narrative. His adherence to these values may have had a myriad of reasons, but it is important to remember that his confinement justifies virtually every aspect of his aspiration to the betterment of the African-American cause in the 19th century.

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Exploring the potential causes behind the Salem witch hunts with special attention to ergotism

Sarolta Jakab

I

The purpose of the multidisciplinary treatise from which this chapter derives is to thoroughly map the Salem witch trials, but above all to academically explore their causes, in regards to which an attempt was made to discern potentially significant contributing factors. The topic in which the factual event is expounded contentwise includes the founding and development of the concerned colony and Puritan ideology with its effects on the isolated society, the accusations, the witch-hunt, legal procedures, together with the prosecutions within the witchcraft frenzy. Overall, the study is composed around that 1692 Salem, where a number of individuals had their personal liberty restricted or were directly executed outright on suspicion of witchery during the famous witch trials.

I intend to shed light on a potentially cardinal contributing factor to the incident, researched by among others Linnda R. Caporael, Benjamin C. Ray, David Harley, Mary K. Matossian, Nicholas P. Spanos & Jack Gottlieb, Paul Boyer & Stephen Nissenbaum and Franklin G. Mixon. With a great reliance on preliminary studies, I also attempt to discover and comprehend yet unexplored interdependencies and notable correlations, highlighting my assumption; that as a cultural episode, the witch craze was not dealt enough with, not even thenceforth Arthur Miller's "The Crucible" (1953) was published.

Regarding all the sources that appear in this chapter, the official system of MLAreferencing style is applied. Regarding the contemporary research apparatus, I focus on theories constructed around the notions of New England Puritanism, hysteria, bewitchment, ergotism, and spectral evidence. Aside from the main highlight of this chapter that is none other than the public health aspect, other features of the respective crisis are all worth devoting attentive analysis to. One section of my expansive analysis is for example generally meant to deal with the cultural factors, including the social-religious aspect, that determined the approach of the people of Salem to such phenomena. By introducing the historical period, I devoted special attention to the Puritan attitude, which dictated the belief that as such an exceedingly pure community, for the land given, gratitude must have been expressed. Factually, the standpoint and perspective towards religion is dissected. Tersely, the discussion is built around the people who once had the zeal to serve God and acted accordingly, but changed their perspective toward the strict regimen, and with that awakened a collective, conscious dread. I also shortly compared the witch crisis of Salem with other historical events (such as the Crusades), confirming the reality that the religious subjection as a notion reappeared in later intervals and phases.

The legal aspect explained in a different segment of my treatise is elaborated with a cardinal focus on the judicial structure of the historical incident. With a brief overview on the Anglo-Saxon legal system and its manifestation in Salem, it is reviewed how the Puritans related to the "Innocent until proven guilty" principle and how it affected their society. I explained how the processes of incriminations together with the accusations exceeded themselves to be final products of enmities and feuds with neighbours and families. What is more, my assumption, -also suggested by already existing research- that the Salem witch crisis was maintained also because it was beneficial for certain members of the Church is elucidated and highlighted.

In another unit, my analysis centralised around the psychological aspect, that indicates and suggests the investigation of children's overreaction. Together with that, within the factor of generation gap and the attitude of the children towards adults is discussed. The discourse of this final chapter also targeted the matter of possible remedy for emotional problems. Here again, another inquiry joined the exercitation, proposed by not only myself, but another preliminary research; that encourages us to regard the Salem witch hysteria as a tragic, but special event providing entertainment factor for the isolated people. A special thought was given to this specific hypothesis besides the fact that it started from children, that proposes the question of reliability.

Within the dissection of the public health aspect which will be the focus of this chapter, I intend to demonstrate and confirm the theory that the typically marginalised significance (and failed perception of presence) of a disease spread by rye –namely ergotism- indeed had an effect on the incident, particularly the trials. In this part of

my thesis, I also wish to voice how problematic and questionable of a diagnosis was set up, that functioned as a valid cause for the spreading disease around Salem, and how the lack of recognition of the symptoms determined the unpleasant outcome of the historical event. With the help of already existing arguments and some associated connections within the medical-economic approach, I wish to demonstrate that the Salem court intentionally did not list or indicate symptomatic characteristics that would have referred to a medical disease, rather than bewitchment for various reasons, hence maintaining the chaotic beliefs about the condition.

From the analysis provided by my treatise I expect conclusive results concerning the different causes of the Salem witch hysteria, out of which I would like to point out details that, in my opinion, have either been neglected or have not received enough comprehensive attention in previous studies. My study may help not only to understand the episode better, but will point at different inferential reasons that may have contributed to the course of events.

Nicholas P. Spanos and Jack Gottlieb highlighted that "In a recent article of science -H.J. Muller and E. Altenburg, Genetics15, 283 (1930)- it was suggested that the residents of Salem Village, Massachusetts, who in 1692 charged their neighbours with witchcraft did so because of delusions resulting from convulsive ergotism" (Muller qtd. in Spanos & Gottlieb 1390). Hence, the correspondence between the behaviour of the "bewitched" victims and the symptoms of the then common ergotism epidemics shall be analysed as potential concordant matters. Mary K. Matossian points to the work of psychologist Linnda Caporael, who in 1976 "proposed an interesting solution to the problem of why various physical and mental symptoms appeared only in certain communities at certain times. She also suggested that those who displayed symptoms of 'bewitchment' in 1692 were actually suffering from a disease known as convulsive ergotism" (Caporael qtd. in Matossian 335). Caporael unequivocally argued that "the general features of the Salem crisis corresponded to the features of an epidemic of convulsive ergotism, symptoms manifested by the girls who were the principal accusers" (Caporael qtd. in Spanos & Gottlieb 1390). This claim obviously requires a closer and broader inspection. Although, Caporael herself highlights, that "it is one thing to suggest convulsive ergot poisoning as an initiating factor in the witchcraft episode, and quite another to generate convincing evidence that it is more than a mere possibility" (23).

Firstly, in order to understand the origins of the condition, it must be noted that "ergot is a fungus (Claviceps purpurea) that under some conditions infests rye and other cereal grains" and that "when ingested the ergotised grain may produce a variety of cardiovascular effects leading (...) to gangrence (gangrenous ergotism),

or neurological effects leading, among other things, to convulsions (convulsive ergotism)" (Spanos & Gottlieb 1390). "The fungus which causes the formation of ergot grains is very widespread, occurring in practically all parts of the country and attacking a large variety of grasses, particularly rye" (A. Hansen 590). Professional, factual analysis is provided by Caporael, who formerly established that "ergot grows (...) in a slightly curved, fusiform shape with sclerotia replacing individual grains on the host plant. The sclerotia contain a large number of potent pharmacologic agents, the ergot alkaloids" (Caporael 23). "The fungus may dangerously parasitize a crop one year and not reappear again for many years. Contamination of the grain may occur in varying concentrations" (Caporael 23).

Matossian suggests that the emergence and development of ergot is more presumptive on a flat lowland that is damp and adumbral, particularly if it was recently, freshly cultivated (335). Also, the formation of the fungus is assisted by a chilliness brought by winter and it is further promoted by a beneficial humid springtime, that eventuates the ergot growth (Matossian 355). It must be noted that "unfortunately the usual sources of information about food supply, government records, are missing for 1692, but data from tree rings indicate that in 1690,1691, and 1692, the growing season in eastern New England was cooler than average" (Matossian 357).

According to diary records the wintertime of 1690-91, as well as 1691-92, in coastal areas like Essex were extremely frosty (and consequently moist contributing to a more rapid growth), which suggests that unlike regular grains -that failed to survive or produce a significant output- rye managed to thrive, ensuring a nutrimental source for the people of Salem, forcing them to be more reliant on it, nevertheless limiting and hastening their consumption (Hammond qtd. in Matossian 357).

Incidentally, the infestation is transferred to people typically by them eating rye bread that is contaminated by ergot (Caporael 23). Every consumer can become victimised this way, but underage individuals are said to be more vulnerable to the disease for the reason that "they ingest more food per unit of body weight; consequently, they may ingest more poison per unit of body weight" (Matossian 355). "Made up of four groups of alkaloids, ergot produces a variety of symptoms. Diagnosis may be difficult because many symptoms are not present in all cases" (Matossian 355 and Barger 39). Matossian asserts that convulsive ergotism most typically produces symptoms such as diarrhoea and a livid skin colour, and he relies on modern official beliefs as he introduces more manifestations by claiming that "according to current medical thinking, the symptoms of early and mild convulsive ergotism are a slight giddiness, a feeling of frontal pressure in the head, fatigue, depression, nausea with or without vomiting, and pains in the limbs and lumbar region that make walking difficult" (Berde qtd. in Matossian 355). "There are mental disturbances such as mania, melancholia, psychosis, and delirium. All of these symptoms are alluded to in the Salem witchcraft records" (Caporael 23). "Convulsive ergotism also involves symptoms such as sensations of heat and cold in the extremities" (Barger, Bove, et al. qtd. in Spanos & Gottlieb 1391).

There are several more serious, grievous signs of the disease, which can be listed as the followings: "Formication" (a feeling that ants are crawling under the skin), "coldness of the extremities", "muscle twitching", "spasms of the limbs, tongue, and facial muscles", "renal spasm", and "urine stoppage" (Matossian 355). According to Caporael, in the most serious cases the victim might experience epileptic convulsions (Hale qtd. in Caporael 26), "spastic muscular contractions in the extremities, which in severe cases may become permanent sequelae, severe itching and tingling sensations", (Spanos & Gottlieb 1391) "a ravenous appetite following convulsions, and death in severe cases" (Barger, Bove, et. al. qtd. in Spanos & Gottlieb 1391). Permanent dementia is also listed as a potential side effect of the disease (Stockman 237, Spanos & Gottlieb 1391). Matossian also emphasises that the victim "may lie as if dead for six to eight hours and afterward suffer from anaesthesia of the skin, paralysis of the lower limbs, jerking arms, delirium, and loss of speech" and even suffer an idle death afterwards from the disease (355). Visibly, therefore; the side effects of ergot-infested rye can be considered the begetter of an original, out of the ordinary phenomenon as opposed to previous regular illnesses, that assuredly frightened the inhabitants of Salem.

Several other adverse effects of the disease can be pointed out due to modern research, on the one hand, for example "nursing infants can develop ergotism from drinking their mother's milk" (Berde qtd. in Matossian 365). On the other hand, "Caporael points out that one ergot alkaloid, isoergine (lysergic acid amide), has 10 percent of the activity of LSD and might therefore produce perceptual disturbances" (Caporael qtd. in Spanos & Gottlieb 1931). Evidently, the symptoms affecting human behaviour might vary in a significantly wide range, making the identification of the disease challenging.

Although the researches mentioned above render an extremely thorough biological inspection about the structural characteristics, the occurrence of the parasite, and the symptoms, in order to squarely associate the conditions of the 1692 Salem with the favourable plight that potentially cankers the plant, the contingencies have to be analysed in greater detail. As an attempt to demonstrate the candid correspondence,

one shall explore the symptoms even more deeply, that were with justification present in the Salem witchcraft-related court records. During the bewitchment crisis, several of the most common characteristics of this specific condition might be present in cases of ergotism as well, which include temporary blindness, deafness, and speechlessness; also burning sensations; seeing visions like a "ball of fire" or a "multitude in white glittering robes"; and the sensation of "flying through the air out of body" (Matossian 356).

As emphasised before, the Salem court chronicles do not note or specify particular symptoms, which most typically point or refer to ergotism cases, "such as headache, nausea, diarrhoea, dizziness, chills, sweating, livid or jaundiced skin, and the ravenous appetite likely to appear between fits. If these symptoms were present, they may not have been reported because they were not commonly associated with bewitchment. Nor does the court record establish whether or not the victims suffered relapses or how the cases ended" (Matossian 356). According to my standpoint, such details were not by chance smothered up.

Objectively speaking therefore, it is also conceivable that the Salem court as well as the government intentionally and felicitously applied the witchcraft issue as a deterrent example for the public. The court claimed it to be the only or primary reason for the chaos even when they suspected there might be a possible explanation pointing to a medical-economic cause regarding the unusual phenomenon. Could they possibly do so? The potentially correct answer might arise parallel to the fact that "in 1676, before the afflictions in Salem began, a scientific report (by biologist Denis Dodart) on ergot was presented to the French Royal Academie des Sciences that established a link between ergotised rye and (...) bread poisoning known as ergotism" (Mixon 180).

Spanos & Gottlieb refer back to and support the ideas of Barger, who highlighted that "convulsive ergotism has occurred almost exclusively in locales where the inhabitants suffered severe vitamin A deficiencies" (Barger qtd. in Spanos & Gottlieb 1390). They also share the view that "ergot poisoning in individuals with adequate vitamin A intakes leads to gangrenous rather than convulsive symptoms" (Barger qtd. in Spanos & Gottlieb 1390). Then they conclude that given the fact that "vitamin A is found both in fish and dairy products" and that "Salem Village was a farming community and Salem Town, which bordered the village, was a well-known seaport; cows and fish were plentiful", it is problematic to claim explicit correspondence. (Barger qtd. in Spanos & Gottlieb 1390). At the same time, I do believe that vitamin A absence in itself does not determine whether a certain location in Massachusetts was under the influence of ergotism epidemics or not. As the sources formerly confirmed, the

emergence and appearance of the disease is extremely complex, due to the concomitant, almost inextricable manifestations induced by the repertory of symptoms which were sometimes present, sometimes not. What is more, as mentioned before, certain pieces of data from the 1690s were deficient, and their absence not by chance resulted in uncertain diagnosis.

It is known that the accusations peaked between midsummer and early autumn, coming to an end with the governor's command which led to the closing of witch trials as well in October. However, the winter of the same year has brought so-called "religious revivals" that consorted with visions seen by certain members of the society (Burr qtd. in Matossian 357). This study -priming upon the input provided by Cummings- further theorises the idea and the speculation continues as the following: How come the people were not evinced to have symptoms of ergotism before wintertime, if the rye was garnered already during summer? As a complicating factor, the proceeded argument stands: "these episodes occurred in communities heavily dependent on rye as a staple crop and among people so poor that they had to begin eating the new rye crop immediately after the harvest" (Matossian 357).

At the same time, "the diary of Zaccheus Collins, a resident of the Salem area during the epidemic, and probate inventories show that the rye crop often lay unthreshed in the barns until November or December if other food was abundant" (Cummings qtd. in Matossian 357). As the author of the study points out that the possible storability-span of rye and hence ergot is durable, and might last up to one and a half years remaining structurally the same, and concludes that the accrued yield of grain may be authoritative in generating the symptoms, the accuracy of our analysis might increase. By contrast, it is emphasised that if the consumption of rye was postponed until December, the phenomenon is not reconcilable with the rise of convulsive symptoms that people experienced in the summer.

Caporael unambiguously confirmed the idea that "threshing probably occurred shortly before Thanksgiving, (...) and that the children's symptoms appeared in December 1691" (23). She argues that to a certain extent the totality of rye was assailed by ergot and ratiocinates that "it is a matter of the extent of infection and the period of time over which the ergot is consumed rather than the mere existence of ergot that determines the potential for ergotism" (Caporael 23). Apparently, the obtainment of the rye-based aliments typically determined the estimate symptoms among the locals (Caporael 24). Her concluding ideas include that "the growing conditions and the pattern of agricultural practices indeed fit the timing of the 1692 crisis" (Caporael 26). As a corroboration, Mixon also highlights that "according to Mappen (1980),

the climatic (wet) and geographic (low-lying lands) conditions necessary for ergot to flourish were present in Salem during the late 1600s" (Mappen qtd. in Mixon 181).

I find Caporael's concluding thoughts that suggest "One Satan in Salem may well have been convulsive ergotism" (26) indubitable. Seemingly therefore, one cannot proclaim ergotism as the exclusive reason for the Salem witchcraft episode. At the same time, upon analysis, common sense and just the smallest hint of intuition I absolutely would label ergot as a contributing factor, because the former researches resulted in the mapping of way too many correspondences. I have not made a specific mention of animal victims that suffered too, which again affirm the presence of the epidemic. At the same time, heavily relying on Caporael's ideas which are extremely comprehensive, I find it necessary to note that she occasionally seems to exclude factors and evidences that do not verify her study, which resulted in a challenging assignation of mine.

Consequently, in objective reality, I can conclude that a clear dividing line that would confirm either assumption about the impact of ergot on the Salem witch trials, cannot be drafted. Based on the research that has been made to confirm the hypothesis, it would be relatively logical to assume that the presence of ergotism epidemics played a significant role in the Salem witch hysteria.

III

The criteria of 1692 display the eminent magnitude of the historical event, marking the procession memorable. "Instilled into the collective memory of Americans, the Salem trials have become a benchmark for any similar event where unfolded accusations lead to the suffering of innocent victims" (Findling & Thackeray 168). "Additionally the Salem trials have provided an intimate view of the much greater witch craze that had gripped Europe during the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries" (Findling & Thackeray, 168). It is known that the "political instability, economic uncertainty and conflict, and the threat of war with local Native American nations were clear and present concerns to the residents of Salem" (Findling & Thackeray 165) but visibly, there was more to the causes of the mass hysteria than these internal tensions, demonstrated and highlighted by my study.

Even after a thorough analysis and understanding of preliminary treatises about the subject, it is hard to assign about the direct contribution of factual reasons inducing the crisis. As Caporael states, "numerous hypotheses have been devised to explain the occurrence of the Salem witchcraft trials in 1692, yet a sense of bewilderment

and doubt pervades most of the historical perspectives on the subject" (21). Lucidly, the incident occurred way too long ago to enable a provision of all details fully recorded or clarified at our disposal.

Notably, there have been several researches constructed around the topic that aimed at analysing different segments of the hysteria. As Matossian pointed out "the work of historians Paul Boyer & Stephen Nissenbaum, for example, has been concerned with the social reactions to the symptoms of bewitchment, rather than the origin of the symptoms" (Boyer & Nissenbaum qtd. in Matossian 355). It was one way of approaching the historical incident, with a study focalising the societal attitude. Matossian highlights that the settlers supposed the reality of the occult preliminarily and after the Salem incident as well "yet in no other year was there such severe persecutions of witches" (355). To reflect, the matter of religion and Puritan ideology is equivocal, but its role can be labelled significant leastways.

The question of public health is another aspect that was confirmedly worth devoting attention to, because its analysis features ergotism as a verisimilarly impactful phenomenon, displaying that the locals were suffering from the disease. For the community, the symptoms implied the general presence of witches, which is today an inconceivable belief.

The inspected legal aspects highlight it well how "the trials [were] an opportunity to view the dynamics of a primitive frontier culture, established in a hostile environment, clinging to its European beliefs, and restricted by its dogmatic religious beliefs" (Findling & Thackeray 165). The irrationality regarding the court's adjudications is another factor that indubitably characterised the trials, even after the spectral evidence was abrogated. The lack of demonstrable evidence victimised numerous innocent people as the Bible with a function of a penal code failed. What is more, modern, accurate analysis about the legal procedures is not made easier by the fact that "scholars lack the formal records that would identify judges, jurors, and witnesses for each trial" (Burns and Rosenthal qtd. in Norton, "Essex" 485).

Another "avenue of understanding that has yet to be sufficiently explored is that a physiological condition, unrecognized at the time, may have been a factor in the Salem incident" (Caporael 21). In consonance with that, Caporael examined theories posed by M. L. Starkey, who argued that the girls were "overexcited, and committed sensational fraud", and C. Hansen refers to the matter as clinical psychic illness, stating that witchcraft was actively pursued by several individuals slain (Starkey and C. Hansen qtd. in Caporael 22). While I do not personally agree with the latter speculation –what is more, I find its basis doubtful-, I am unable to objectively name the felonious cause or people responsible for the hysteria. Universally, the main reason for the mass-hysteria is the partly unexplored, still existing group-dynamic which has driven the tragic event. It is conventionally recognised that the Salem witchcraft episode is more dominant, prominent and divergent than any other New England-wide located settlement's witch-hunt hysteria (Ray, "The Salem" 40). "It lasted longer, jailed more suspects, condemned and executed more people, ranged over more territory, and afterwards was quickly repudiated by the government as a colossal mistake - a great delusion" (Ray, "The Salem" 40). "As the only example of a mass witch-hunt in American history¹, Salem wit exerts a continuing fascination to both scholarly and professional audiences" (Latner 137). Yet there were indeed several witch crises from all around the world. Karlsen (1987) pointed out that "it was the number of people who spoke out about witchcraft in the language of the clergy that distinguished the 1692-1693 Salem cases from others" (Karlsen qtd. in Mixon 181).

Additionally, this cleric directorate greatly contributed to the crystallisation of an individual's common beliefs about the subject that opposed their ideology. Other historical examples are characterised by the same conception, namely in the case of the Red Scare after World War I, Senator McCarthy's persecution of alleged communists, coinciding with the 1950-53 Korean war among others. This sentiment projected by a higher community decision also provoked fear in people.

By looking for answers, why the occurrences of the frenzy happened and how the panic developed, I wish to point out the eloquent roles that granted the basics of the evident overreaction. The colossal significance of the hysteria is pointing to the aforementioned cultural-religious, public-health, legal, and psychological aspects relatively thoroughly analysed and projected at the reality of the incident, which touched upon not only the Puritans, but the whole isolated community within Massachusetts. According to Latner, "the data confirm the idea that the 'Salem' witchcraft extended well beyond the boundaries of Salem Village or Town" (138). He also accentuates the magnitude of both waves of accusations during the historical episode, marking the secondary stage not less extensive than the first one, basing his reasoning on the facts that each phase concerned approximately equal amounts of sufferers and timespan (practically three months) (Latner 139, 143).

He then continues to verify the relevance of the second period by going as far as to state that "the limited duration of local witch-hunting during this phase is even more dramatic outside of Salem Village and Town" (Latner 141). In consonance

¹ The source makes this explicit statement, nevertheless, I do not agree with it, and hence mention other instances to justify my point.
with this claim, many researches point to the significance of the special interval of the witchcraft hysteria, which I also find significant. The original argumentation can be summed up as follows: "Viewed up close, then, Salem witchcraft was not a continuous, yearlong event but, rather, took place in two distinct phases, each associated with different communities" (Latner 146) in which the witch-hunt and accusations were merely happening in a concise period (Latner 146).

By thinking with the community's mind, in which such an interpretation was dominant, one can conclude that the assured cause of a relevant, befalling, then unknown disease could confirmedly not be other than Satan. The diagnosis was consequently set up as "bewitchment", the reflection of a supreme power's wrath. The perception of the phenomena was obviously invalid, and I suggest that a certain percentage of people might have known that. Otherwise, the matter affected several other segments within the society. As Mixon proposes, "the Salem witchcraft episode shows how relatively easy it was in colonial North America for ministers to interpret questionable actions as witchcraft and thereby increase the demand for ministerial services (the intended consequence)" (182). Together with that, "as the witch craze spread a special court was established to deal with the accused" (Detweiler 597).

According to the Puritan standpoint, the dark adversary aimed at individuals, in order to capture and control them. Consequently, "anxious to dominate their souls, Satan harassed his victim's bodies first. The language of the indictments brought against the accused witches illustrates the extent of the agonies inflicted by the Devil" (Reis 28). The primary target were women, being believed to be more impressionable. As Reis emphasises, "during the witchcraft trials the unfulfilled feminine soul, quick to succumb to the Devil's possession, became equated with discontented women, subjects primed for the Devil's intrusion" (25). Such beliefs were not only advocated, but directly forced.

Even after the abrupt termination of the hysteria, that lead to the intended death of twenty individuals and more unplanned demises behind bars, the threat of the Devil was further reiterated by the Salem preacher. "After the witch trials concluded in May 1693, Parris continued to equate his enemies with the forces of Satan. In a sermon he preached in October 1693, he proclaimed, 'When Sin & conscience, men & Devils accuse us, why then let the death of Christ appease our bleeding, wounded & disquieted Souls' (p. 275)" (Ray, "Satan's War" 93).

"The Salem 'hysteria' of 1692-93 surely qualifies for a category where the dysfunctional elements predominate" (Demos 317). Only after the hysterics of the historical episode concluded, did people admit the futility of the witch craze and its fatal concomitants. Purportedly, naivety lead to unjust procedures, which

were based on evenly false deductions. Puritanism itself can be considered to have founded the basis of the illogical assumptions, where the self-impulsive process lacked a philanthropic attitude regarding the condemned.

But why did all these historical events happen in Salem exactly? Why were these people taught to fear the witches instead of the ones who baselessly killed them? Not incidentally, the Puritans developed a specific ideology, in which conceptions of God and the Devil played the crucial role. Being isolated, practicing the religious cleanliness and bigotry, following their errand that was previously drawn in a form of an exceptional paragon by John Winthrop were all important characteristics for them. However, these strict dogmas have seemed to fall after a while, which according to my standpoint, might have awakened a sense of guilt in the ones that no longer fit perfectly into the society. The occurrence of this process broadly concerned Massachusetts, where there was a "state of general unrest in the late 1680's and 1690's. The society was fully aware that Puritanism was declining and this religious decay was cause for alarm" (Detweiler 606). As Detweiler put it, the "people feared God's wrath and the possibility of inroads by the Devil's agents" (606). Visibly, the change aroused the society, particularly encouraging the leaders of the Church to go as far as to announce the direct, threatening presence of the Devil himself. By such actions an overly extreme impact was achieved. To sum it up, by reflecting on the applied sources and incorporating my own ideas, I can see the witch-hunts even as a direct consequence of fear. Fear of the unknown, fear of the exclusion, or collectively; fear of consequences.

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Victimization and Female Agency in Poe's Dark Ladies

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Ι

The portrayal of the female figures in Edgar Allan Poe's short fiction has led to numerous debates in academic criticism in the past thirty years. The most disputed question concerns women's agency, as the interpretation of the limits and possibilities of these characters' ability to act considerably divides critics debating whether they are nothing more than victims of patriarchal oppression or revolting figures, who show signs of willful acts to comment on their own situation. It is very possible that this disagreement on the representation of women in Poe's Gothic short stories stems from the two formulae, Male and Female Gothic, since these, greatly determine how characters of both genders are delineated in the given works. On the surface Poe's dark tales qualify as classical texts of the Male Gothic formula since his female figures are oppressed, tormented, lack agency as well as voice, and all end up dead. Nevertheless, an exhaustive analysis of the female characters contradicts this pattern, as some of the female victims, especially the "Dark Ladies", show signs of empowerment and choose alternative strategies to revolt against their tragic fate.

Floyd Stovall calls these female characters Poe's "ideal and preternatural wom[e] n" (198). The short stories featuring Ligeia, Morella, Berenice, and Madeline Usher depict the death of a beautiful woman and focus on the melancholy evoked in the male narrators, which is a significant trope in Poe's other works as well. I contend, however, that these characters are not passive objects, they exert power over men and are able to actively control the plot. This paper also argues that the ambiguity surrounding the depiction of female figures in the selected short stories sheds light on Poe's playful irony in subverting the narrative pattern and generic features of both the Male and Female Gothic.

In order to analyze the female characters in Poe's Gothic tales, I apply feminist literary criticism, psychoanalytic criticism, and cultural studies. The selected short stories studied in this paper are the Gothic tales featuring the Dark Ladies, "Berenice" (1835), "Morella" (1835), "Ligeia" (1838), and "The Fall of the House of Usher" (1839).

The separation of male and female Gothic formulae originates from Ellen Moers, who in her writing, *Literary Women* (1976), introduced the term "Female Gothic" as the "work that women writers have done in the literary mode that, since the eighteenth century, we have called the Gothic" (90). She recognized the importance of gender in the Gothic and created the foundation for later feminist critics to divide the Gothic based on the male and female subject's experiences (Williams 100).

According to Anne Williams, the Male Gothic "expresses the horrors inherent in the premises of Western patriarchy - that "the female" (the mother) is "other," forbidden, and dreadfully, uncannily powerful, a monster that the nascent self must escape at the cost of whatever violence seems necessary" (135). To counterbalance the primitive anxiety caused by "the female", the Male convention turns to the victimization of women, therefore, positioning female suffering at the center of the plot and narrative (Williams 104). The male characters deliberately set standards for women, which they cannot fulfill and for this reason they are punished (105). The formula of the Female Gothic concentrates on "the terror and rage that women experience within patriarchal social arrangements, especially marriage" (136). As Punter and Byron point out, the female protagonist is exposed to the powerful authority of the oppressing male, who imprisons her and puts her virtue or life in danger (279). Nevertheless, all the suffering is resolved with a happy ending, which includes the protagonist's marriage, hence, her reintegration into society (Punter and Byron 279).

For Williams, the Male Gothic is unambiguously antifeminist since its plot revolves around the victimized and demonized "other", the female (136). As opposed to this, the scholars differ in their views on the conventions of the Female Gothic. Critics such as Janice Radway and Maggie Kilgour, have refuted the claim that the Female Gothic is undoubtedly conservative, which legitimates the status quo and reestablishes the domestic life, therefore, accepts "the home as a prison in which the disempowered female is at the mercy of 'ominous patriarchal authorities'" (Weinstock 121). Jeffrey Andrew Weinstock refers to Margaret Doody who "understands Gothic fiction by women as arising out of and responding to the historical disempowerment of women" (120). Numerous critics share this approach and claim the female formula to be a platform for protest against "the oppressiveness of patriarchal constraints" (Weinstock 121-122).

In the 1800s women were continuously discriminated against both socially and economically and this is what the Female Gothic mainly sheds light on. Susan M. Cruea justifies this fact by emphasizing some cultural codes that limited upper and

middle-class women's potential: they could either get married and become mothers or remain spinsters. Regardless of what they chose, all of these implied domestic dependencies. This was further reinforced by the discouragement of earning a wage because women with an income were considered to be 'unnatural' (187). Similarly, among working-class women, it was more favorable to be married than work for low wages in unhealthy conditions. However, without separate earnings, everybody was entirely dependent upon their husbands (Cruea 187).

Cruea claims that motherhood was regarded as one's most important and fulfilling role, a True Woman had to show her spouse's success and had to prepare her children to carry on the family's legacy (188-190). Leland S. Person quotes Kimmel who stated that "[w]omen were not only domestic, they were domesticators, expected to turn their sons into virtuous Christian gentlemen—dutiful, well-mannered, and feminized" (130). The first image promoted by society was the True Womanhood which was built on "four cardinal virtues—piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity" (Welter 21). Cruea asserts that women were considered to be inherently more virtuous than men, therefore, their function was to be the "symbolic keeper of morality and decency within the home" (188). Due to this factor, a full-time occupation or other jobs away from the home were strongly discouraged especially physical work, as women were seen as fragile, delicate, and liable to illnesses (189-190). Moreover, cerebral pursuits were also disapproved of as it was seen unfeminine, since "the mind [was] associated with the masculine" (189).

It is important to show the ideals appearing in the middle of the nineteenth century after True Womanhood became obsolete since they represent certain characteristics of women's position in society, which were considered to be radical and were strongly discouraged in Poe's time, however, they are present in his works. Cruea introduces the new ideal, the Real Womanhood, which emerged in the middle of the 1800s which was the effect of the Civil War when the necessity arose and put women in positions where men worked before, such as teaching, government, and office work (191).

Cruea emphasizes the differences in the approaches towards the fields of "health, education, marriage, and, most importantly, employment" by True and Real Womanhood (Cruea 191). Primarily it is important to mention education which made it possible for women to perform their tasks, for example, keeping a house and raising children. Moreover, Cruea quotes Cogan who claims that education aids them to "attract the right kind of man and … fulfill the duties of wife and companion" (qtd. in 192). Cruea states while marriage was still the most ideal opportunity for women, those who remained single now had alternatives and could be self-sufficient by earning wages (193).

While Real Womanhood only approved labor of domestic nature, later new occupations emerged for middle-class women, which were not connected to the house, laying the foundation for the ideal of Public Womanhood (193). Whereas this new model appeared and was acknowledged decades after Poe's death, women at his time already appeared in the cultural realm as writers. Because of their "increasing involvement in the moral and cultural welfare of their communities" women could enjoy more opportunities to claim public roles (193). Although they were mostly employed in fields related to the domestic sphere, such as childcare, teaching, and nursing, due to the increasing industrialization, a demand appeared for office workers for example typists and stenographers (195).

Through religious empowerment based on women's moral superiority, their activities in the public sphere were justified and it was also believed that they "combated social immoralities that threatened the sanctity of the home and family", which included the controlling of men's behavior at home (196). Since they were allowed to represent themselves in the cultural realm, they could aspire to become professional writers (196). The popularity of the novel gave women "a public forum through which they could share experiences in an effort to reveal common concerns which allowed women to explore solutions to the social problems that plagued nineteenth-century women" (197).

The ideas of domesticity did not remain unanswered. As it was previously mentioned the Female Gothic gave women a platform to reflect on their roles in society and to criticize the system. According to Ana Cristina Băniceru, while British Gothic fiction used 'exotic' settings such as ancient castles and monasteries, these were replaced by "bourgeois lodgings" (9). She states, that "[t]he Gothic was domesticated or better said the domestic was gothicised, especially in America", which lacked bygone buildings. As a result, writers imported Gothic into middle-class households, which proved to be perfect locations (10). The Gothic questioned the ideas of domesticity and claimed that dangers come from the private, which were thought to be safe and familiar (10). Băniceru asserts that one of the most common elements of the Gothic tradition is the presence of uncanny instances.

The concept of the 'uncanny' was described by Sigmund Freud and it was later explained in greater detail by Andrew Bennett and Nicholas Royle (Punter and Byron 283). David Punter and Glennis Byron quote their description of the 'uncanny', which is "'making things *uncertain*: it has to do with the sense that things are not as they have come to appear through habit and familiarity, that they may challenge all rationality and logic" (qtd. 283). The name of the term is derived from the German unheimlich and shows the fear coming from domesticity: "unheimlich is related to the dangers lurking beneath the veneer of domesticity" (10).

Dennis R. Perry and Carl H. Sederholm analyze Charlotte Perkins Gilman's work, "The Yellow Wallpaper" (1892) which they believe was inspired by Poe's short story, "The Fall of the House of Usher", and presents the story from Madeline Usher's point of view (20). Gilman in her writing focuses on the social system which "brings down both men and women" (32). Băniceru takes Poe's "The Black Cat" (1843) to introduce how domesticity affects both sexes. She quotes Cavallaro, who claims that domesticity is a cultural ideology that defines the feminized household as a refuge from the public sphere (11).

On the contrary, the same idea in Gothic has seemed as a repressing and confining place which infantilizes women (Băniceru 11). Person states that domesticity is damaging for everybody "the home [is] the nightmarish site of barely repressed hostility between men and women" (134), which is complemented by Băniceru's view that both sexes become victims of domesticity and its values (13). Despite this, female writers were more vocal to criticize the domestic ideal, especially in the Gothic tradition. Băniceru considers Poe to be the representative of the Male Gothic who expresses the disapproval of domesticity by "strik[ing] at the very heart of [it]" with the death of the 'angel in the house' (13) in his work.

This shows that both formulae of Gothic have similar attitudes toward the concept of domesticity, which is its explicit criticism (15). This approach can be seen in the short stories featuring the Dark Ladies, which are analyzed in the next subsections. The settings of these tales are homes, however, the traditional roles of men and women in the private sphere do not conform to the expectations of domesticity, what is more, the Dark Ladies seem to defy these.

Previously I mentioned women's treatment in the Male Gothic formula and the anxiety originating from the female 'other', which controls men to commit their crimes. These characteristics appear in Poe's four short stories featuring the Dark Ladies. According to Eliza Richards, Poe's male protagonists' violent revenge on the female characters is provoked by women's threatening power over them (10). Tracy Hayes also emphasizes this power and argues that the Dark Ladies are embodiments of the feminine monstrous which she defines as the masculine projection of women who cannot be repressed, what is more, they return in an unheimlich manner (1). She quotes Barbara Creed who believes the monstrous incarnates everything "what it is about woman that is shocking, terrifying, horrific, abject" (qtd. in Hayes 2).

The term, abjection, was coined by psychoanalyst Julia Kristeva and it refers to the violent exclusion, and rejection of something other than the self, however, it is never permanent, it stays to be both an unconscious and conscious threat (McAfee 46). The abjection of the mother is one of the most frequent signs defined by the ambivalent feeling of the "longing to fall back into the maternal *chora* as well as a deep anxiety over the possibility of losing one's subjectivity" (49). In the Gothic stories, the tension between desire and fear of the female other is often foregrounded as a result of which female characters tend to be objectified and abused because of their sexuality and their potential to be mothers. The agony that female figures evoke in male characters is exhibited in the power they exert on women, which is also viewed as a compensation for the fear and anxiety.

Furthermore, Debra Johanyak claims that while these female figures are feminist prototypes, the narrators display the antifeminist sentiments of the period and the fear of independent women (63). In the horror tales, all of the female characters share similar fates. They are carried away by a mysterious disease that distorts their beauty and eventually they die. Leland S. Person asserts that their illnesses "reflect [the narrators'] disease with their embodied beings" (139). The narrators of these stories try to oppress and abject women, however, their success in it is not permanent. The Dark Ladies "return to teach the oppressive idolater a lesson he will not forget" (Dayan 5).

Although critics generally believe Berenice's agency is negligible compared to the other female figures, she undoubtedly has an influence on the male protagonist. Egaeus, her cousin and fiancé, states in the tale that his feelings "had never been of the heart, and [his] passion *always were* of the mind," (Poe 101) but he admires her "gorgeous yet fantastic beauty," (Poe 98) which starts to fade away caused by her fatal disease. Furthermore, Egaeus mentions that her "personal identity" also becomes distorted. As Berenice's illness progresses the narrator's dread from her, especially from her teeth, increasingly grows. It is stated that Egaeus is a monomaniac and by seeing the "white and ghastly spectrum of the teeth" he develops an obsession which makes him lose awareness during times he thinks about them (Poe 102).

After Berenice's death and burial, her body is exhumed by the narrator to remove these menacing objects. Several scholars believe this organ represents female sexual desire and by discarding them Berenice can be desexualized. Moreover, Hayes argues that the teeth stand for the "vagina dentata, the threat of the feminine monstrous as castratrice, of emasculation" (3-4). Berenice's smile is a central element in the short story. It is also suggested that it symbolizes the narrator's similar fate. She greatly influences the narrator, who also starts to resemble a corpse, being "breathless and motionless" (Poe 102) by the mere sight of her. However, not just the sight but also her presence evokes "insufferable anxiety" in the narrator, as she intrudes the library (Poe 102). The library is obviously a sign of Berenice's moral transgression since knowledge and culture belong to men. Therefore, the woman is seen as an invader, who needs to be banished. Just like Berenice, Madeline Usher is also a voiceless character, despite this, many critics analyzed her character and many approaches have appeared considering her figure. While "The Fall of the House of Usher" focuses on the experiences and feelings of the two male protagonists, Madeline is constantly present in the story, and she actively controls the plot. According to Cynthia S. Jordan, the female character evokes fear and hatred in the narrator because she embodies female sexuality (8). Besides the 'feminine', Roderick and the narrator both try to repress "creativity in artistic and physical (reproductive) ventures" (Fisher 30). Diane Hoeveler also argues that Madeline is the projection of Roderick's femininity which he abjects from himself (391). The similarities between brother and sister are continuously emphasized in the short story, which can include not only physical qualities but personality traits too.

This might suggest that just like Roderick, his sister "ha[s] also been an active intellectual, reading, writing, painting, and playing an instrument" (Perry and Sederholm 32-33). Madeline like Berenice, appears on the border of men's sphere, threatening male intellectual superiority. Moreover, it is reinforced by the fact that "the similarity of the characteristics of the sister and brother stresses the equality of the woman's and man's minds" (Li 22). To deprive Madeline of her power, both the narrator and Roderick try to oppress her. While she is still alive, they attempt to "exclude her from the text altogether" by ignoring her existence (Jordan 7). The narrator claims, that after his arrival "[Madeline's] name was unmentioned by either Usher or [him]" as he was "busied in earnest endeavors to alleviate the melancholy of [his] friend", which the sister evoked in Roderick (Poe 132).

This attention to Roderick and disregard for his sister suggests a complete unconcern toward the dying woman. Madeline is Roderick's uncanny double and therefore foreshadows Roderick's similar fate. Sigmund Freud argued in his essay "The Uncanny" that the double is one of the uncanny instances and signals a bad omen for the individual. Gothic fiction exploits the motif of the double to enhance the terror of the characters and foreshadow their tragic ending. The decaying body of Lady Madeline highlights Roderick's anxiety over death and his own mortality, which he wants to rid himself of by burying his sister. Apart from the psychological torment triggered by the sight of the sickly woman, the burial scene, also reveals Roderick's desire to (re-)unite with his sister, the symbolic mother, in an untimely womb where nothing can disturb their harmony. Freud associates live burials with a desire to return to the womb of the mother (14-15). Nonetheless, this desire for the mother (and the female body) as well as the anxiety that this irresistible longing creates is described and contained in the process of abjection. What is at stake here is control over one's desires and one's borders of identity threatened by these unconscious drives. The female characters of "Morella" and "Ligeia" are analyzed together since they share many characteristics. Both unnamed narrators first express their adoration for their wives who possess great knowledge and beauty. Morella's husband "abandoned [himself] implicitly to the guidance of [her]" and identifies himself as "her pupil" (Poe 105). Despite this, the feelings of the narrator change suddenly as his "joy suddenly faded into horror, and the most beautiful became the most hideous" (Poe 106). His feelings turn into a desire for Morella's death, which after a long illness eventuates. The narrator experiences similar anxieties toward their daughter who "grew strangely in stature and intellect, and was the perfect resemblance of her who had departed", and from fear, he does not even name the child (Poe 109).

Kennedy suggests, that by eventually naming his daughter Morella he seeks the same fate for her as for her mother (119). In the case of "Ligeia", the narrator emphasizes both his wife's beauty and "immense" learning and likewise acknowledges her "infinite supremacy" (Poe 115). He claims himself to be "a child groping benighted" without Ligeia, which suggests her role as a mother in this relationship (Poe 115). Her mysterious illness and death are mourned by the narrator, who later remarries Lady Rowena whom he loathes "with a hatred belonging more to demon than to man" (Poe 120). The new bride suffers the same fate as Ligeia, however, by her death, she completely loses her identity and receives no chance to return.

Hayes argues that "the unheimlich act of metempsychosis ushers in the return of the monstrous sexuality of Ligeia" as she consumes the body of the deceased Rowena (4). Johanyak sees them as 'femmes fatale', however, as not just their sexual power but their nonconformity to the domestic sphere and the traditional ideal of women make them fearsome (63). She believes Morella and Ligeia are considered to be dangerous because of the threat they pose to the male-dominated society.

I argue that although superficially the Dark Ladies are victims of men who try to repress them since they endanger the male characters and they cannot be regarded as passive. While these ladies suffer the same fate as Poe's beautiful dead woman, they do not entirely fit the ideal. Their deaths do not mean their destruction as they resurrect. Person argues that "[t]he death of a beautiful woman, [...] is a logical outcome of woman's separation and idealization. The Truest Woman, in effect, is a dead woman—an object, not a subject" (138).

As I previously mentioned in the first half of the nineteenth century, True Womanhood was the accepted ideal, and its pillars, the "four cardinal virtues piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity" served as the exemplary model for women (Welter 21). The Dark Ladies cannot correspond to these qualities. Person claims that the horror tales they appear in "might be read as a parody of domestic values and the positive influences of separate spheres", as these women do not meet the expectations of domesticity (135).

Of the four women, Berenice seems to be the most traditional one. Egaeus only accentuates her beauty and her "agile, graceful, and overflowing with energy" living (Poe 98). It can be said that Berenice is objectified in the tale. During her illness, Egaeus turns away from her since her decay "pervade[s] her mind, her habits, and her character" (Poe 98), instead he starts to concentrate on her only intact body part, her teeth. Although it is suggested that she revives from death, her body is violated and disfigured, moreover, it is not clarified what happens to her in the end. Nevertheless, it is not negligible how Berenice influences the narrator. Egaeus fears her smile, which, as I have argued before represents her sexuality, and dreads her mere presence. These confirm her power over the man.

Perry and Sederholm assert that "The Fall of the House of Usher" portrays how the "oppressive social system has split the genders in two in a way that signals the possibility of a new order for the new century" (35). Madeline is seemingly a passive character, whom both her brother and the narrator attempt to exclude from the text and destroy. According to Johanyak, despite this, the two women Madeline and Berenice "appear at dramatic moments, confronting their lovers at reading-room or library door, as though threatening entrance into a traditionally male sphere of intellectual advancement" (69).

Moreover, Madeline constantly affects men's feelings and actions. She is seen as "the powerful, though silent and mostly absent, major agent of all action, thought, fear, and art in the story" (Perry and Sederholm 32). Perry and Sederholm believe that Madeline's death is a willful act to escape (36). Death frees her from Rodericks's oppression, and she is given the agency to control him. Perry and Sederholm claim that the "suspiciously lingering smile upon [her] lip" (Poe 138) is the sign of the discovery and emergence of the self (36). Moreover, the narrator during their first encounter "regarded her with an utter astonishment not unmingled with dread" (Poe 132) and is constantly affected by her. She even influences Roderick who hears her struggle in the tomb for days but "dare[s] not to speak" (Poe 143). Finally, freeing herself from the vault she returns to avenge her repression by her brother and manages to force him down to the floor where they both die. Therefore, Madeline becomes an active character.

According to Johanyak Morella and Ligeia "acquire personal interests and aspirations having little to do with the domestic roles generally assigned to wives and mothers of this period" (63). They undeniably have a superior position in their relationships, which is acknowledged by the narrators. None of these characters

conform to the ideal of the True Woman, they seem to represent the prototype of the New Woman whose ideal emerged in the late nineteenth century (Martens 54). According to Person, Ligeia "reverses the conventional power imbalance between husband and wife" (135). Although Morella is a mother, she does not perform the roles of motherhood since her death allows her to escape from these responsibilities and child-rearing becomes the duty of the father.

The abilities of the child suggest that "each succeeding generation reinforces more strongly and demonstrates more clearly the evolution of women's individuality and rights" (Johanyak 66). Both characters' intellectual superiority over men is emphasized in the tales, as they are undeniably feminist characters ahead of their time who completely disobey the conventional roles of women and present a new ideal.

III

This paper argued that Edgar Allan Poe's horror tales unambiguously employ the characteristics of the Male Gothic formula, however, instead of the definitive oppression and destruction of the female figures, his combination of gothic conventions with playful irony, gives women the opportunity to resist.

It has been discussed that the Female Gothic definitely aims to give an opportunity for writers to voice women's silenced experiences, in contrast to the male formula, which exhibits the victimization and constant mistreatment of female characters. By analyzing the social context of the early nineteenth century it can be stated that the values of True Womanhood and the glorification of domesticity assisted women's oppression. Nevertheless, a continuous change can be seen from the ideal of the True Woman to the Public Woman, which provided more favorable conditions for women, moreover the opportunity to speak up against the oppressive system.

The analysis of the selected works showed that the narratives are dominated by the male point of view. The Male Gothic formula is prevailing in these tales as they focus on the horror caused by the female other. However, men's goal to contain and repress women cannot be achieved, since the female characters are able to reject the demands of the patriarchal society and resist their annihilation. The Dark Ladies of the Gothic short stories exercise their power over men by influencing their feelings and actions, invading the male sphere, moreover they return from death. The findings of the paper suggest that while Poe mostly employed the Male Gothic formula in his horror tales, he also revised the misogynistic ideas of this tradition and innovated it to a genre, which is able to articulate women's previously suppressed experiences.

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The Twisted Mirror in The Green Room: Abjection in Shirley Jackson's *The Haunting of Hill House*

Enikő Kovács

I

The Female Gothic genre has been the target of many acclaimed critics of British and American Gothic fiction in the past few decades. The upsurge of interest in the Female Gothic has resulted in a diversity of views and approaches and has relocated this neglected genre in the center of academic discussion. Female authors such as Anne Radcliffe and Mary Shelley popularized the Gothic genre in the early 19th century. It helped women contextualize their anxiety of domesticity and sexuality that later snowballed into a "twisted" expression of finding female identity in the patriarchy, gender dysphoria, the topic of postpartum depression and many other issues that women still face to this day. Female gothic stories dwell into how the female experience is not just limited to the ability of reproduction but also to the genderbased oppression of women; the heroines of such stories are often tasked to face their mothers whose internalized misogyny creates a monster. The female gothic also differs from its male counterpart in that the narration is always voiced from a female point of view. Other than female-centric motifs, the Female Gothic differs in the paranormal and supernatural theme as well in which the threatening, unexplainable horror is deemed explainable. It can be argued that the most outstanding author of the last century within the genre was Shirley Jackson. She is probably the most significant author of the American Female Gothic fiction, and one of her most famous novels, The Haunting of Hill House (1959), is the focus of this paper.

The novel merits academic inquiry, not merely because of its graceful treatment of heavy topics such as gender roles, psychological aspects of contemporary society, dysfunctional families, and the role of mother-daughter relationships in everyday life, but also because of its artistic capacity to keep readers intrigued and terrified to this day. Her literary accomplishments, especially in the horror genre, are still considered to be one of the greatest that was produced in the mid-20th century and her works enjoyed a revival and have been the target of interest ever since, *The Haunting of Hill House* was adapted on screen in 1999 and in 2018 when Netflix launched a series adaptation. The novel follows a group of individuals who enter the allegedly haunted Hill House through the invitation of Dr. Montague, an anthropology professor, to find evidence for the existence of some paranormal phenomena. The omnipresent narrator tells the story through the point of view of Eleanor Vance, a young woman whose goal of the journey to Hill House is to find her place in the world and belong to a group of people whom she can consider a family. Eleanor faces the vacuity of her own life and is struggling to reestablish her own identity, which was suppressed by the emotional tyranny of her mother. Her relationship with her mother casts a shadow on Eleanor throughout the story even after the death of her mother because it was a co-dependent relationship between a narcissistic mother and a childish, naïve, young woman.

Eleanor's attempts to break from this abusive relationship are slowly sabotaged by Hill House which mirrors this relationship while creating an environment where Eleanor is gaslighted, confused and vulnerable which is the direct opposite of what she envisioned the house to be – to be the place where she finds personal freedom and gets comfortable with herself. The house does not offer safety and a home, it is the enemy that entraps women like Eleanor and holds them inside its walls for all eternity.

Julie Ann Baker notes the following, "Eleanor's mother, and by extension Hill House, have infiltrated Eleanor's own psyche and despite her best attempts to escape—whether that be through stories or through seeking out a relationship with Theodora—Eleanor will never be freed from life as she knows it" (35). Upon reading the novel, Julia Kristeva's theory of the abject can be clearly applied to analyze it. Kristeva is a prominent twentieth-century psychoanalyst and literary critic and in *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (1982), she theorizes that the abject is a factor in one's identity formation and a part of one's subjectivity. The abject is everything that is repulsive and poses a threat to our identity; it is meant to create borders between self and the other.

Kristeva also argues that all mothers are abject since without the symbolic separation of infant and mother, identity formation cannot start. She writes extensively about the role of the mother in early developmental stages which is also present in the novel. Kristeva believes that this phenomenon is perfectly presented in literature and the present study aims to explore how Shirley Jackson's *The Haunting of Hill House* is a piece of literature where the theory of the abject can be applied to it. The analysis foregrounds anxiety over the limitations and excesses of the female protagonist's subject construction not just because of the troubled mother-daughter relationship but also because of the deeply rooted confinement of gender roles and identity in contemporary society. The focus of this paper is to analyze the relationship between Eleanor and Theodora and how the abjection of the self is manifested in the novel through their interactions.

Eleanor's abjection of herself implies her fear of maturing into a grown woman with sexual desires and accepting her role in society that is either becoming a wife/ mother or becoming an outcast. This is clearly illustrated by her relation to the character of Theodora who possesses the femininity, sexual liberation and confidence that simultaneously attracts and repulses Eleanor. Theodora is described as an easy-going, bohemian, independent, beautiful, and highly feminine character. She is invited to Hill House by Dr. Montague because of her alleged clairvoyant powers. For her, Hill House is considered a vacation from her roommate whom she had a fight with prior to the journey. The roommate is unnamed and does not have a specified gender but is suggested that the person is another woman whom Theodora possibly shared a romantic or sexual relationship with, as presented in the following description about Theodora:

Things were said on both sides which only time could eradicate; Theodora had deliberately and heartlessly smashed the lovely little figurine her friend had carved of her, and her friend had cruelly ripped to shreds the volume of Alfred de Musset¹¹ which had been a birthday present from Theodora, taking particular pains with the page which bore Theodora's loving, teasing inscription. (Jackson 7)

Eleanor is drawn to her from the moment they meet and are inseparable throughout the story. It is clear from the beginning that their relationship is much deeper than with the other characters, it may seem like a sisterly bond, but a few critics argue, such as Graley Herren in his "Shades of Shakespeare in the Queering of Hill House" (2020), and Brittany Roberts in her "Helping Eleanor Come Home: A Reassessment of Shirley Jackson's *The Haunting of Hill House*" (2017), that it is a forbidden romantic and sexual relationship. As mentioned before, Eleanor is yet to develop an independent identity which is partly indicated by the fact that she has not come to terms with her own feminine side, on the contrary, she deliberately represses it. Theodora is the tainted mirror for Eleanor in this sense because Theo's flirty nature and open-minded approach to her is what makes Eleanor realize that she also possesses a feminine side.

¹ Alfred du Musset was a French writer who was rumored to have published *Gamiani, or Two Nights of Excess* (1833), a lesbian erotic novel in which the heroine was modelled after his lover, Amandine Aurore Lucile Dupin, whose pen name is also a masculine one (George Sand), just like Theodora's.

Theodora is also to be understood as the Gothic Double, who is the long-lost other half of Eleanor's identity. In one of the early drafts of the novel Jackson included the following passage: "Theo against Nell, of course: to each of us – if we are fortunate – is given one other person, the true doppelganger, the other half of the self, and the union here is sometimes star-crossed, sometimes illicit, always deadly; it is the moment of perception when the victim sees his murderer, the brother discovers his sister, beauty destroys [embraces] the beast" (qtd. in Lootens 163).

Theodora is the fragment of Eleanor's identity that focuses on femininity and womanhood, and she is also the self that Eleanor has never been allowed to become. Theo is determined to help Eleanor embrace this part of herself, but Eleanor rejects this sort of femininity. Eleanor's only form of connection to womanhood was through her mother whose views on femininity were based on conservative and Puritan ideology. Eleanor was not allowed to express or explore her feminine side because her mother denied all sorts of attempts. She was forbidden to wear colorful – especially bright – clothing, it is implied that she was only allowed to appear natural and express her identity in the least eye-catching way. Therefore, Theodora regards Eleanor as "woman of no color" (127) since she is not practicing her womanly powers as Theodora thinks she should: "Nail polish and perfume and bath salts,' Theodora said, as one telling the cities of the Nile. 'Mascara. You don't think half enough of such things, Eleanor" (127).

Theodora, on the other hand, is the exact opposite; she wears brightly colored clothes and embraces every form of being a woman. Andromachi Kokkinou argues that "[i]n fact, Theodora and Eleanor exemplify the conflicting images of the era about femininity. Theodora has disaffiliated herself from her family, does not use her last name anymore and signs her artworks with "Theo," a gender ambiguous version of her first name. She laughs at Eleanor's question whether she is married and lives with her companion" (20). However, due to her upbringing, Eleanor is repulsed by Theodora's femininity as it can be seen in the following quote: "Shocked, Eleanor sat up and looked; her feet were *dirty*, and her nails were painted bright red. 'It's *horrible*,' she said to Theodora, 'it's *wicked*,' wanting to cry" (127).

Their differences in femininity are also presented through their alleged psychic abilities – it is only the two of them to possess such powers – demonstrated in Theodora's clairvoyancy and Eleanor's telekinesis. Both these powers are deeply connected to emotions, clairvoyancy is sensitivity to other people's emotions and telekinesis is the manifestation of different emotions. In the subtext of the novel, it is implied that Theodora understands Eleanor's anxiety over her past and loneliness but for her own selfish reasons, she refuses to engage with Eleanor more than she is supposed to. Due to this, their relationship is a turmoil of yearning for each other's company and an utter denial of the other.

Theodora's queerness is also a key element of her character since she is presented as a potential lover for Eleanor. Theodora's sexuality is so much foregrounded that in almost all the adaptations of *The Haunting of Hill House*, she is presented as a queer woman. She is not openly recognized as a love interest, but the subtext clearly presents a queer coded character. Theodora lives alone with a roommate who is possibly a woman, and she decides to leave for Hill House after a fight or a "lover's quarrel" as quoted above. She is an artist who also signs paintings with a masculine version of her name. She playfully flirts with Eleanor and since Eleanor has never experienced romantic love before - not even by a man, let alone a woman -, her repressed sexual desires are awakened.

As mentioned before, Eleanor's upbringing was based on religious beliefs that did not allow women to explore their sexual desires and during the 1950s, scientific theories entertained the idea of lesbianism as an extension of female friendships, but it was expected to be outgrown and later develop into heterosexuality. Quoting Laura De La Parra Fernández from her MA thesis of "Blowing Up The Nuclear Family: Shirley Jackson's Queer Girls In Postwar US Culture" (2020): "As [Crista] DeLuzio indicates [in *Female Adolescence in American Scientific Thought, 1830-1930* (2007), early twentieth-century scientific theories about normative sexuality claimed that a healthy sexuality in adolescent females included a "homosexual" period that girls would grow out of when heterosexuality was established (172)" (38).

Eleanor's repressed sexuality is represented in the story through some of the paranormal events. The two women spend an afternoon together where they care for each other; Theodora paints Eleanor's toenails with a bright red – which is understood as the color of desire and passion – nail polish to which Eleanor's reaction is fear and disgust. Shortly after this event, Theodora walks up to her room being covered in blood which is explained by Tricia Lootens in the following way: "The menstrual imagery seems unmistakable here: Hill House echoes and amplifies Eleanor's hatred of "dirty" female bodies, including her own. Theodora's bright clothes are trampled and soaked in blood. Even more significantly, she herself is bloodied — literally rendered a scarlet woman', as though Hill House has passed judgment on Theodora's bright clothing" (96).

The menses imagery collides with Kristeva's theory on the abject where she argues that the abject is most notable when it regards food or textures or bodily functions, which in this case is menstruation blood. Eleanor's visible disgust towards menstruation is a clear abjection against femininity and womanhood. In addition, the comparing of proper bodies and dirty bodies — the subject and the abject —, figuratively and literally are a common focus in horror. In *Powers of Horror*, Kristeva explains that:

Along with sight-clouding dizziness, nausea makes me balk at that milk cream, separates me from the mother and father who proffer it. "I" want none of that element, sign of their desire; "I" do not want to listen, "I" do not assimilate it, "I" expel it. But since the food is not an "other" for "me," who am only in their desire, I expel myself, I spit myself out, I abject myself within the same motion through which "I" claim to establish myself. (3)

Jackson is also known to have borrowed elements in the story from Shakespeare – "Journey's end in lovers meeting" which is a quote from his *Twelfth Night* comedy that explores aspects of gender identity and homosexuality. Eleanor ultimately chooses Theodora as a lover, but Theo gently rejects her advances which later contributes to Eleanor's downfall: "I never had anyone to care about,' Eleanor said, wondering where she had heard someone say something like this before. 'I want to be someplace where I belong.' 'I am not in the habit of taking home stray cats,' Theodora said lightly" (229). Theodora is the Gothic Double of Eleanor, and her idealized self.

The Gothic Double is a part of the uncanny – the return of the repressed, something which was familiar returns in an unfamiliar way. Ilana Shiloh in *The Double, the Labyrinth and the Locked Room* (2011) states that "[t]he term 'double' primarily evokes a duplicated self, the existence of two individuals similar to the point of identity. Identity is an ambiguous concept, which may denote either a state of being the same as someone or something, or a state of being oneself or one thing, and another. Identity thus conflates the notion of sameness and of difference" (27). The purpose of doubling in the Gothic genre is also to highlight moral transgression. Brian DeMars remarks that "[t]he invocation of uncanny doubling signifies that the character or situation has gone awry somehow, or that a familiar psychological or social convention is no longer functioning properly, because a set of doubles are able to simultaneously cohabitate a space that should only accommodate one individual" (10).

During their first time meeting each other, Theo echoes Eleanor's thoughts: "It's the home I've always dreamed of,' Theodora said. 'A little hideaway where I can be alone with my thoughts. Particularly if my thoughts happened to be about murder or suicide or'" (45). Their undeniable similarity is only heightened after Theodora's room found to be covered in blood when Theodora must wear Eleanor's clothes and she jokingly refers to herself as Eleanor: "'I am Eleanor,' Theo said, 'because I am wearing blue. I love my love with an E because she is ethereal. Her name is Eleanor, and she lives in expectation'" (245).

This only reinforces Eleanor's abjection towards herself since she can now see herself in Theodora like she is looking into a mirror. "Theodora was wearing Eleanor's red sweater" (262), the same red sweater in which Eleanor arrived at Hill House. On the one hand, Theodora possesses every trait that Eleanor wishes she would; she is independent, she has embraced her femininity, she is socially poised, and she is confident in her identity. Eleanor, upon realizing that Theodora plays her self-idealized version and how she could never "play" herself as such, descends into madness. She completely gives up on becoming her true-self, she reverts into a child-like woman, and she embraces Hill House; the house that welcomes her as a monstrous mother and the house that will hold her in a warm tomb.

III

To conclude, Eleanor's attempts at identity formation, more importantly, her struggles to accept the societal expectations of her gender can be examined through the lens of the abject. Eleanor's inability to accept her own sexual desires and femininity, explored through Theodora and their various interactions, resulted in rejecting herself. The nature of the abject is to simultaneously attract and repulse the subject which has been proven to be true in the case of Eleanor as well as she desired to be a confident woman, yet she was repulsed by the female body and the female experience. Her troubled relationship with her mother reflected in her relationship with Theodora as well in which we can see how her view of femininity and womanhood was shaped by the mother and this caused conflict within Eleanor because she admired Theodora and her femininity but at the same time, she has felt repulsed every time Theodora has expressed her womanhood. Hill House becoming a monstrous mother for Eleanor also falls in line with the abject and the literary representation of it; the relationship of the House and Eleanor is the literary representation of how the failure of separation of the self and the other affects the subject. Shirley Jackson is undoubtedly a unique writer who offers complex stories and characters that are timeless. The story of "The Haunting of Hill House" does not differ from the previous statement, however, the theory of the abject is just one approach to analyze it. Hopefully, the interest in her works continues to grow and enriches both the female gothic genre and academic circles as well.

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The Analysis of the John F. Kennedy's Presidential Image

Sára Megyesi

I

The aim of the essay is to analyse John Kennedy's image by introducing the idea of presidential character and demonstrating how it applies specifically to JFK's image. Furthermore, the essay will discover the falsehoods fabricated by Kennedy and his associates to influence his image and discuss the reasons for which Kennedy had to use these tactics. The essay will include James Barber's definition of presidential characters and Richard Neustadt's power to persuade theory, and the argument will be based on case studies that demonstrate Kennedy's hidden affairs and how he concealed them in order to benefit his presidential image.

Π

The presidential character is a complex image in which every detail is crucial, because the picture the people form on the president matters from the beginning of the election and throughout the presidency, meaning, to get and then maintain power a solid presidential image has to be created. James Barber explains that John Kennedy has an active-positive presidential character, which is the result of not only his political successes, but his well-fabricated model of a healthy, youthful family man. Active-positive presidents are characterised by energetic and vigorous attitude and great enthusiasm towards their presidential duties (Barber 300).

Despite his spotless reputation as a president and family man, John F. Kennedy had quite a few scandals, which were hidden from the public. His unfaithfulness to his wife and his drug addiction are his most notorious transgressions that were widely disregarded, or even denied by the public, however, there is solid proof to these accusations. Case studies based on interviews, the life history of the Kennedys and other prominent figures who play a key role in creating the former president's image certainly refute the widely held false belief about John F. Kennedy as an ideal president and husband, which portrait is merely the work of his press team aiming to cement his presidential image.

According to Barber's categorization of presidential images JFK fits into the active-positive category (Barber 211). Barber established that the first huge part that forms the presidential character is the president's personality. Kennedy had to appeal to the public not only when he was in his office, but when he made public appearances or was shown with his family, when people could catch a glimpse of his personality.

According to Zsolt Virágos and Gabriella Varró, there are three kinds of myth, from which the modern myth is the type that surrounds Kennedy, other presidents or any other popular media personality. The modern myth characteristically morphs fiction – in Kennedy's case his image – into a kind of myth, resulting in the often false or incomplete facts becoming public beliefs (Virágos and Varró 33). The Kennedy-myth showcases a healthy, youthful family man, and JFK had to act to achieve and undermine this image of himself.

Kennedy's typical image was heavily built on being a family man. In order to strengthen his political career and build up his positive portrayal his successful personal life as a husband and father had to be carefully invented as well. Although Jackie Kennedy is the one who is most often accused of not being a faithful wife because of remarrying after being widowed, John Kennedy cheated on her several times during their marriage (O,Brien 307). The most widely known example of his affairs is his relationship with Marilyn Monroe.

JFK and Marilyn Monroe's relationship was a threat to Kennedy's presidential image, since, as Peter Summers, JFK's former aide said "you're not going to elect somebody a president that is perhaps ignoring his wife or cheating on his family" (Olgiati, 00:06:00-00:06:10). Kennedy's positive image was heavily based on his personal life as well as his political success, thus Kennedy and Monroe's affair was a great concern for his presidency. Summers also clearly stated that if the affair had been made public, it would have destroyed Kennedy (Olgiati, 00:06:23-00:06:30). There was a high risk of ruining his reputation by exposing himself as an adulterer. Jackie Kennedy was aware of her husband's affairs, but they "dealt with these issues together" (Agins 71).

It is notable from the perspective of the Kennedy family's reputation that Marilyn Monroe had a relationship with Robert Kennedy as well, JFK's brother, who only broke off their affair in fear it would result in problems related to the mob (Olgiati, 00:38:25-00:38:56). According to an interview with Senator George Smathers, who was also a close friend to Kennedy, he has overheard John Kennedy instructing Robert Kennedy to end his affair with Marilyn to protect their reputation. On the other hand, Smathers has not heard the mob being mentioned in the conversation (Olgiati, 00:38:56-00:39:16). If Robert and Marilyn's affair had been found out it would have made headlines, creating a further threat to JFK's presidency. Marilyn's involvement with another Kennedy was a risk factor, because it complicated the situation and made both affairs more difficult to conceal from the public.

The ideal family life was not the only main side of Kennedy's facade. His youthful and healthy image rooted in his usual active, vigorous behaviour during public appearances. However, Kennedy, who constantly suffered from physical pain from various health problems would not have been able to create and hold up his active-positive presidential character if he hadn't found a solution to relieve his physical symptoms. "At that time, Senator Kennedy was perceived by the media as a youthful and vigorous naval war hero. The cover-up for the senator's poor health was in full steam during the campaign, even though rumors were circulating concerning his wartime injuries and bad back" (Lertzman and Birnes 13). To keep up Kennedy's healthy image, his physicians Dr. Janet Travell and Dr. Eugene J. Cohen sent a letter addressing the "media vultures" and the public. In this letter "they flatly denied that the senator was in ill health." However, naturally this letter was merely a cover-up to Kennedy's real state of health (Lertzman and Birnes 13).

This is the reason why John Kennedy needed Dr. Max Jacobson, a German doctor who had an office in Manhattan after fleeing Nazi Germany (Lertzman and Birnes 8). Dr. Jacobson was John Kennedy's 'private doctor', who supplied him with different kinds of drug cocktails in order to 'fuel' him up enough to enable him to pursue his political career, not to break under the pressure and to help him to get rid of his physical problems and illnesses, most importantly his chronic back pain.

In the 1960s Dr. Jacobson "had become JFK's unofficial doctor, keeping him upright, functioning and invigorated" so that he could fulfil his duties and keep up his healthy, youthful image seemingly effortlessly (Lertzman and Birnes 7). Kennedy has had problems with his back from his early twenties and despite having had numerous surgeries to fix the problem, he never completely got rid of the pain. His back problems allegedly originated from a football injury from his Harvard years, and were worsened by a military injury, from which point he constantly battled his condition and underwent countless surgeries. (Pait and Dowdy) In addition to that, Kennedy had other health problems, specifically Addison's disease, migraines, gastrointestinal disorders, which conditions could have spoiled his healthy and youthful image. To prevent this "there was acute vigilance by the Kennedy staff to keep JFK's illnesses under the radar" (Lertzman and Birnes 12). Chuck Spalding, a friend of Kennedy's from Harvard introduced Dr. Jacobson to Kennedy because he previously complained about a "lack of stamina" during his campaign for the presidency (Lertzman and Birnes 11-12).

Dr. Jacobson was available to Kennedy because of his position as a senator and candidate, then as the president. Richard Neustadt's power to persuade theory explains how JFK could receive Dr. Jacobson's help. Neustadt claims that the president has to persuade or bargain, rather than command. The president has a reputation, an influence that comes with the presidency, and he has to utilize that to convince people that what he wants is good for them too (Neustadt, 30). Commanding does not always work, in some cases even shows weakness. Since JFK's bad health was a vehemently denied fact "Kennedy reached out to his friends to find his own sub rosa doctor" (Lertzman and Birnes 13). Spalding was already one of Dr. Jacobson's patients, and as well as the others, he was also already addicted to the drug cocktails Dr. Jacobson made, thus he knew the risk of being exposed himself, or calling attention to Jacobson (Lertzman and Birnes 11).

Spalding's call to Dr. Jacobson was strictly confidential. Spalding recognized the risk of Jacobson and Kennedy being associated in any way (Lertzman and Birnes 12), but despite the risk of a scandal he made an appointment for Kennedy to Dr. Jacobson, because he was certain of Jacobson's secrecy. On the one hand, this appointment and Spalding's secrecy were a favour from him to Kennedy, on the other hand, Spalding's certainty for Jacobson's discretion was due to Jacobson knowing he was going to keep a senator's secret, and both were the result of Kennedy's persuasive power.

Kennedy's persuasive power also showed when he met Dr. Jacobson in person. Lertzman and Birnes' book says Kennedy "made clear that he wanted complete anonymity" and "Jacobson reassured him that he would absolutely keep all their conversations confidential" (16). As Neustadt's theory claims, the president's public prestige is essential not only because it goes hand-in-hand with the president's professional reputation, but it also affects how swiftly legislation works. Thus, Kennedy did not only have to keep up his public image of a healthy, youthful man, but he had to make sure he conceals the solution he found to hide his physical problems.

"From then on, it was clear sailing. Miracle Max shot up the president before the Kennedy-Nixon debates, the major state addresses, and even the 1961 Vienna summit meeting with Nikita Khrushchev" (Bryk). Because of Kennedy's everlasting back pain, alongside with all the prescribed medications and injections the president had to receive regularly, it was not difficult for Dr. Jacobson to blend in the drug cocktails. John Kennedy soon became addicted to these drug cocktails, which were "a concoction of different types of blood serum mixed with a powerful methamphetamine stimulant. This mixture of liquid methamphetamines injected directly into the president's bloodstream gave the president, who suffered constant pain from his back injuries, a reliable source of energy and mental high" (Lertzman and Birnes 10). Dr. Jacobson's drug cocktails preserved Kennedy as a vigorous man, pain free and full of energy, cementing his youthful, healthy image.

A notable case that remarkably represents Kennedy's dependence on Dr. Jacobson is the Vienna Summit. Kennedy knew that Nikita Khrushchev would do everything to discover any flaw or weakness JFK would show and use them against him, thus he needed to be on his guard and be ready to react quickly to anything. By the time of the Summit Kennedy was heavily addicted to Dr. Jacobson's drugs and he needed the doctor's help (Lertzman and Birnes 91). It was a risky move, and although Kennedy tried to minimize the risk of suspicion from the press by travelling on separate planes with Jacobson, the Secret Service still had to interfere with the press' attempts to get close to the president as Dr. Jacobson was about to meet him (Lertzman and Birnes 93).

Jacobson's input was significant in Kennedy's performance during the summit meeting. Just before the meeting was about to begin, Jacobson gave a shot to "ease Kennedy's stress, give him energy and build his confidence" (Lertzman and Birnes 97). However, the meeting began late, the effects of the shot have started to wear off by then and Kennedy demanded another shot. Dr. Jacobson was hesitant to give him a second shot, but when Kennedy returned for a break he had to persuade the doctor to give him a third shot (Lertzman and Birnes 97-98). Kennedy utilized his power to persuade Dr. Jacobson, as it is stated in Lertzman and Birnes' book "although too many injections of amphetamines could have a deleterious effect, Jacobson told himself that this was the president of the United States, and the free world hung in the balance" (97).

JFK's inner circle and other celebrities have also enjoyed the service of Dr. Jacobson, further deepening the importance of his role next to the president. Among Dr. Jacobson's patients were Marilyn Monroe, Mickey Charles Mantle, Elizabeth Taylor, Judy Garland, Ingrid Bergman and many other prominent figures of the era (Lertzman and Birnes 104, 112). Dr. Jacobson achieved popularity among celebrities and those close to JFK through his talent for boosting up his patients, who, as Byrk writes in his article "went out the door singing." Dr. Jacobson did not use specified amounts, but he rather liked to improvise with the ingredients, creating each cocktail differently (Bryk).

From the case studies detailed in this chapter, a conclusion can be drawn that John Kennedy's image is quite different from the truth, showing him in a favourable light in order to establish his presidential image as a youthful, healthy family man. To achieve this, he had to exploit his presidential position in order to hide certain aspects of his life that would have harmed this thoroughly fabricated and maintained image.

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The Streets Are Hers: The Second Wave of Feminism and the (Feminist) Hard-Boiled Detective Fiction in the works of Sara Paretsky and Sue Grafton

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I

This article aims to discuss the various representations of feminist ideology in the hard-boiled detective novels of Sara Paretsky and Sue Grafton, which is relevant, because until the 1970s the hard-boiled genre had been strictly male-centred. The traditional hard-boiled school was established in the 1920s and 1930s, which was then subverted in the 1980s by feminist authors such as Paretsky and Grafton. The hard-boiled formula was a 'reply' to the popular 'whodunit' detective fiction of the British Golden Age, produced by many notable authors, such as G. K. Chesterton, Agatha Christie, Dorothy L. Sayers and Margery Allingham. American writers, such as Raymond Chandler considered the British genre unrealistic and feminine, because of the neat solutions at the end of the novels and the passivity of the gentleman detectives.

It is worth noting that the circumstances in the USA were also quite different from the situation in Britain. In the U.S., the Prohibition, the Great Depression and the spreading gangsterism were the most important circumstances that shaped the American social, economic and political life. Hard-boiled novels were and still are highly realistic and socially critical, because they represent the American way of life unfiltered, but around the 1930s it was also a sexist and racist genre. People of colour are mostly minor characters in early hard-boiled novels, they appear as chauffeurs, maids and they are regularly addressed by derogatory terms, such as 'nigger'. Its sexist nature is proven by the representation of women, which was stereotypical and unvaried: women were either victims, helpers of men, or manipulative transgressors, called the *femme fatale*. The hard-boiled private eye was exclusively a heterosexual white male, an urban version of the frontier hero (created by James Fenimore Cooper) who is a strong-willed individual at the margins of society. Because of the disordered and amoral state of the society hard-boiled authors refrained from closing their novels on an optimistic note, or implying a definite long-term solution for maintaining order. The female PI is a combination of the gentleman detective and the male hard-boiled private eye: while she demonstrates the intellectual capacity of the Golden Age detective, and physical prowess of the male PI, she is as marginalized in society as her American male counterpart.

As a result of the feminist revision of the hard-boiled school of detective fiction, the traditionally masculine genre is now capable of communicating a "feminist message" (Hamilton 41). Since the "second wave feminism was a fractious and multi-faceted movement" (Hamilton 41), female writers included differing agendas in their detective novels and thus diversified the characterization of the female sleuth. In this article, Sue Grafton's protagonist, Kinsey Millhone is going to be analysed and compared with Paretsky's V.I. Warshawski, in order to demonstrate how the varying "feminist message[s]" (Hamilton 41) manifest themselves in the representations of the two private eyes and their investigative methods. It can be stated that both Paretsky's and Grafton's strategies in the portrayal of their female protagonists reveal their own relation to the second wave of feminism and express their differing feminist views.

Accordingly, I argue that Warshawski embodies a more extreme type of feminist agenda, while Millhone harmonises more with the traditional ideology of the hardboiled formula. Nevertheless, Johanna M. Smith claims that Warshawski "remains male-defined" while "Grafton's novels de-masculinize hard-boiled detection by representing it simply as a job with Millhone simply the (female) person doing it" (81).

Π

In this article, this contradiction will be explored more closely so as to demonstrate that Smith's claim is not entirely applicable to Warshawski. To explore this issue and to justify my hypothesis, I have selected and analysed a number of novels, including Raymond Chandler's *The Big Sleep* (1939), and in order to compare the male and female private detectives, Sue Grafton's "A" is for Alibi (1982) for the purpose of demonstrating Millhone's fundamental features as a female PI. Sara Paretsky's *Indemnity Only* (1982) and *Bitter Medicine* (1987) are also included, since they finely represent Warshawski's social connections and her struggle for professional authority within a patriarchal society. This article also discusses Paretsky's *Killing Orders* (1985), because it explores V.I.'s and her best friend/ substitute mother's, Lotty Herschel's relationship and *Body Work* (2010), since it foregrounds the discussion of the female body and with it Paretsky explores the

representation of the female body in detective fiction. I will also take a brief look at *Burn Marks* (1990), because this novel demonstrates Warshawski's resistance against men's ideal of women, which is a key characteristic of her feminist persona. I have selected "*C*" is for Corpse (1986) and "*E*" is for Evidence (1988) from Grafton, since the former novel foregrounds Millhone's femininity, namely her "maternal protectiveness" (Horsley, *Twentieth-Century* 274) and the latter one portrays Millhone's relationship with men as a disruption of the traditional family structure.

Grafton's first novel featuring Kinsey Millhone was published in 1982 by the title "*A*" *is for Alibi*, which is the first book of the 'alphabet series' that continued until the author's death in 2017. Unlike Warshawski, Kinsey Millhone started her career as a cop, and she gradually became independent: after dropping out of college she joined the Santa Teresa police force, then she worked for an insurance company as an investigator. However, she soon decided to become a private detective mentored by a local PI Benjamin Byrd who also operates in Santa Teresa, which is a fictional city in contrast with Warshawski's Chicago. Millhone is "very closely modelled on the hard-boiled male" (Horsley, *Twentieth-Century* 272) since she has a past as a law enforcer and she is similar to Marlowe in terms of solitariness and way of talking, but at the same time her position disrupts traditional power relations.

This statement is supported by Maureen T. Reddy's following claim: "the whole notion of a woman in charge, and especially a woman presumably dedicated to ideals of law and order, works against traditional expectations" (Sisters in Crime 6). In addition to this, according to Maryam Soltan Beyad and Mohsen Jabbari, Millhone "is less overtly a feminist than she is a Chandlerian detective" (27). Her semblance to Philip Marlowe is notable in her introduction, which is very similar to Marlowe's own at the very beginning of "A" is for Alibi: "My name is Kinsey Millhone. I'm a private investigator, licensed by the state of California. I'm thirty-two years old, twice divorced, no kids" (Grafton 1). At the same time, she gives more details about herself than Marlowe in the course of the series and we learn that she was orphaned when she was five years old. She does not have good family relations, in the sense that "she resists her own actual family" (Horsley, *Twentieth-Century* 272), because she feels like they had abandoned her. While this aspect is one of the most controversial messages of the novels, because it can be seen as the undermining of familial values, she has established intimate relationships with her landlord, Henry Pitts and a Hungarian bar owner, Rosie who are quasi-parental figures for her. The roles of Henry and Rosie are also untraditional (not strictly feminine or masculine), because sometimes Henry cooks for Millhone and Rosie gives her advice in her cases (Reddy, Sisters in Crime 110).

Furthermore, in "C" is for Corpse (1986) she feels a "maternal protectiveness" (Horsley, *Twentieth-Century* 274) towards a young man, Bobby Calahan who hires her to find out who attempted to kill him by forcing him off the road. She becomes so emotionally involved that even after he is killed, she keeps investigating. Millhone opens the novel by saying that "I've never worked for a dead man before and I hope I won't have to do it again. This report is for him [Bobby Calahan], for whatever it's worth" (Grafton 14). During working on her cases, Millhone engages in physical violence and talks tough, in this way "asserting some measure of equality and defending female autonomy" (Horsley, *Twentieth-Century* 273), which is a feature she shares with her fellow female private eyes. Another common characteristic according to Horsley is that "there is a sense of essential female weakness she has to overcome if she wants to resist victimhood herself" (275). Female detectives seek romantic relationships, and this feminine urge makes them emotionally (and physically) vulnerable. This aspiration also causes a conflict, since their desire for independence can be perceived as a masculine notion.

On this note, in "A" is for Alibi, Millhone becomes emotionally involved with Charlie Scorsoni who nearly kills her in the end. It turns out that it was Scorsoni who killed Libby Glass and Sharon Napier to cover up that he was stealing from the law firm he shared with Laurence Fife. Libby Glass was the accountant of the law firm and when she found out the embezzlement, Scorsoni poisoned her. Sharon Napier was Fife's secretary and Scorsoni killed her as to prevent Millhone from questioning her. When Millhone wants to make sure of Scorsoni's guilt, the man attempts to stab her, but she has a gun, and "[blows] him away" (Grafton, "A" is for Alibi 150). The fact that she has to kill someone, even if to save her own life, disturbs her and she says it herself: "The day before yesterday I killed someone and the fact weighs heavily on my mind" (1). Killing can be seen as the most violent act and being true to the feminist ideology, it does not fill her with closure or satisfaction, but scars her. At the end of the novel she adds that "the shooting disturbs me still" (150) and that she will "never be the same" (150). This kind of introspection, emotional turmoil and uncertainty after an act of violence is typical for female detectives, because it is what makes them different from male detectives.

In conclusion, Millhone's "obsessive independence might seem 'masculine' or her emotional vulnerability 'feminine,' [thus] these conventions lose their gender coding" (Smith 81). Due to this balanced characterization, Grafton's detective is less judgemental of patriarchal institutions and heterosexual relationships. However, in "E" is for Evidence, she finds herself in a complicated situation when she sleeps with a married police officer, Jonah Robb after years of tension between them. In the end, Robb seems to value stability given by his family more in contrast with the unstable nature of his relationship with Millhone. At last, he chooses his family over Millhone, betraying Millhone's feelings for him. She comments on her situation in the following way: "Being rejected is burdensome that way. You're left with emotional baggage you unload on everyone else. It's not just the fact of betrayal, but the person you become ... usually not very nice" (Grafton, "*E*" is for Evidence 143). In this case, "the woman detective becomes the *femme fatale*" (Wilson 151), because she is "the other woman" (151) who threatens the conventional family values.

According to Gill Plain, Warshawski is depicted as a "superwoman" (gtd. in Thompson 60) and a "feminist detective hero" (60) based on the way she is pushing her body's limits. However, Paretsky also emphasizes that even if Warshawski is a strong-willed person, the fact that her intellectual and physical capacities are limited, endorses her credibility (Thompson 61). Vic's authenticity is supported by her feminine interests and concerns as well: for instance, she pays attention to eating healthily, she is concerned about her weight and how she dresses. Moreover, in opposition to male detectives, she is actively trying to heal her body: when she is hurt, she takes a hot bath and medication so she can get back to work as soon as possible. When she is in pain, she turns to Lotty who helps Vic in all ways she can. However, their relationship is not unproblematic since both of them are head-strong women and this causes strains in their friendship. In Killing Orders, Lotty describes their connection as the following quote illustrates: "You have been the daughter I never had, V.I. As well as one of the best friends a woman could ever desire" (Paretsky 337). Despite their occasional conflicts, their affection toward each other runs deep and even though it is tested sometimes, they cannot deny it. Nonetheless, Paretsky "criticizes the potentially blind, self-delusional, and harmful myth of the universal sisterhood ... by showing us various sites where female friendship goes through crises and challenges" (Rhee 103).

For instance, in *Bitter Medicine* "V.I. struggles to feel any sympathy whatsoever for the stoical resignation to passive suffering of the archetypal Latino mother figure" (Horsley, *Twentieth-Century* 265). Usually, Vic is able to be compassionate to others, but she is firmly against the kind of female passivity that Consuelo's mother has demonstrated after her daughter's death. All of the above mentioned underpin Priscilla L. Walton and Manina Jones's claim that feminist detective fiction is a "reverse discourse" (92) since it provides "a critique of the formula by reproducing it with strategic differences, thus redirecting the trajectory of dominant discourse" (92). One other difference in Paretsky's novels is that there is an inclusive female community, whereas Marlowe's Los Angeles does not welcome Marlowe as a member. He is described by Debasree Basu "as a man of the city but a man against the city" (198), because he is an inhabitant of L.A. and unavoidably a member of that society, but he also tries to fight against corruption that is inherent in the city. Moreover, Paretsky's and Grafton's "novels link a particular investigation to wider social problems that are usually related ... to women's continuing oppression" (Reddy, "Women Detectives" 198), while Raymond Chandler avoids expressing a harsh social criticism of his time. The fact itself that a woman actively and physically fights back against violence, in this way denying further oppression, goes against gender norms.

On this note, Warshawski's role is not just to expose the criminals, but also to show other women the way out of their oppressed state. Vic's demonstration of independence and self-respect is to let other women know that it is their choice to decide how they want to live (Klein 230). Furthermore, Millhone's and Warshawski's tough-talking is also a reformation of the male-centred tradition as they use it "to express [their] emotions and sensibilities, and power over situations and circumstances" (200), while the male PI employs it to re-assert his "masculine ethos" (Horsley, *Twentieth-Century* 73). The hard-boiled detective has a "very direct, self-confident voice" (265) with which Paretsky endowed Warshawski for her "to speak, to say those things that people in power want to keep unsaid, unheard" (Paretsky, "The Detective as Speech" 17). In other words, Paretsky wanted to give voice to the female experience through her protagonist and to show that women can and should fight against oppression.

According to Kathleen Gregory Klein, Paretsky's feminist detective fiction is the best example for the successful subversion of the hard-boiled genre so far, because Paretsky recognized that there is much more to turning the hard-boiled genre into a feminist platform than just substituting the male PI with a feminist one (235). Klein considers Paretsky's choices concerning the characterization of the female gumshoe, the structure of the plots and the overall atmosphere of the novels, the key factors that help balancing "the tensions between the demands of the detective novel and the feminist ideology" (230).

Unlike Kinsey, Warshawski ages realistically throughout the series, which makes her a "dynamic detective" (qtd. in Vanacker 101). Her development as a character is a shared quality with the *Bildungsroman* genre, as we can follow how the various experiences affect her emotionally and how her mindset transforms over time (Vanacker 102). Warshawski being in her fifties also gives Paretsky the opportunity to provide an evaluation of her detective's character, its development and her feminist behaviour.

Furthermore, the latest Warshawski novels can be seen as "state of the nation" (103) novels, because through Vic, one can see how socio-economic circumstances
change as a result of modernization and how they affect her and her society. Moreover, one can gain an insight into how feminism itself became more inclusive. The second wave centred more around white, middle-class, heterosexual women, while the third wave promoted "a feminism of 'multicultural inclusion, identity politics, and intersectionality'" (qtd. in Vanacker 105). This meant that people recognized the need for acknowledging the different identity markers, such as race, class and sexuality in order to include other women than white, middle class and heterosexual.

In *Body Work*, Vic's niece, Petra Warshawski is a representative of the third wave feminists and her attitude often makes Vic dissatisfied and frustrated. V.I. is aware that it is the merit of her generation that Petra's generation of women have the possibilities they have. For example, Vic's following comment reveals that she thought Petra was ignorant of the issues of feminism: "In the seven months I'd spent around my cousin, this was the first time she'd revealed any awareness of women's issues, in the arts or anywhere else" (Paretsky, *Body Work* 14). In *Body Work*, Petra Warshawski defends the actions of the "Body Artist" saying that it is her own choice what she does with her body. V.I.'s neighbour and father-figure Mr. Contreras and even V.I. herself see the artist's actions as improper and disturbing. However, the fact that the artist willingly offers her skin to be painted on by the audience, is ironically a protest against the objectification of the female body.

Watching the Body Artist's performance, Vic wonders about "Who was exploiter, who was exploited?" (22), because she finds it hard to understand how her performance would help women's situation. Although later on, she comments "[w]hether we like it or not, we live in a world where the exposed female body is a turn-on. Music only suggests the erotic or the private self. The Body Artist forces you to see the private" (12). *Body Work* is Paretsky's attempt to discover and discuss the female body and sexuality, but even in previous novels Warshawski is represented as a sexually active woman. According to Smith, both Warshawski and Millhone are portrayed as sexual beings, but "these women detectives seem free of the sexual difficulties male detectives groan under" (80).

Feminist authors wanted to normalize the depiction of female sexuality as to dismantle the highly popular trend of the 1930s that depicted sexual women as villainous and manipulative. In this sense, the female PI is similar to the *femme fatale* of the male-centred hard-boiled tradition. Even though sexuality has an important role, Warshawski is threatened with rape only once in Paretsky's novels, in *Indemnity Only*, because "Paretsky wanted to avoid blending sex and violence in a way that pandered to a male, power-oriented sensationalism that objectifies

women" (Hamilton 56). The themes of prostitution, lesbianism and homophobia are more pronounced in *Body Work*, which presents the provocative and controversial occupation of the performance artist, Karen Buckley.

Paretsky writes: "The Artist was completely at ease ... [i]t was the audience that was disturbed" (*Body Work* 8) and even Vic is uncomfortable watching her. This suggests that the association of the naked female body with sexual desire is so close and deeply ingrained in contemporary society that even a feminist woman is affected by it. It is worth noting that Warshawski's reaction to the performance has a homoerotic subtext: "The spotlight on the Artist's breasts, the sense that this was a mannequin sitting there, not a woman, was both arousing and unpleasant, and I resented my body for responding to what my mind rejected" (8).

Feminist authors address another issue that concerns gender, which is the double standard that exists between the sexes. For instance, the female PI considers her career more important than maintaining a relationship, but her male partner protests. The male partner claims that a woman's priority should be their relationship over her profession, but this does not necessarily apply to him (Reddy, *Sisters in Crime* 106). In *Indemnity Only*, Warshawski's lover, Ralph Devereux admits that he did not consider V.I. a professional PI and it almost costs him his life, because his boss, Yardley Masters shoots him at the end of the novel. Ralph says the following when Vic visits him in the hospital: "No, but I should have listened to you. I couldn't believe you knew what you were talking about. I guess deep down I didn't take your detecting seriously. I thought it was a hobby, like Dorothy's [his ex-wife's] painting" (Paretsky, *Indemnity Only* 312).

Furthermore, in *Burn Marks*, Warshawski is in a relationship with Michael Furey, a corrupt cop who says the following to V.I.: "You're not interested in the things a normal girl is" (Paretsky 409). His comment indicates that because of V.I.'s "refusal to conform to his ideal of woman" (Wilson 152) he feels that his masculinity is threatened. Warshawski's unwillingness to change who she is for her lovers is a protest against the domination of men over women in romantic relationships and a choice to keep her authenticity intact. Paretsky aims to highlight gender equality with the help of V.I.'s character by claiming Vic has "the same freedoms that men have to act, to move, to make decisions, to fall in love, experience sex, even to be wrong" (*Age of Silence* 62).

Warshawski often refers to male detectives in general and to Philip Marlowe in particular and she often thinks about what Marlowe would do in her situation. These kind of musings suggest some self-irony and they also highlight how different Marlowe and Warshawski are. For example, in *Body Work* V.I. ponders what to say

why she was at the scene of a shooting: "When I was younger and more insouciant, I would have quoted the great Philip Marlowe and said, 'Trouble is my business,' but tonight I was cold and apprehensive. 'I don't know" (Paretsky 4).

Warshawski's response and sarcastic comment on Marlowe suggest that she realizes that her old habit of comparing herself to Marlowe was unfounded. Marlowe's "greatness" comes from his ability to remain emotionally detached and resistant toward his environment. Now, however, she acknowledges that she is deeply affected by the violence inflicted on her and on others; the criminality and corruption of her Chicago; and even her own age leaves a mark on her not just physically, but also mentally. Warshawski's reactions reflect Paretsky's feminist ideology, while Chandler created Marlowe to continue "the glorification of masculine traits" (Klein 237) that were so popular in the 1930s.

In feminist detective fiction, the past of the protagonists plays a determining role in their characterization. Female sleuths carry "a kind of emotional baggage ... unknown to the hard-boiled, masculine, sturdy-individualist PI" (Smith 80). For instance, "many of Warshawski's injuries are long-term, and memories of them often carry over into the next novel" (Irons 14). This contributes to the fact that female detectives are more deeply influenced by violence psychologically, than male ones and it is worth pointing out that the people who inflict pain on V.I. are exclusively male.

Additionally, Warshawski is defined by her past as a child of immigrant working class parents, as her father was Polish working as a cop and her mother was Italian. She grew up in the South Side of Chicago, which is the centre of the working-class and the different immigrant groups. As a result, she became conscious of class and race, which made her feel sympathy towards other blue-collar people and be tolerant with the members of other cultures. As her mother had Jewish predecessors, she also feels for her Jewish friends, Lotty Herschel and Max Lowenthal.

As for Millhone, when she was five years old she got into a car crash with her parents and she was the only survivor. She is still haunted by hearing her mother's crying before she also passed away. The losing of her parents determined her life, because after their passing, she was raised by Aunt Gin who later got her the investigator job at the insurance company where she had worked. Both Warshawski and Millhone think about their mothers, but V.I.'s relationship with her mother is a more determining one. V.I. often wonders about what her mother would think about her being a private detective: she would be proud, because she is educated, has a job and is independent, but would not approve of her occupation. Moreover, there is a typical quality that female detectives possess: they do not follow "a hardand-fast moral code" (Reddy, *Sisters in Crime* 118) like their male counterparts. Their "tendency to think contextually" (119) and their female solidarity makes them more adaptable to particular situations which makes them morally more flexible than the male PI.

In this vein, as private detectives, they prioritize their clients and their interests, even if they get into a conflict with the police as a result. For example, Marlowe is serious about protecting his client, which is clear in *The Big Sleep* when he tells Mr. Sternwood the following: "I do my best to protect you and I may break a few rules, but I break them in your favour. The client comes first, unless he's crooked" (Chandler 231). However, Chandler does not uncover corruption in high places, which is the opposite of what Warshawski achieves after each solved case. For instance, in *Indemnity Only*, she proves the guilt of Yardley Masters, the vice-president of the Claim Department of a successful insurance company called Ajax. Because of her gender, V.I. is often underestimated by men and even by Masters, because unlike her male predecessors she does not enjoy an equal standing with the male criminals in terms of gender, and they are usually of a higher social standing as well (Irons 14).

On the one hand, Warshawski perceives crime as an epidemic that affects the whole city and in a wider sense, Illinois (Horsley, *Twentieth-Century* 270). On the other hand, Millhone's cases are never extended to the whole of society, but blamed on one corrupted individual. As a result, Grafton's novels are socio-politically less critical than Paretsky's, and they do not criticize society as a whole, since Millhone is an "individual solving individual crimes" (272). One of the most notable similarities between V.I. and Millhone is that both of them carry guns and use them if they have to. Their handling of guns serves the purpose of the demystification of the gun, "moving it from the realm of the symbolic, where it signifies male power and control, to the actual" (Reddy, *Sisters in Crime* 99). The female PI is usually reluctant to use a gun, but if she has to she uses it to protect herself or others. In this way, feminist writers put the gun in a new light, because they transformed it into "something that can be wielded by either women or men, that can be used responsibly or irresponsibly" (99).

Making the gun available for women and normalizing it as a tool that simply comes with the profession of the private eye, breaks down "the stereotypes of women becoming distraught under pressure, being the weaker sex both emotionally and physically, and requiring male protection" (113). This dismantling of gender roles is especially notable in Millhone's personality, because she "combines conventional 'masculinity' and 'femininity' so as to blur the distinction between them" (Smith 81). The comparison of Millhone and Warshawski shows that Millhone is less feminine than Warshawski, which is noticeable in the different ways they dress, because Warshawski likes fashionable clothes, which are not always comfortable during an investigation, while Millhone rather focuses on keeping her attire practical and comfortable. The lack of personal possessions with sentimental value in the case of Millhone is another sign that Warshawski is more sensitive, especially when it comes to her mother's Venetian glasses. In addition, Warshawski has people and dogs that are dependent on her, while Millhone avoids such commitments. According to Klein, Warshawski is a "self-defined feminist[s] for whom this identification is a conscious act and apparently consistent feature of [her] behaviour" (202). On the other hand, Millhone does have "feminist inclinations" (202), but she does not explicitly define herself as a feminist (202).

III

In conclusion, it can be stated that both Paretsky and Grafton left their mark on the feminist sub-genre of hard-boiled detective fiction, regardless of their positions within the second wave of feminism. Paretsky created a model of the feminist private detective who is not just a female version of Marlowe, but a hard-boiled protagonist who embodies the two competing ideologies without producing inconsistencies in Warshawski's personality. On the other hand, Grafton rather followed the guidelines established by Chandler, which does not mean that Kinsey Millhone is less popular than her fellow PI. Grafton took a less radical approach to transforming the hard-boiled detective, though Millhone does share the most relevant feminist characteristics, for example the emphasis of the female experience, the depiction of female sexuality, the importance of the detective's past, the physical and psychological influence of violence on the private eye, and the threats men pose to the female gumshoe personally and professionally.

All of these elements promote the separation of the feminist hard-boiled detective fiction from the male-dominated traditional hard-boiled school. The distinction between the two traditions is based on what the author intends to focus on: Chandler is generally preoccupied with the relationship between the male private eye and the police, while Paretsky highlights the gendered struggle of the female detective with patriarchal institutions.

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The evolution of the character of Kratos in the God of War series

Levente Nyíri

I

This thesis will discuss the changes regarding the representation of masculinity in video games. Therefore the work is an interdisciplinary study, informed by sociology, gender studies, and popular culture. Societal changes have changed the way we perceive both gender and sex. These changes caused a large array of changes in multiple aspects of society. During the 21st century everyday aspects of human life like, fashion and social norms have all changed, but perhaps the most exciting changes took place in the entertainment industry. Movies, series, and advertisement all became accustomed to new social norms to appease potential consumers. The thesis intends to get a stable interpretation of the modern concepts concerning masculinity while understanding possible criticism of such interpretations. To assist in this process most of the following section's sources will be professional researchers in the field of gender studies, more specifically the issues and advancements in the research of masculinity including its various categories, the understanding and conflicting ideas of the aforementioned categories and how these variations have changed over time.

Furthermore, this thesis will aim at parallel societal changes present in the real world with changes in the video game industry. These changes will be explored through the use of professional researchers as well as journalists who conducted interviews with video game producers. Lastly, in the research section of the thesis, I will conduct a case study on Kratos as mentioned before. To gain a better understanding of this specific case, the change in masculinity will be analysed through key moments and actions in the story. In the past 16 years the God of War franchise has been evolving alongside societal advancements (Santa Monica Studio, 2005-2018). Kratos as a character transformed from a wrathful Spartan general to a caring father whose only intention was to complete his wife's last wish and protect their child. This change however natural it may be, can be compared to societal changes in the real world due to the franchise's long lifespan.

Throughout the 21st century masculinity has changed in a drastic way. The change from the toxic side of hegemonic masculinity to the moderate and caring type can be examined through video games. This chapter of the thesis will give an overview of recent social development and the perception of masculinity both in the scientific and public discourses. Over the course of the 21st century the previously accepted negative qualities of masculinity were replaced. The often aggressive and abusive traits are fading, in favour of a moderate and effeminate type of masculinity and as Stefan Horlacher states in his book: "masculinity studies is not a conservative backlash but a social necessity" (Horlacher, 1). According to Raewyn Connell, "masculinities are not equivalent to men; they concern the position of men in a gender order" furthermore Connell argues for the existence of multiple masculinities which Messner addresses in his journal article, "On Patriarchs and Losers" (Connell, n.d).

According to Messner's research in the subject, Connell differentiated between three multiples regarding masculinity. Within these three types, hegemonic masculinity is the most prevalent. Messner also states that, hegemonic masculinity is the form of masculinity which codifies the collective project of men's domination over women. In this case hegemonic masculinity is defined in relation to emphasized femininity. The aim of hegemonic masculinity is to maintain the dominant status of men over women. This definition is also in relation with marginalized and subordinated masculinity. Messner also implies the definition of subordinated masculinity as less powerful men supporting and adhering to the rules upheld by the hegemonic group. Through this, Messner implies that, it can be assumed that "less powerful men" may support the system upheld by members displaying hegemonic masculinity since they are satisfied with it (Messner, 75-84). According to Connell and Messerschmidt's research, subordinated and marginalized masculinities can be called "complicit masculinities," under the circumstance that they knowingly support the dominance upheld by the hegemonic group. Men within the complicit category receive the benefits of the patriarchy while not enacting any form of masculine dominance (Connell and Messerschmidt, 830-834).

According to Connell and Messerschmidt's research, the concept of hegemonic masculinity was first proposed in reports from a field study of social inequality in Australian high schools and was further supported by Connell's further research on the subject alongside discussions held in 1983 and a debate in 1982. The first major work on hegemonic masculinity was "Gender and Power" in which the concept of

hegemonic masculinity was further solidified. The concept of hegemony came about due to the Gramscian term¹ of the same name. However, the concept of "male sec role" was established earlier in social psychology and sociology, which recognised the social nature of masculinity and the possibility of change in the nature of masculinity.

In the 1970's stereotypical male norms were criticized which led to the critical role theory, which according to Connell, "provided the main conceptual basis for the early antisexist men's movement." The concept itself solidified after the gay liberation movement and was based mainly upon homosexual men's experience with violence and prejudice from straight men. Empirical social research also played a key role in the solidification of the concept, since in the 1970's a growing number of field studies were documenting local gender hierarchies and the localisation of masculinity in schools.

These field studies can be connected to Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis and the "Wolf Man" case history, which shows how "adult personality was a system under tension, with counter currents repressed but not obliterated" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 832). After the 1980's, hegemonic masculinity was understood as a pattern of the practices which allowed the dominant group's dominance over women to continue. Thus, hegemonic masculinity is distinguished from other forms of masculinity, especially subordinated masculinity. This form of masculinity was not normal in the statistical sense, which means that only a minority of men may enact it, which they do through culture, institutions, and persuasion.

Hegemonic masculinity as a concept was used after its official recognition by sociologists and teachers, while also having influence in criminology. The concept assisted sociologists and law officials to connect certain forms of masculinity with the crimes they are more likely to commit. Furthermore, it was also concluded that men and boys perpetrate more of the conventional and serious crimes than women and girls do. While these findings and studies may all sound like they are criticizing masculinity, some studies prove that the main goal of the research was to understand the nature of masculinity better. According to Connell and Messerschmidt, "the concepts of hegemonic and subordinated masculinities helped in understanding not only men's exposure to risk but also men's difficulties in responding to disability and injury" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 834).

While hegemonic masculinity may prove to be the most influential form according to Connell and Messerschmidt's research, men who are not able to achieve the

¹ Gramsci used the word hegemony in relation to Marxist political ideology. He viewed hegemony as a power reproduced in cultural life and the media, which was used to manufacture consent and legitimacy. (Heywood, 100-101)

state of hegemonic masculinity but still benefit from the dominant position of the patriarchal order are part of complicit masculinity. This variation of masculinity would imply that some men of the hegemonic group can provide advantages to the men of the complicit group. According to Connell "gender is a way in which social practice is ordered" which is significant when perceiving her opinion of masculinity. The marginalised and subordinated masculinities are the nonhegemonic variations of masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 830-834).

Messner recognised that while complicit masculinities may support the system upheld by members of the hegemonic group, members of the complicit group still face discrimination, which is based upon differences in social class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and international relations. Due to this outcome of the research about masculinity, scientists agree upon the fact that masculinity is a multiple entity, meaning that it has several different forms. Unfortunately, later studies also show that the social hierarchy between men is the only factor keeping this hypothesis from devolving into senseless individualism (Messner, 74-88).

While Connell and Messerschmidt's research supports Messner's findings, it also acknowledges that while complicit masculinities exist there will be conflict for hegemony. Furthermore, Messerschmidt and Connell, say the following "these concepts (referring to complicit and hegemonic masculinity) were abstract rather than descriptive, defined in terms of the logic of a patriarchal system. They assumed that gender relations were historical, so gender hierarchies were subject to change" (832). The change Connell and Messerschmidt acknowledge here can be tied to both the existence and emergence of complicit masculinities as well as the changes in modern masculinities seen by the civilian community (Connell and Messerschmidt, 830-834).

One of the recent changes which can be tied into Connell and Messerschmidt's account on masculinity is the appearance of "hybrid masculinities." These types emerged after heterosexual men started integrating elements from homosexual identities into their own heterosexual identities. People exhibiting certain homosexual traits while still being heterosexual, usually belong to one of the complicit groups of masculinity. While these men are straight, they describe some elements of their personalities as "gay" which results in the construction of hybrid masculinities, which distance them in subtly diverse ways from the stereotypes associated with masculinity. These men also conceal the privileges associated with white men using "homosexual aesthetics." Hybrid masculinities in this context address contemporary changes in social sciences concerned with masculinity.

According to Connell and Messerschmidt some masculine practices may be incorporated into other masculinities. This research did not result in a conclusive outcome since, Connell and Messerschmidt think that hybrid masculinities are closer to subcultural variations of already existing masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt, 830-834). Other researchers suggested a theory of "inconclusive masculinity". This theoretical approach argues that the interferences into contemporary masculinity might undermine gender and sexual hierarchies and inequality. According to Bridges, Messner recently hypothesized a "culturally ascendant hybrid masculinity combining "toughness" with "tenderness" in ways that work to obscure power and inequality." The existence of hybrid masculinities is further supported by scholars' understanding of gender and sexuality as co-constructed and unstable (Bridges, 59-67). Another example of hybrid masculinity might come from an unfortunate illness.

There are cases in which people belonging to the hegemonic group move into one of the subordinated groups. In Susie Kilshaw's book about Gulf War syndrome she analyses interviews conducted with Gulf War veterans. In the interviews the veterans usually complain about lack of physical strength and the loss of enthusiasm. Unfortunately for veterans in the United States the body of a soldier is seen as a tool or a weapon which should be in perfect condition. While most veterans give accounts of their pre-war bodies being fit and "superman like" the same veterans feel as though their bodies are deteriorating, they feel as though they are older and less active than they were before. Most soldiers see themselves as the "breadwinners" of their respective families and their bodies were their means of survival in the sense that it was their main tool to gain notoriety and promotions within the army. Due to the trauma caused by their participation in the Gulf war these men feel as though they are weakening which can be attributed as a symptom of PTSD or post-traumatic stress disorder. According to Bridges' explanation of hybrid masculinities, the gulf war veterans interviewed by Kilshaw, represent a hybrid masculinity inhabiting some key traits of complicit masculinity. While this change in the veterans' conception of masculinity was not voluntary like in the case of the men of Bridges' interviews, they still embrace some traits not usually associated with hegemonic masculinity (Kilshaw, 172-177).

Fatherhood is another topic that has changed significantly in the west. While the changes explained in the upcoming section are mostly from a western worldview, the modification men go through due to fatherhood is still significant in other parts of the world. In her journal article Jennifer Randles explains that fatherhood has changed in a way in which contemporary ideas of a good fathering figure replaced a stoic fatherly figure often absent from a child's emotional and sometimes even

physical life to an image of a "new man," who is a college educated professional, whilst still being a highly involved and nurturing father capable of expressing his feelings and acting in an egalitarian way in his dealings with women.

This "new fatherhood" has redefined the concepts we most commonly associate with the patriarch of the family, from the "breadwinner" to a man who engages in his parental obligations just as much (in theory) as their female counterpart would (Randles, 516-519). Much like Rainer Emig's research on sentimental masculinity. According to Emig's research, emotional connections men may harbour, are not mutually exclusive with rationality, meaning that sentimentalism does not exclude a stoic and rational demeanour (Emig, 127-129). Research before reinforced the concept of the "new man," as men inhabited the aforementioned stoic archetype of parenting, which resulted in the technically present but functionally absent father.

In his journal article, Ralph LaRossa openly states that "the father's levels of engagement, accessibility, and responsibility were only a fraction of the mother's" (LaRossa, 454). While this relationship type between father and child was common when LaRossa drafted his treatise the concept discussed in Randles' article is the one contemporary sources like Robert Morrell and Linda Richter's journal article promotes. They also discuss cases of non-biological fathers taking over a fatherly role for the child of their significant other (Morrell and Richter, 36-42). The explanations and concepts introduced in this chapter will prove to be instrumental when analysing the God of War franchise's protagonist, Kratos and how his character changed over the nearly 17 years of publications.

The following section provides a case study based upon Kratos who is the main character in the God of War series (Santa Monica Studio, 2005-2018). The inquiry will focus on his personal development and argues that this can be viewed as a reflection of the modern development of masculinity, which includes how hegemonic masculinity changed in the past two decades. According to Stake case studies are the study of the nature of a case and its complexities. Case studies are done to gain an understanding of the selected case in one or even several aspects in order to facilitate the respective analysis.

Stake separated case studies into three categories, with the first one being intrinsic case studies, the second instrumental case studies and the third one being collective case studies. While all three are case studies, Stake points out that they vary depending on how concentrated the case study is on a specific topic. The instrumental and collective case studies treat each case as secondary, but instrumental case studies focus on providing insight into the generalization of a case, which leaves the case to play a supportive role. Collective case studies focus on a multiplicity of cases at once. The

last type of case study is the intrinsic case study. Unlike the previously mentioned two types, intrinsic case studies focus on a single case's complexities and analyse them to gain better understanding of the issue at hand. Unlike the instrumental type of case studies, intrinsic ones delve into a topic due to the fact that their own particularities and ordinariness are the interest of the case itself.

The analysis will rely on the instrumental type of a case study in order to study the particularities of a case based on a character. There are four steps in the issue evolution regarding a specific study. These include, the topical issue, the foreshadowed problem, the issue under development, and the assertion. Not only do these cases need to be identified but developed through the interconnectability of previously established facts and interpretations (Stake 134-156). The object of the study will be the changing masculinity represented within the character and how, throughout the story he changed as a person.

The first game of the series shows an early form of what Kratos the main character, would become in later entries. In the original God of War, Kratos' demeanour is closer to a mythological hero than his later appearances in God of War 2 and God of War 3. While these characters are the same person, the first three games depict a vengeful Kratos on his quest to take his revenge on the god that wronged him. In the first game he is depicted in a manner which does not imply a need for revenge as much as a need for rest from his nightmares. Despite this he still takes the opportunity which provides him with a chance to take revenge on Ares. Chronologically this game is the third in the series and the first game, which establishes his dominance, even over the gods. By defeating Ares and becoming the unofficial god of war, Kratos shows that mortals can defeat gods, this terrified the gods leading to the events of the second and the third game.

While this example is outside the realm of reality, Connell and Messerschmidt's research alluded to something akin to Kratos' example when talking about hegemonic masculinity. Whereas in this case Kratos establishes hegemony over both mortals and even some gods, unlike Connell and Messerschmidt's implications with a definite negative male stereotype, the Kratos of the first game showcases a conflicted character with regrets and trauma. This manifests in the form of several aspects, like sudden hallucinations, which lead to lengthy monologues and other aspects usually associated with people coping with trauma such as alcoholism and aimless hedonism (Connell and Messerschmidt, 830-834).

The sudden change in attitude between the Kratos depicted in the backstory and the game also shows some symptoms of PTSD as depicted in Kilshaw's interviews. More symptoms include the aforementioned indulgence in mindless hedonistic activities usually attributed to the affected wanting to lessen the effect of their ailments as well as filling a possible void, due to the ailment or a traumatic loss (Kilshaw, 172-177).

Much like it's later counterpart God of War (2005) depicts vast landscapes with highly detailed graphics for its age. The story takes the players from the slums of Athens to Pandora's temple on the back of the titan Chronos, and finishes with a spectacle in the fight between Ares and Kratos as giants overlooking the destroyed city the player once fought in. Dialogue differs from all other God of War games, but it is closer to the second and the third games than the 2018 entry into the series.

In this game Kratos is more melancholic which might be attributed to the desperation he feels during this point of the story, doing the bidding of the gods for a vague promise of redemption. This game's Kratos still has a need for revenge but with a desperate need to get rid of the nightmares, which haunt him. While the game is mostly based on dialogues from Athena and other supporting characters pointing Kratos in the right way, monologues by Kratos are also included. These segments usually include Kratos recollecting some of his memories and swearing revenge on Ares. The original God of War's gameplay is widely different from its 2018 counterpart. The game's genre is a hack and slash which is a genre of video games that usually includes the player character moving around a restricted area fighting enemies by stringing together combos by pushing the right button inputs in the right order during a specific section of time. Unlike its 2018 counterpart, the first game focuses on the Blades of Chaos as its usable weapon, which makes the combat seem almost dance like, while it helps players in stringing combos together and improves the fluidity of combat.

Kratos is also blessed by some of the greatest Greek gods, who give him magic spells and even another useable weapon. Poseidon's Rage, an effect spell dealing high damage to surrounding targets through the use of lighting much akin to a storm on the Aegean Sea received from Poseidon. The other weapons and spells include Medusa's Gaze (The head of the mythical monster Medusa, capable of freezing enemies and turning them into stone as the head fires a beam in the form of a cone and freezes enemies over time), Zeus' Fury (Zeus' lightning bolts which Kratos can use through throwing them towards enemies, dealing single target damage from a long or medium range), Blade of Artemis (A sword given to Kratos by the goddess of the hunt. This sword is much larger than the Blades of Chaos, dealing more damage but being less efficient in dealing with crowds of enemies), and Army of Hades, (The souls of the dead, which can be summoned by Kratos to attack the nearest enemies). Later entries into the series include more diverse magic with the same basic weapon. However, Kratos' character changes in a wider aspect compared to the gameplay of the series as a whole. While the first three mainline games are stories of revenge, even the first game's title song shows the wider picture of Kratos' story which is $\epsilon\kappa\deltai\kappa\eta\sigma\eta$ and $\epsilon\xi\alpha\gamma\circ\rho\dot{\alpha}$, revenge and redemption.

The appearance and acceptance of hybrid masculinities, alongside the progress of social justice movements compelled the video game industry to change their character archetypes accordingly. Unfortunately, these changes mostly resulted in failure, with modifications feeling too radical to feel natural. Examples for this include the "Overwatch," "Doom," "The Last of US 2" and even God of War (2018). While the first two games each embraced opposite spectrums with Overwatch being an advocate of hybrid masculinities with the inclusion of characters like Soldier 76, Doom on the other hand increased the violence and masculinity, while mocking the politically correct landscape developing around the world.

God of War (2018) had the privilege that it was part of an already established franchise. Although the leading character was still a murderer who killed gods, with the previously established story, they had the chance to turn the character into something more akin to a normal person, giving the character a new chance at redemption and more than likely a final chance to achieve the happiness many players thought he deserved.

Unlike previous games the aim of God of War (2018) was not to kill some grand god, but to lay a loved one to rest. The game also tackles heavy topics such as accepting the passing of a loved one, learning to love one's child, and living with trauma. Another feature, which improved engagement was the camera unique to this game, which never left the character's side. The game was also done without camera cuts to improve immersion and improve user experience, unlike the previous games which were heavily cinematic, featuring cutscenes, cutaways and including scenes of gigantic monsters battling and a top-down view on the battlefield.

Fortunately for the developers the pre-established story already hinted at possible changes in the character's nature. Throughout the mainline games and the PSP (PlayStation Portable) spinoffs Kratos faced several major character changing moments which led up to God of War 2018, these include the loss of his brother, Deimos, the loss of his family due to Ares' betrayal, killing his best friend Orkos, the ten years of service to the gods, defeating Ares and getting betrayed by the gods, losing his brother and getting killed by Zeus. While these effects were only the negative ones, during his journey before Midgard, Kratos also accepted his past through the

encouragement of Pandora, tried to sacrifice himself for the greater good, and even found love and family once more.

As many experienced when they first tried the game, the solution provided by Cory Barlog included a lot of new philosophies, like the concept of hybrid masculinities present in both Kratos and Sindri, since Kratos turned into a borderline motherly figure protecting his child while ignoring his own well-being and giving advice to his son (Bridges, 59-67). Whereas these developments are somewhat close to the ideas presented by Connell and Messerschmidt, the character still stays true to himself acting somewhat coldly towards his son in the beginning, and showcasing the technically present but functionally absent father role throughout some of the game's key scenes (LaRossa, 451-454).

Kratos' conflict with his own masculinity is present in the games as well as the comics, suggesting something similar to Kilshaw's interviews conducted with soldiers. However, this interpretation of the character is somewhat stuck between a man in the hegemonic group and the "new man" explored by Randles. While repressing his rage, Kratos is weaker and would have perished on his journey were it not for his son who assisted him to fulfil his wife's last request. When seeing the visions of Zeus in Helheim, Kratos also seems to be affected by PTSD, however the symptoms of this illness are more prevalent in other games and is a point of interest in God of War.

The portrayal of Kratos has also changed significantly, since we see an older version of Kratos in the 2018 entry to the series. This version of the character lost some of the previous overly muscular body type in exchange for looking more realistic. The fighting style he uses also changed from the fast playstyle the hack and slash genre requires, to a more considerate tactical playstyle in which, players have to consider weak points and enemy placements. While the combat is still over the top, unlike previous games most of the enemies are not human with notable exceptions being, Baldur, Magni, and Modi. An assist system was also included within the game, with Atreus helping players make decisions in combat as well as shooting enemies with arrows. Even though the combat has changed the conflict for hegemony as a core feature of the represented masculinity is also visible between gods.

The abundance of supporting characters present in the game all represent uniquely modern views. Mimir, while being the "smartest man alive" can also be associated with complicit masculinity and hegemonic masculinity, due to the fact that while he is only present in most of the game as a head, his base knowledge is frighteningly large. Therefore, Mimir can be associated with a physically insignificant but intelligent character showcasing intellectual dominance over other characters through, for example, the knowledge of long dead languages. Sindri and his brother Brok both inhabit the opposite sides of masculinity compared to each other. While Sindri is strongly associated with the hybrid masculinities of Bridges' research showcasing fear when near combat and disgust when near blood (Bridges, 59-67), Brok is closer to the concept of the "new man", by showing a rough exterior but deeply caring for his brother (Randles, 516-539).

Freya, who is a powerful ally in the game, first introduced as the witch of the woods also shows aspects previously uncharacteristic for female supporting characters. While in the previous games, women were mostly seen as entities who needed to be saved or were regarded as sexual objects, Freya, and Faye both display a certain maturing in God of War as a game franchise. Freya even possesses several aspects, which we would usually associate with a strong leading character. As one of the deuteragonists she displays traits like being intelligent, cunning, and brave. As an older god, Kratos must try harder than gods like Baldur and many future adversaries. This presents a challenge Kratos will have to face in the future in keeping his position as a "new man" retaining his still somewhat hegemonic status while raising his son not as a ruthless general but as a caring father. Much like the first game, landscapes depicted in God of War (2018) are vivid and highly detailed, however, unlike the first game these landscapes are also more natural and contain livelier colours.

While this has to do with technological advancements of the previous 20 years, the Norse landscape depicts a more natural and livelier atmosphere then it's Greek counterpart. The game also includes enormous spectacles such as the world serpent, "Yormungandr" and "The Lake of the Nine" around which the world serpent coils. Kratos also received a visual update. Depicting an older version of the character, the game's developers kept his usual character design while embracing Norse mythology as a source. The shield Kratos dons also bears Norse runes just like his new main weapon, the "Leviathan Axe."

These visual updates serve to differentiate the game from its previous counterparts as well as from those games' genre and playstyle. The game's dialogue also takes on a kinder, and more empathetic style, seeking to redeem Kratos as a character. Early dialogue in the game shows players that the previous games' Kratos is still present but the dialogue developing throughout the story shows his fatherly side developing once more. Distancing himself from his son by calling him 'boy' seemingly refers to his tragic past and wanting to keep his son safe from the dangerous world of gods. In conclusion, the perceivable information shows significant changes in the nature of masculinity both in real life and through the depiction of Kratos, a fictional figure with natural character development, influenced by societal changes in the real life and the director's personal experience with fatherly figures as well as what many aspire to be. With the inclusion of characters such as Sindri and Mimir, the supporting cast of the newer games in the series display more characteristics of the ever-changing landscape of masculinity studies. Both of the aforementioned characters represent a complicit masculinity type, intent on supporting the two main characters of the games. While these characters' inclusion in the story is brief, they still show significant change. Freya, a powerful female figure in the game proved to be a great ally to the protagonists and will probably prove to be an even better antagonist in the future. While these characters promote uniquely current ideas relevant to the modern societal views of researchers and audiences, fragments of these developments can be seen in the older games as well. The new game also provides Kratos with a chance to redeem himself and live a normal life with his son.

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